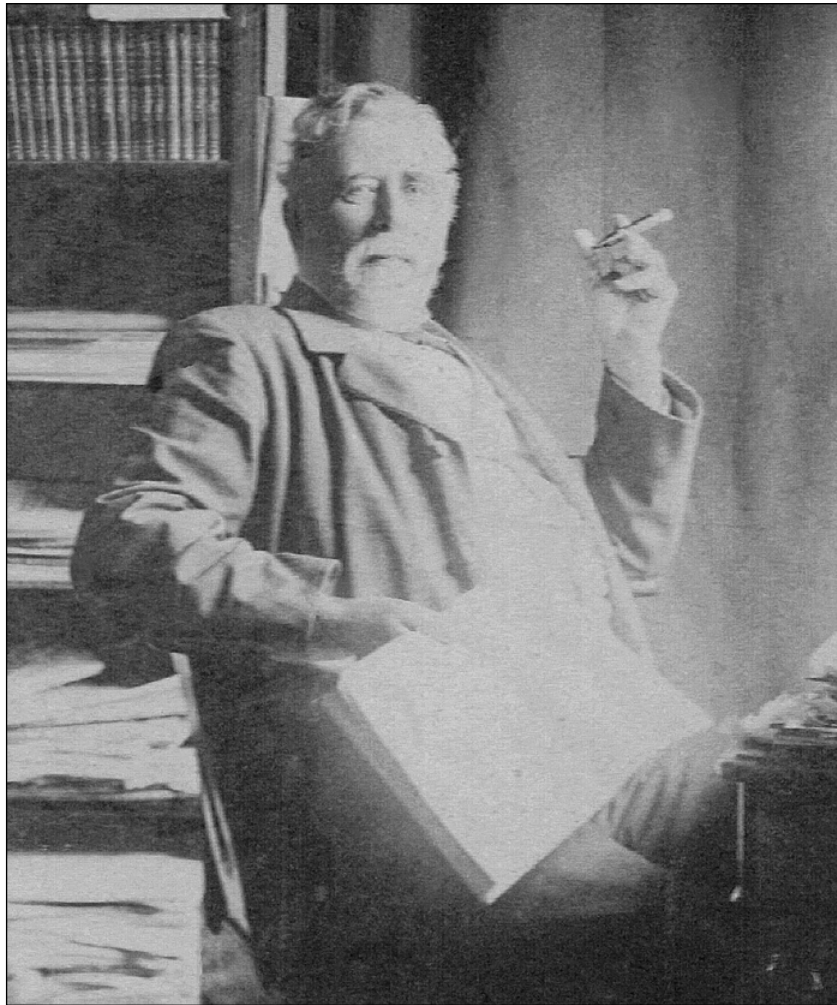


WAS ANDERS ALBERT ANDERSSON-EDENBERG THE FIRST AUTHOR TO MODIFY *DRACULA*?



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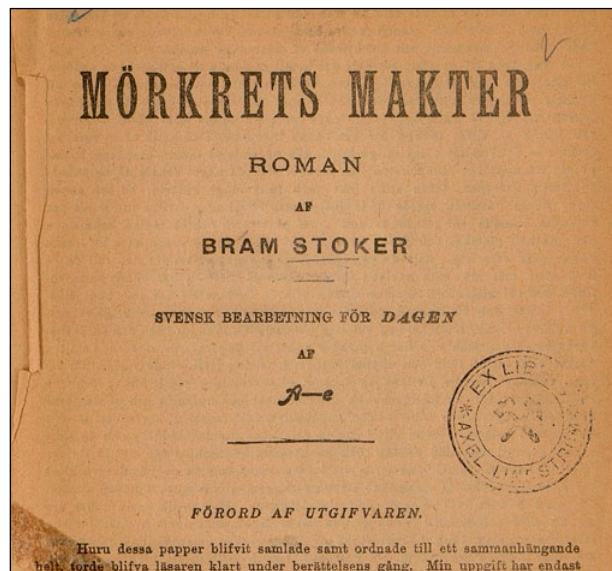
WAS ANDERS ALBERT ANDERSSON-EDENBERG THE FIRST AUTHOR TO MODIFY *DRACULA*?

By Hans Corneel de Roos

INTRODUCTION

The Swedish adaptation of *Dracula* only came to the attention of the international community of literary scholars *after* the publication of *Powers of Darkness*, my English translation of *Makt myrkranna*, the Icelandic version of Bram Stoker's famous vampire story.¹ Alerted by the global publicity around my book, Swedish fiction expert Rickard Berghorn informed me and my colleagues Dacre Stoker and John Edgar Browning about *Mörkrets makter*, serialized in the Swedish newspaper *Dagen* and in the magazine *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* from June 1899 on – six months before the start of the *Makt myrkranna* serialization in *Fjallkonan*.² Shortly after, I discovered that *Mörkrets makter* existed in two distinct variants: the text Berghorn referred to was *longer* than *Dracula* and maintained the diary and journal style throughout the novel,³ while the text I had received from the Swedish National Library on 8 March 2017 was *shorter* than Stoker's original and after the Transylvanian section switched to a conventional narrative style with chapters.⁴ For *Makt myrkranna*, the Icelandic newspaper publisher and translator Valdimar Ásmundsson (1852-1902) must have used the shorter version, published in *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga*, as source text, shortening the story still further – especially after Harker's adventures in Castle Dracula.⁵

After unearthing the true source text of *Makt myrkranna*, I focused on transposing the central question triggered by the Icelandic text to the Swedish variants: To what extent had Stoker been involved in creating the preface and the modified plot? E.g., was there any probability that the anonymous Swedish translator/editor – without Stoker's input – had come up with a reference to the Thames Torso Murders as hinted to in the Swedish preface and in Harker's diary?⁶ Identifying this person, who had used "A-e" as a pseudonym for both Swedish variants, seemed crucial.



First page of *Mörkrets makter*, *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga*

- ¹ *Powers of Darkness* was released on 7 February 2017 by Overlook Press, New York.
- ² Both "makt myrkranna" and "mörkrets makter" mean "powers of darkness."
- ³ See my interview with Rickard Berghorn, *Children of the Night Congress Bulletin*, 5 March 2017, 8.
- ⁴ I established this in my email correspondence with Rickard Berghorn of 11 March 2017.
- ⁵ Ásmundsson shortened the post-Transylvanian part from 24,000 words (Swedish version) to only 9,100 words.
- ⁶ See my article "*Makt Myrkranna* – Mother of all *Dracula* Modifications?," *Letter from Castle Dracula*, 4 February 2014, 3-19, and my introduction to *Powers of Darkness*.

By the end of March 2017, I had found a suitable candidate: Anders Albert Andersson-Edenberg (1834-1913),⁷ a senior journalist with ties to Harald Sohlman (1858-1927), Chief Editor of both publications. The results of my ongoing research were published in various interviews and articles, starting with the French online platform Vampirisme.com⁸ and the Dutch literary magazine *T'is Fris*⁹ and continuing with articles for the online magazine Vamped.org¹⁰ and for the *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Braşov*.¹¹ In November 2017, finally, Berghorn publicly commented on my hypothesis.¹² I replied to his critique with another paper, announced via the same Facebook group on 20 December 2017.¹³ As my arguments concerning Andersson-Edenberg are scattered over seven different publications now, of which three are in French and one in Dutch, I decided to present them again in a single essay. Maybe needless to say that as long as no relevant letters, contracts or diary notes confirming my suspicion show up, my ideas are open to debate; no other suitable candidate being proposed since the news about the Swedish adaptations went public a year ago, however, I have good hope that my research has led me into the right direction.

WHAT IS IN A NAME?

The first and simplest argument: For a person using “A-e” as a pseudonym, one would expect a name in which these two letters occur, preferably in a conspicuous way. During his writing career, Andersson-Edenberg employed a whole range of pseudonyms. Some were fantasy names, such as “Adauctus,” “Erzo,” “Chippus” or “Testis,” but others were acronyms, such as “A. E-g,” “Edbg,” “Eg” or “E-g.”¹⁴ For a translation of the play *Mellan drabbningarne* by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910), the Norwegian author who won the 1903 Nobel Prize Winner in Literature, he used “A.E.”¹⁵ For numerous articles in the monthly magazine *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, he employed “A.-E.”¹⁶ The pseudonym “A-e” is close enough to “A.E.,” “A.-E.,” “A. E-g” or “E-g” to make Andersson-Edenberg an interesting candidate.

7 Sometimes, “Andersson-Edenberg” is spelled as “Anderson-Edenberg,” including the name used in *Svenska Familj-Journalen*.

8 Vladkergan, “Corneel de Roos, Hans. Interview avec le (re-)découvreur de Powers of Darkness [addendum],” *Vampirisme.com*, 27 March 2017; De Roos, Hans Corneel, “(Re-)découverte d’une ancienne sérialisation américaine de Dracula,” *Vampirisme.com*, 27 April 2017; Vladkergan, “Corneel de Roos, Hans. Interview avec le (re-)découvreur de Powers of Darkness [addendum 2],” *Vampirisme.com*, 30 April 2017.

9 A. C. Stel, “Graaf Dracula als de nieuwe Cagliostro – De hoofdredactie in gesprek met Hans Corneel de Roos,” *T'is Fris*, 1 April 2017.

10 De Roos, Hans Corneel. “Next stop: Chicago! Earliest U.S. Serialisation of Dracula Known so Far Discovered. Was it the Source of *Mörkrets makter*?” *Vamped.org*, 27 May 2017.

11 De Roos, Hans Corneel. “The Origin of the First Dracula Adaptation.” *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Braşov*, Series IV: Philology and Cultural Studies, Vol. 10 (59) Nr. 1 – 2017.

12 See Berghorn’s post and comments in the Facebook group “Crypt of the Un-Dead” as of 18 November 2017, <https://facebook.com/groups/1668311286764643/permalink/1967684793493956/>

13 De Roos, Hans Corneel, “Any New „A-e“ Candidates? A Reply to Rickard Berghorn’s Posts of 18 November 2017.” Announced via Facebook, “Crypt of the Un-Dead” Group, 20 December 2017. See <http://powersofdarkness.com/HansCorneel-DeRoos-Reply-to-Rickard-Berghorns-Post-Of-18Nov2017.pdf>.

14 See “Sveriges periodiska litteratur. Pseudonym- och Signaturregister.” Online at http://kb.se/Sverigesperiodiskalitteratur/index/3_s_594_617.htm. Based on Fredrik Braune, “Anteckningar om abbreviations-signaturer i Svensk litteratur,” *Nya Bokhandelstidningen*, 1888-93 (Stockholm: Ivar Hæggströms Boktryckeri, 1893).

15 *Mellan Drabbningarne. Skådespel I En Akt*. Af Bjørnstjerne-Bjørnson. Öfversatt Av A. E. (Uppförd å Kongl. Dramatiska Theatern i Stockholm). Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag/ Alb. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1867. For further details, see my interview with Adrien Party (“Vladkergan”) for *Vampirisme.com* of 27 March 2017. According to the “Pseudonym- och Signaturregister” (see previous footnote), A. L. J. Engström and J. A. L. Eriksson also used this pseudonym.

16 E.g. “Stockholms Djurgård och des sommarlif” (*Svenska Familj-Journalen* 7 (1868), Nr. 7, 208-210); “Wisby från norra batteriet,” (*S.F.J.* 9 (1870), Nr. 5, 152-153); “I gatans grannskap” (*S.F.J.* 9 (1870), Nr. 6, 171-173); “I den eviga staden” (*S.F.J.* 9 (1870), Nr. 10, 296-299); “I den eviga staden. S:t Angelo eller Engelsborgen” (*S.F.J.* 10 (1871), Nr. 8, 236-239); “Vår äldsta helsokälla” (*S.F.J.* 10 (1871), Nr. 9, 273-274); “I spelsalen” (*S.F.J.* 11 (1872), Nr. 1, 16, 18); “De små förvärfskällorna” (*S.F.J.* 11 (1872), Nr. 5, 142-145); “Säfstaholm” (*S.F.J.* 11 (1872), Nr. 7, 216-217); “En liten vrå bland bergen” (*S.F.J.* 14 (1875), Nr. 8, 237, 239); “Vestgöta Lejon” (*S.F.J.* 12 (1873), Nr. 5, 135-138); “Bilder från Europas hufvudstäder. I. Wien” (*S.F.J.* 12 (1873), Nr. 7, 214-216); “Framnäs” (*S.F.J.* 20 (1881), Nr. 9, 268-269), etc.

BIOGRAPHICAL ARGUMENTS

In order to qualify for a Swedish adaptation (“bearbetning”) of *Dracula*, appearing in two variants simultaneously, the translator/editor must have been a skilful author or journalist with a quick pen and experience in translating. Furthermore, if the many new literary, artistic and cultural references in *Mörkrets makter* had been added from the Swedish side, the creator of the adaptation must have possessed a broad background knowledge in many fields. Thirdly, he or she probably was in touch with Harald Sohlman: in the case of *Makt myrkranna* and *Drakula* – the Hungarian translation of *Dracula* – the translation had been created by the Editor-in-Chief himself, and we may suspect that Sohlman personally picked the person who produced *Mörkrets makter* for his newspapers.

In March 2017, I skipped through hundreds of newspaper articles mentioning Sohlman in conjunction with other persons from the artistic, literary or journalistic field. An advertisement in *Kalmar* of 1 May 1899 – just a good month before the serialization of *Mörkrets makter* started in *Dagen* – for a commemorative publication in honour of the 25th anniversary of *Publicistklubben*, the Swedish association of journalists and photographers, listed Sohlman as a contributor, together with Andersson-Edenberg.

Nyss utkommet i alla boklädor :

EKO

Festskrift,
utgifven till
Publicistklubbens
25-årsjubileum.
Pris 1 krona.

Rikt och omvexlande innehåll.
Elegant utstyrsel.
Requisitioner torde insändas till C. & E. Gernandts Förlags Aktiebolag, Stockholm.

Textbidrag af Andersson-Edenberg, J. A. Björklund, A. U. Bååth, Sigrid Elmblad, S. A. Hedlund, G. F. Hedvall, Carl Herslow, Bengt Hägge, Alfred Jensen, Jeremias i Tröstlösa, Aron Jonason, Carl Larsson, Claës Lundin, Georg Nordensvan, Viktor Rydberg, Birger Schöldström, Albert Seberg, Harald Sohlman, Emil Svensén, G. Torelius, Anna Wahlenberg, K. Warburg, Richard Wennerquist, Hugo Victorin, Harald Wieselgren, Henrik Wranér, Fr. Åkerblom, V. E. Öman.

Artistiska bidrag af Viktor Andréén, G. Ankar-crona, Albert Engström, A. Forsberg, N. Kreuger och Carl Larsson.

Porträtt och autografer af klubbens samtliga 38 ordförande, porträtt af klubbens stiftare, af flertal medverkande författare m. fl.

Advertisement in *Kalmar* of 1 May 1899

The latter turned out to be the Secretary of *Publicistklubben* and a co-editor of the *Festskrift*, next to Hugo Victorin.¹⁷ Following this trace back in time, I discovered that Andersson-Edenberg had been a co-founder of *Publicistklubben* in 1874; later, Sohlman also became a prominent member. Both were active in committees formed at the Twelfth Meeting of Swedish Journalists in August 1895;¹⁸ Sohlman was involved in organizing the 13th Meeting of Swedish Journalists in Visby in 1898¹⁹ and in preparing the Fourth International Press Congress in Stockholm in June 1897,²⁰ where he was one of the most important speakers. I concluded that the contact between the two colleagues must have dated back to well before May 1899.

Biographical research showed that Anders Albert Andersson-Edenberg was born on 5 April 1834 in Helgarö församling, Edeby, in Södermanland, west of Stockholm. His parents had seven children, but Erik Albert (*1830), Emma Charlotta (*1832) and Anders (*1832) all died still in the year they were born; Anders Albert thus was the eldest of the surviving siblings. On 17 May 1867, he married Gabriella

17 See the articles “Eko” in *Aftonbladet* of 26 May 1899, 3, and “Eko – Publicistklubbens vackra festskrift” in *Svenska Dagbladet* of 27 May 1899, 2.

18 See the article “Tolfta Publicistmötet,” *Aftonbladet*, 12 August 1895, 2.

19 See the article “Publicistmötet,” *Sundsvalls Tidning*, 20 August 1895, 3.

20 See the article “Sammankomster/Publicistklubben,” *Aftonbladet*, 14 December 1895, 7.

(Gella) Magnus. They had five children: three boys and two girls. The family lived in various parts of Stockholm. Gella died on 25 September 1899, while the *Mörkrets makter* serialization was still running. Their daughter Agnes died of blood poisoning on 26 December 1900.²¹

In 1857, Andersson-Edenberg started out as a teacher at an agricultural school. In 1864, he became Editorial Secretary at *Dagens Nyheter* – the largest Swedish newspaper at that time – and remained in that position till 1873. But already from 1867 on, he began writing contributions for *Svenska Familj-Journalen*; in 1873, he was part of its regular staff;²² in May 1877, he became its Editorial Secretary;²³ from 1883 till 1887, he was the magazine's Editor-in-Chief.

Svenska Familj-Journalen was published by Christian Emanuel Gernandt (1831-1906), who also published *Nordisk familjebok*, the largest Swedish encyclopedia of that time.²⁴ Until 1871, *Svenska Familj-Journalen* was published in Halmstad; later, the seat was in Stockholm. Each issue of the monthly illustrated magazine contained 32 pages,²⁵ with articles about art, literature, history, culture, important personalities, significant buildings, foreign landscapes and cities, ethnological reports, science, new inventions, short stories, poems, and puzzles, etc.²⁶ It addressed an educated and interested audience, and many of the texts are still worth reading today; a number of Andersson-Edenberg's articles are still available as reprints.²⁷

The number of copies climbed from ca. 40,000 in the 1860's to ca. 70,000 in the 1870's, but began to decline in the 1880's. In 1887, *Svenska Familj-Journalen* was merged with the illustrated weekly magazine *Svea*, founded in 1886.²⁸ In the following years, Andersson-Edenberg acted as the Stockholm correspondent for various Swedish, Finnish and Swedish-American newspapers. In 1911, he is listed as a member of the Swedish Press Committee preparing for the 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm.²⁹

Parallel to his work for *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, Andersson-Edenberg acquired the newspaper *Svenska Medborgaren* in November 1873, together with Axel Kjellberg and Hugo Åström,³⁰ and turned it into an organ of the Lantmannapartiet; the young August Strindberg published several essays here in March 1874 under the title "Våra böcker" (Our books).³¹ Andersson-Edenberg kept publishing *Svenska Medborgaren* until he became Editorial Secretary at *Svenska Familj-Journalen* (May 1877); he then he sold his share,³² and his role as Chief Editor was taken over by A. E. Liljestrand.

21 Source: various genealogical records posted on MyHeritage.com (only accessible with subscription).

22 See the announcement "Svenska Familj-Journalen för 1873" in *Göteborgs Handels och Sjöfartstidning* of 19 December 1872, 1. Also in *Kalmar* of 21 December 1872, 5, and *Tidning for Wenersborgs Stad och Län* of 24 December 1872, 1.

23 See Lars Aronsson, "Artikelförfattare," Runeberg.org, 1999, at <http://runeberg.org/famijour/forf.html>. *Dagens Nyheter* of 13 January 1883, 3, and *Göteborgsposten* of 14 February 1883, 4, mention Andersson-Edenberg as "utgivare" (publisher); *Kalmar* of 29 December 1883, 4, mentions him as "redaktör" (Chief Editor).

24 Both Andersson-Edenberg and Gernandt participated in the Meeting of Swedish Journalists in Linköping in July 1876. See "Publicistmötet," *Malmö Allehanda*, 29 July 1876, 2.

25 An exception is the 1882 volume, that had 508 pages of content altogether. The years 1862, 1863, 1865, 1883, 1884, 1886 and 1887 are missing from the materials scanned and published by Runeberg.org.

26 The magazine described itself as "Svensk-historiska samt fosterländska Skildringar och Berättelser ur Naturen och Lifvet, Original-noveller, Skisser och Poemer samt uppsatser i Vetenskap och Konst, m. m."

27 Vervelvind Förlag, <http://www.virvelvind-forlag.se/>, in 454 93 Brastad, Sweden.

28 The combination was named "Svenska Familj-Journalen Svea." Andersson-Edenberg still was responsible for the 1887 volume, then was followed up by Johan Frithiof Hellberg. The weekly magazine was published until the second half of the 1890's. See the post on *Svea* at <http://kb.se/sverigesperiodiskalitteratur/2/2.786.htm>.

29 See Erik Bergvall (ed.) and Edward Adams-Ray (transl.), *The Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912 – Official Report – Issued by the Swedish Olympic Committee* (Stockholm: Wahlström and Widsbrand, 1913), 241.

30 See "Svenska Medborgaren" in *Borås Tidning* of 26 November 1873, 1, and "Landmannapartiets organ" in *Kalmar* of 16 November 1873, 2. Andersson-Edenberg acquired 50%, his partners the other 50%. See also "Svenska Medborgaren" in *Kalmar* of 23 December 1873, 4. *Svenska Medborgaren* appeared twice per week.

31 See Torsten Eklund, "Strindbergs verksamhet som publicist 1869—1880," *Samlaren/Ny följd*. Årgång 11 (1930), 173.

32 See "Svenska Medborgarens" in *Göteborgsposten* of 7 May 1877, 1.

Before *Mellan drabbningarne*, Andersson-Edenberg translated two other plays by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson: *En glad gosse – Skildring ur folklivet* and *Jonas Tvermoses missöden*, using the pseudonym “Erzo.”³³ And as evidenced by his translation “Familjhammaren. Efter amerikanskt original,” he also was able to translate from English.³⁴

Apart from his journalistic and literary work, Andersson-Edenberg’s acted as the auditor of a private initiative collecting money for a new crematory in Stockholm,³⁵ and he read his verses at the funeral of Captain Gauthiod,³⁶ confirming that he had a good reputation and a certain public fame.

We may conclude that by the end of 1898, when *Aftonbladet* announced the upcoming serialization of Stoker’s book,³⁷ Andersson-Edenberg in all respects was a suitable candidate to take on a Swedish *Dracula* adaptation for Harald Sohlman.

ANDERS ALBERT ANDERSSON-EDENBERG AND AUGUST SOHLMAN

I noted that Andersson-Edenberg and the journalist/politician/aesthetician August Sohlman (1824-1874), the father of Harald, both came from the region west of Stockholm. August was born in Svennevad, Nerike, south of Örebro, and went to Latin School in Örebro, then to Grammar School in Strengnäs,³⁸ before leaving for Uppsala University in 1843.³⁹ Anders Albert, ten years younger, was registered as a “seminarist” in Strengnäs for the years 1849-1850; in 1855, he lived in Kumla, close to Nerike; in 1857, he moved to Kil, Örebro, relocating to Axberg, Örebro, in 1858; he was a teacher during these years. Three times, thus, the two men lived, studied or worked at virtually the same places, although at different times.



Örebro, Södermanland and Stockholm

33 See Hjalmar Linnström, *Svenskt Boklexikon*. Åren 1830-1865. Part A—L, (Stockholm: Hjalmar Linnströms Förlag, 1883), 134 and 192.

34 “Familjhammaren. Efter amerikanskt original, af E-g.” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 24 (1885), Nr. 3, 78-79. He also wrote an article about the abolitionist Wendell Phillips, showing that he was familiar with American sources. See “Wendell Phillips. Anderson-Edenberg,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 24 (1885), 213-214.

35 See “Sammankomster – Svenska Likbränningsforeningen,” *Aftonbladet*, 13 March 1900, 4.

36 See “Jordfästning,” *Kalmar*, 30 May 1900, 1.

37 See my article “Sweden’s *Mörkrets Makter*: The Source of Valdimar Ásmundsson’s *Makt Myrkranna?*,” *Children of the Night Congress Bulletin*, 5 March 2017, 2-7.

38 Spelled “Strängnäs” today.

39 See “August Sohlman. -k.,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 5 (1866), Nr. 5, 130-134, and *Nordisk Familjebok*, 1800-talsutgåvan. 15. Socker – Tengström, rubrum “Sohlman,” 29-30.

August Sohlman died in July 1874 during a sailing accident. Due to a sudden storm, the boat sank; Harald Sohlman, 16 years old at that time, managed to swim ashore, while his father and younger brother (9 years old) drowned.⁴⁰ In the month following this tragic event, Andersson-Edenberg published an article about Strengnäs, describing the history of its Grammar School – the school visited by August Sohlman.⁴¹ The latter was not unknown to the readers of *Svenska Familj-Journalen*: Already in 1866, he had been the subject of a biographical article, signed “-k.”⁴² In 1873, a year before his early death, August Sohlman wrote an art-historical essay for *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, about medieval iron-clad church doors.⁴³ This article was preceded by “Svenska Porträtgruppen – Publicister – Första Serien,” signed “-d-,” portraying seven Swedish top journalists, with August Sohlman’s likeness placed at the centre, and again a highly positive description of his work.⁴⁴ Perhaps, August Sohlman, Anders Albert Andersson-Edenberg and *Svenska Familj-Journalen* were connected in more ways than we are aware of right now; in this case, Harald Sohlman may have “inherited” his contact with Andersson-Edenberg from his father. This issue would need further research, though.

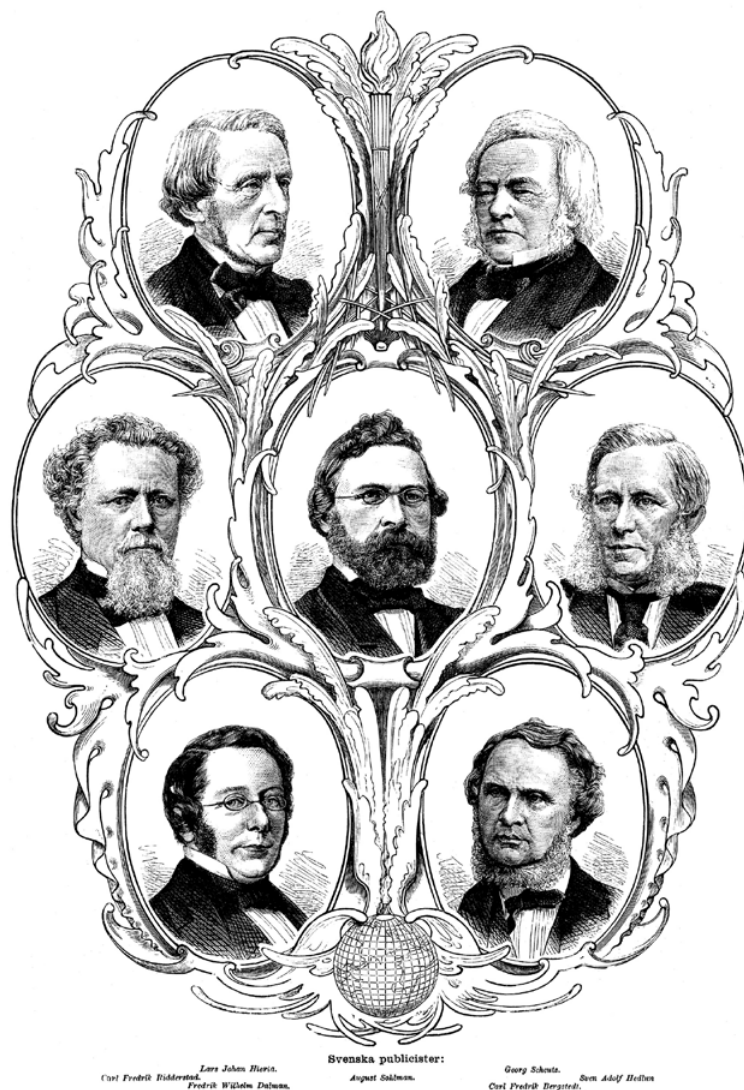


Illustration from “Svenska Porträtgruppen – Publicister – Första Serien,” with August Sohlman at the center.

40 See “August Sohlman †,” *Dagens Nyheter*, 7 July 1874, 1.

41 See “Strengnäs och Tynnelsö. Anderson-Edenberg,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 13, 1874, Nr. 8, 243-246.

42 “August Sohlman. -k.,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 5 (1866), Nr. 5, 130-134.

43 “Konsthistoriskt. Jernarbeten från svenska medeltiden,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 12 (1873), Nr. 1, 19, 20, 22.

44 “Svenska Porträtgruppen – Publicister – Första Serien,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 12 (1873), Nr. 1, 15-19.

PARALLELS BETWEEN SVENSKA FAMILJ-JOURNALEN AND MÖRKRETS MAKTER

I noted that in *Mörkrets makter*, almost every door Harker saw in Castle Dracula was described as reinforced or decorated with iron – just like the old church doors described by August Sohlman. Of course, in an old castle, such doors are to be expected – as noted by Berghorn in his critique of my theory.⁴⁵ Still, I wondered why this detail was emphasized for every single door. Intrigued, I decided to skip through the content of *Svenska Familj-Journalen*. Although I did not examine all of the 10,000+ pages of the magazine, I found a number of intriguing parallels. In chronological order, from 1867 on:

1867 and further:

Flower metaphor: As far as I know, Bram Stoker never used flowers in a metaphorical sense; in *Dracula*, garlic flowers are merely used as a medicine to keep the vampire at a distance.⁴⁶ Although the Victorians developed their own “secret language of flowers” and poems featuring flowers were not unusual in their time,⁴⁷ Stoker never engaged in such verse, as far as I could check.

In *Mörkrets makter*, by contrast, Harker compares the blonde girl’s head to a “flower on a stem.” On the way to the Borgo Pass, Harker notes the many flowers; the air around Castle Dracula is heavy with honeysuckle, and when the vampire girl embraces the young lawyer, he feels numbed by the flowery scent. The room where Lucy’s coffin is waiting for the funeral is filled with flowers, just like the salon at Carfax where Dr. Seward attends an evening party.

In *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, we not only find many botanical articles on flowers, but also several lyrical poems using the flower as a metaphor for nature or for an enchanting maiden. An article from 1867, signed “Svante,” sings the praise of flowers as the most beautiful form in nature;⁴⁸ an unsigned article is dedicated to likening woman to a flower, while male energy is compared to the sun’s rays.⁴⁹ A specific mentioning of the flower that blossoms in summer, withers in winter while spring is on its way to regenerate nature again (a metaphor used by the Count while explaining the laws of life and love to Harker) can be found in Andersson-Edenberg’s 1872 story “The Last Journey.”⁵⁰ In this nostalgic narration, we also find the notion that nature likes to vary and squander, granting superior talents to one individual while denying them to another – a further key element from the Count’s monologue.

1868: Tatra Mountains: In *Mörkrets makter*, the driver of the calèche warns Harker for wolves, coming from the Tatra Mountrains. *Dracula* contains no such reference, and I wondered why it had been added to the Swedish version. In *Svenska Familj-Journalen* of 1868, however, we find an article titled “The High Tatra and the Population in this Region.”⁵¹ An author or editor who already is familiar with the Tatra Mountains is much more likely to insert a seemingly random reference to this region than a writer who has never dealt with this topic. This also applies to all of the following examples.

45 See Berghorn’s introduction to the Swedish reprint of *Mörkrets makter* (Landsbro: Aleph Bokförlag, 2017). The English translation “Dracula’s Way to Sweden: A Unique Version of Stoker’s Novel” can be read in the online magazine *Weird Webzine – Fantastik & Verklighet*, <http://weirdwebzine.com/draculitz.html>. First accessed on 15 November 2017.

46 In Stoker’s short story *Bengal Roses* (1898), the flowers play no metaphorical role either.

47 E.g. Alfred Lord Tennyson, “The Flower”; Algernon Charles Swinburne, “A Flower-Piece By Fantin”; Samuel Taylor Coleridge, “The Faded Flower”; Robert Louis Stevenson, “Flower God, God Of The Spring”; Oscar Wilde, “Flower of Love.”

48 ‘Svante,’ “Blommor,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 6 (1867), 113-114.

49 “Ur Qvinnans Lif. Förvandskapen med Blommorna,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 6 (1867), 227-228.

50 “Sista resan,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 11 (1872), 360-363.

51 Höga Tatra och befolkningen i dess grannskap,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 7 (1868), Nr. 3, 74-77. The second part (Nr. 5, 138-140) contains a detailed description of the local Slovak population and their costumes – a topic also occurring in *Mörkrets makter*, with details which were not described in *Dracula*.

1869: Gold rules the world: In the unsigned short story “Present Day’s Alchemy,” a group of students and their professor pick “gold” as a discussion topic and present twenty aphorisms about this precious metal.⁵² The professor himself then comes up with the phrases that “gold rules the world” and that it “is the treasure of the earth but the curse (“devil”) of mankind.” In Bram Stoker’s collected works, I never found this kind of critical observation; in *Dracula*, the “Crew of Light” takes the power of money for granted and is happy to have Arthur’s and Quincey’s wealth at their disposal to bribe workmen and officials, and finance their costly continental chase after the Count. Therefore, I suspect that the Count’s statement that only with gold, man can rule the world – an idea that pushes him into a trance-like state in which he claws with his fingers like an animal with its claws⁵³ – is due to Swedish input.

1872: Love rules the world: In *Dracula*, neither Harker nor the Count are interested in women for their sheer beauty or erotic attraction. For the Count, they are merely a means to taste blood, exercise power and have his revenge, while Harker only loves Mina, in an almost chaste way, and is disgusted by the three vampire women after their first thrilling encounter. In the Swedish version, however, the Count is a real libertine, having English magazines with pictures of attractive women sent to him in Transylvania for his pleasure, while Harker feels continuously drawn to the blonde girl. In his dialogue with Harker, the Count states that his guest will sooner or later learn that it is love that makes the world turn round. This matches a phrase from a poem published in *Svenska Familj-Journalen* in May 1872, in which Amor is mentioned as the absolute ruler of the world.⁵⁴



Flickan och Amors-statyn.

Ser ni flickan der — man kan just skratta! —
 Vid en Amors-bild? Kan den hon fatta —
 Hon, som säkert aldrig varit kär?
 Må så vara! . . . men ni märker genast,
 Att hon ej i drömmar står allenast:
 Drömmar ock, hvad marmorn innebär.

Ty hvad var väl Amor? — vill jag fråga —
 Hade romantikens varma låga
 Tändts af honom? Var hans svärmeri

Vid en *Frejas* trohets glöd med rätta
 Att förlitna? Nej! . . . ty af allt detta
 Knappt ett spår i sagan finna vi.

Trolös, flyktig, skildras han af myten,
 Svärmisk, skälmsk, med tusen andra lyten —
 Böjd för list och yppighet och fiärd;
 Men hos alla Amor *kärlek* väckte
 Till det sköna — och sitt välde sträckte
 Han som “Allbeherrskarn” kring en verld!

First part of “Flickan och Amor-statyn,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 11 (1872), Nr. 5, 154.

Von Weber’s romantic operas: In *Dracula*, music plays no role whatsoever.⁵⁵ In *Mörkrets makter*, by contrast, the sacrificial ceremonies in the basement are accompanied by the rhythm of drums and trumpets; near Budapest, Vilma watches young people dancing to Gypsy music. When Harker feels that he cannot get away from the blonde girl, he refers to the opera “Tannhäuser” by Richard Wagner (1845), about the knight who was held captive by Venus herself. Furthermore, Harker compares his situation on his adventurous way to Castle Dracula with a scene from *Der Freischütz* by Carl Maria von Weber (1776-1826), while in the Whitby section of the *Dagen* version, Vilma (Mina) compares the Gypsy clan to a group of singers from *Preciosa*, another romantic opera by Von Weber. *Svenska Familj-Journalen* discussed both works in an extensive article about Carl Maria von Weber in November 1872.⁵⁶

52 “Våra dagars guldmakeri,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 8, (1869), Nr. 6, 170-174.

53 *Mörkrets makter*, *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga*, 43-44.

54 “Flickan och Amor-statyn,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 11 (1872), Nr. 5, 154. The poem is signed “Ebbe,” a signature also used for the poems “I balsalen,” *S.F.J.* 11 (1872), Nr. 2, 61-62; “Till solen,” *S.F.J.* 11 (1872), Nr. 3, 83; “Mina flammor,” *S.F.J.* 11 (1872), Nr. 8, 231; “Dikt och verklighet,” *S.F.J.* 12 (1873), Nr. 6, 175-176. With some fantasy, one might understand “Ebbe” as a pseudonym for Edenberg, or for Wilhelm Berg, who also contributed to the 1872 volume.

55 The only exception may be the comparison of the vampire women’s voice to “the intolerable, tingling sweetness of waterglasses when played on by a cunning hand.”

56 “Carl Maria von Weber,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 11 (1872), Nr. 7, 207-210. This article was signed “W. B.,” perhaps Wilhelm Berg, who also wrote “Ur hexeriprocessernas historia,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 11 (1872), Nr. 8, 231-233.

1873: Sleeping Beauty: In *Mörkrets makter*, Harker – while wandering through the deserted rooms and hallways – feels “som prinsen i det förtrollade slottet,”⁵⁷ thus comparing himself to the prince tip-toeing through Sleeping Beauty’s enchanted castle: in *Svenska Familj-Journalen* we find a Swedish translation of this fairy tale by Charles Perrault (1628-1703), in four parts.⁵⁸ By contrast, Stoker never referred to fairy tales in his work, as far as I know.



Illustration of “Den sovande prinsessan...” by Gustave Doré.

1873: Robinson Crusoe: In *Mörkrets makter*, the name “Robinson” appears several times. Harker comments on the Count’s inclination to praise his own appearance as that of a “real Dracula” and states that almost everyone is proud of certain features, as long as they are understood as “typical” for the family – even if they are not flattering *per se*. As an example, he points to Man Friday from *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), who is happy to have “the eyes of a Robinson.”⁵⁹ Furthermore, the extended version in Part II uses the name “Robinson” in the conversations with Mr. Swales and assigns the name “Elise Bobinson” (perhaps a typographical error, or a rhyme) to Lucy’s housemaid.⁶⁰ In *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, Andersson-Edenberg published both on Defoe’s famous book *and* on the life of Defoe himself.⁶¹

57 *Mörkrets makter*, *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* serialization, 72.

58 “Den sovande prinsessan i den förtrollade skoge,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 12 (1873), Nr. 1, 14-16; Nr. 3, 86, 88; Nr. 4, 111-112; Nr. 6, 169, 171-172). The magazine also published an extensive article on Fairy Tales: “Folksagans vandringar,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 15 (1876), Nr. 11, 321-324.

59 “... de Robinsonska ögonen.” *Mörkrets makter*, *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* version, 73. I could not find this detail back in the text of *Robinson Crusoe*.

60 The name “Bobinson” actually occurs in the UK, the USA, Canada, on Barbados and in New Zealand, but the similarity to “Robinson” caught my attention.

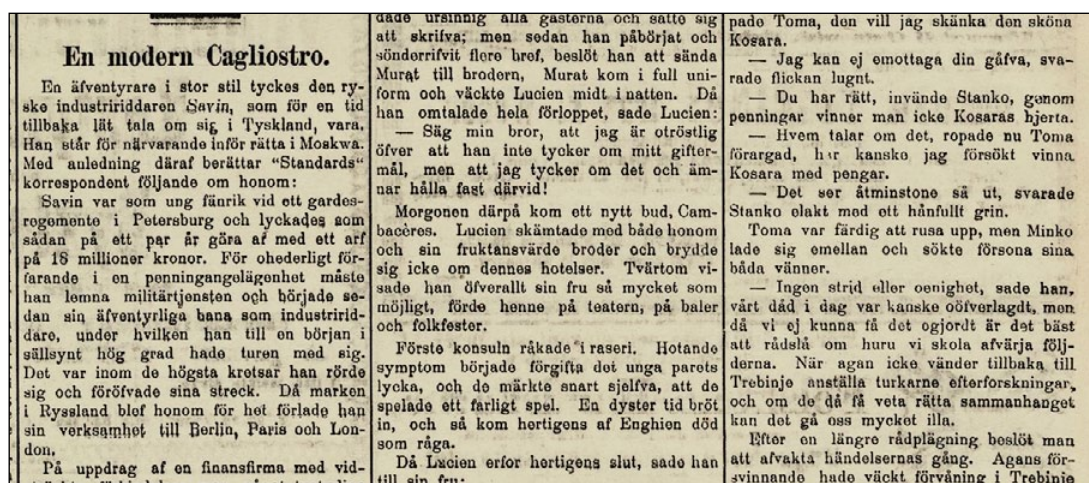
61 “Robinsons ö,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 12 (1873), Nr. 1, 39-40, and “Robinson Crusoes författare. Anderson-Edenberg,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 19 (1880), Nr. 6, 68-170.

When *Mörkrets makter* was created, *Robinson Crusoe* was the best-published and most-translated book of the era, with hundreds of variants and spin-offs: all educated Swedish authors of the late 19th century must have known it. But like in the case of the Tatra Mountains, the reference to Crusoe seems rather random in the context in which Harker uses it; Bram Stoker never employed it in any of his books, although he certainly was as familiar with the story as any of his Swedish colleagues. If the reference comes from the Swedish side, Andersson-Edenberg certainly is a more likely candidate than any Swedish colleagues who never actively wrote about Defoe and his work.

1876: Valkyrie from the Bavarian Highlands: In the extended *Dagen* version, Vilma (Mina) describes two of the nurses in the nunnery's hospital as "true Valkyries from the Bavarian highlands."⁶² Fittingly, *Svenska Familj-Journalen* of 1876 contains an illustrated article, signed "-x," about the Walhalla Temple near Donaustauf, Bavaria, 420 meters above sea level, with its 14 Valkyrie statues supporting the roof as caryatides, and a poem titled "Valkyrian," signed "-ed-."⁶³

1879: Vampire sucking the blood of an entire city or region: In the article "Snapphanarne" by Herm. H-g. in *Svenska Familj-Journalen* of 1879, we read: "Many memories have been preserved from this time, when the war in its direst shape was sucking Scania's heart blood like a poisonous vampire."⁶⁴ This more or less matches Harker's statement about the London fog, acting "like a terrible vampire, sucking the power and the life-juice from the people, poisoning the children's blood and lungs, bringing endless diseases."

1882: Cagliostro: At the end of *Mörkrets makter*, Marquis Caroman Rubiano (an alias for Count Dracula) is described as "a modern Cagliostro." Just like the fictitious Robinson Crusoe, the alchemist, free-mason and self-styled physician Count Alessandro di Cagliostro (1743-1795) was a well-known character in the 19th century. Starting in 1846, Alexandre Dumas wrote a serialized novel about him; one of the parts dealt with Cagliostro's involvement in the infamous diamond necklace scandal, which nearly ruined the French royal finances.⁶⁵ These novels were also for sale in Stockholm in book form. Johann Strauss II wrote an operetta titled *Cagliostro* (1875), and a *Waltz*. In *Göteborgs Aftonblad* of 28 November 1891, we even find a story with the title "A Modern Cagliostro." Just like Stoker himself, Andersson-Edenberg thus had ample opportunity to learn about Cagliostro. Maybe needless to point out that *Svenska Familj-Journalen* published an extensive article on Cagliostro in 1882.⁶⁶



"En modern Cagliostro," in *Göteborgs Aftonblad* of 28 November 1891, page 2.

62 *Mörkrets makter*, *Dagen* serialization, 434.

63 "Walhalla i Bayern" and "Valkyrian. -ed-," *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 15 (1876), Nr. 6, 169, and Nr. 10, 312 respectively.

64 "Många minnen har häfden bevarat från denna tid, då kriget i sin gräsligaste gestalt, likt en giftig vampyr, sög de skånska landskapens hjerteblod." See "Snapphanarne. Herm. H-g.," *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 18 (1879), Nr. 6, 173-175.

65 In *Mörkrets makter*, diamond necklaces play a major role.

66 "Cagliostro," *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 21 (1882), Nr. 11, 433-434.

1882: Luise zu Stolberg-Gedern and Josephine de Beauharnais: In *Mörkrets makter*, the Count presents a fascinating narrative about his first cousin, a beautiful Countess who betrayed her jealous husband and was locked up in a tower room together with her young lover. As argued in my annotation to *Powers of Darkness*, this story may have been based on the life of Josephine de Beauharnais, who betrayed Napoleon I with a young hussar, Hippolyte Charles.

In 1882, Andersson-Edenberg wrote an article about Luise zu Stolberg-Gedern (1752-1824), Countess of Albany, and her friendship with Josephine de Beauharnais (1763-1814), under the title “The Queen of the Salon.”⁶⁷ Luise had married Carl Eduard Stuart (1720-1788), whose father in vain claimed the English throne. In 1778, Luise started an affair with the poet Count Vittorio Alfieri and later left her husband, claiming that he had beaten her; in Paris, she established a famous salon. We may assume that Andersson-Edenberg was familiar with both Luise’s and Josephine’s biographies, their secret affairs and their strained marriages. An intriguing detail is that in *Markrets makter*, the dark-eyed Countess Ida Varkony is described as leading the conversation in her salon “proud like a queen.”

Continuing elements:

Portrait gallery: Although Stoker in 1874 was a co-founder of the Dublin Sketching Club,⁶⁸ drawings and paintings do not play any role in *Dracula*.⁶⁹ Already on the first page of *Mörkrets makter*, however, Harker wishes to have been trained as a draughtsman, in order to make convincing sketches of the folk scenes he has a chance to observe.⁷⁰ The concept of adding a portrait gallery to Castle Dracula, allowing the Count to introduce his family members to Harker, may have been inspired by the article series “Ett fosterländskt Bildergalleri,” appearing in *Svenska Familj-Journalen* from 1869 on, continuing till 1885 at least,⁷¹ with well over 100 installments.⁷² Of course, it did not describe the family of one Count Dracula in the Carpathians, but persons of interest in Swedish culture and history. Bram Stoker never saw a necessity to introduce the Count’s relatives by means of painted portraits and background stories. The fact that Andersson-Edenberg was the Chief Editor of – and contributor to – an illustrated series of personality portraits may have inspired him to add a portrait gallery to the Count’s castle.⁷³

Ethnography: Although Stoker included colored people in *The Mystery of the Sea* and in *The Lair of the White Worm*, portraying them as despicable low-lives, he never described them as a tribe or within the context of their native culture. In its description of the dark-skinned adepts of the Count, *Mörkrets makter* specifically compares them to Bushmen, Papuas, Fuegians and “Tschutscher” (Chuckchi people). Already in 1867 – the year that Andersson-Edenberg started writing for *Svenska Familj-Journalen* – the magazine featured an article praising the Museum of Ethnography in Copenhagen and its display of artefacts from Bushmen and Kaffir culture.⁷⁴ Over the 26 years of its existence, *Svenska Familj-Journalen* featured numerous illustrated ethnographical studies. Perhaps, the description of the Count’s primitive horde drew on such reports.

67 “En salongens drottning,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 21 (1882), Nr. 12, 482.

68 See <http://dublinpaintingandsketchingclub.ie/history/>.

69 The idea that the Count was fascinated by a miniature portrait of his visitor’s fiancée first turned up in Wilhelm Murnau’s *Nosferatu - Symphonie des Schreckens* (1922) and was copied by Francis F. Coppola in his *Bram Stoker’s Dracula* (1992).

70 *Mörkrets makter*, *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* serialization, 4.

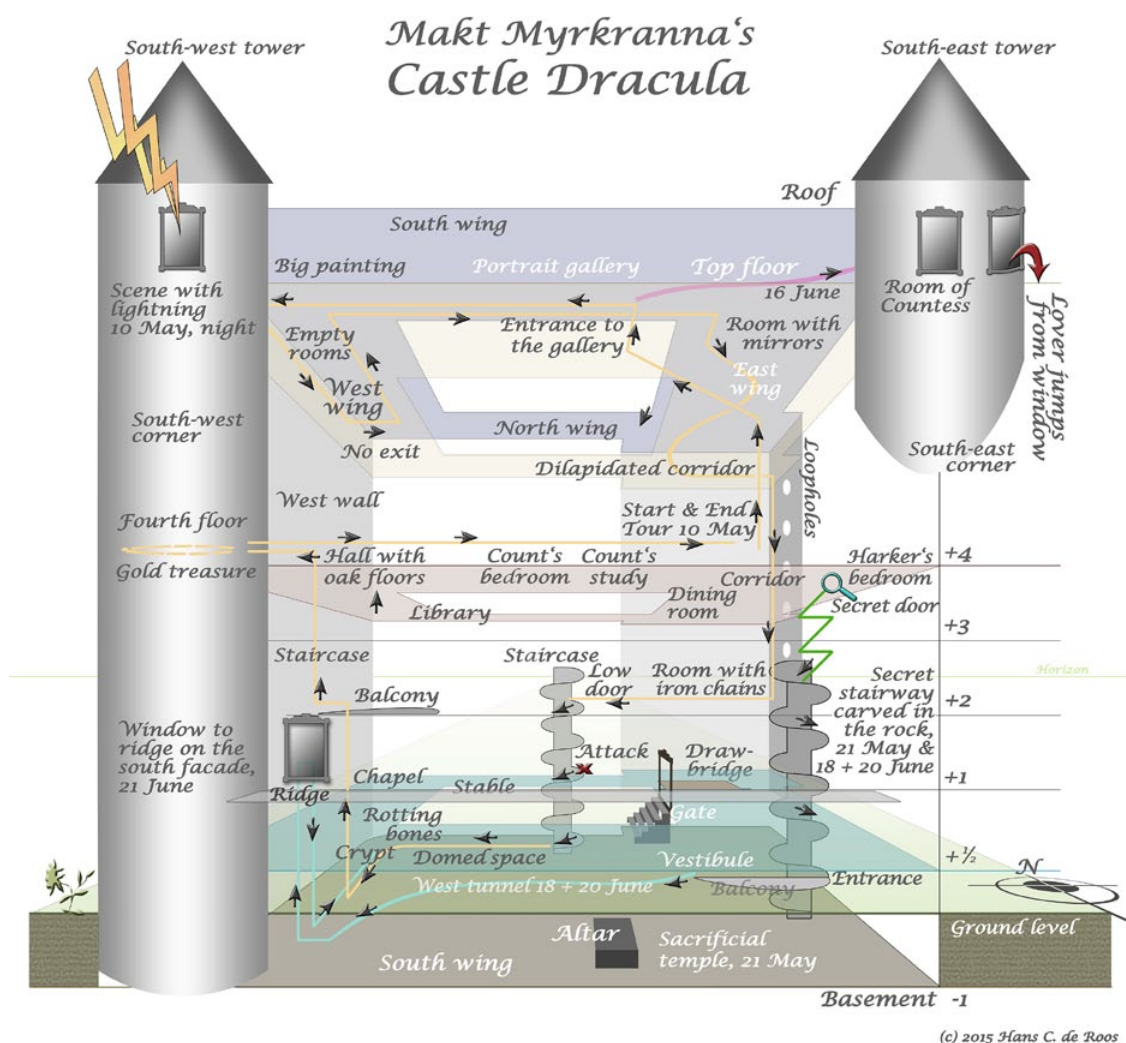
71 For the last two years, 1886 and 1887, Runeberg.org offers no scanned materials.

72 For the years 1864-1868, *Svenska Familj-Journalen* featured a similar series, “Historiska Bilder.”

73 An example of Andersson-Edenberg’s contributions: “Ett fosterländskt Bildergalleri. CXV. Olof Immanuel Fähræus, af A.-E.,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 24 (1885), Nr. 11, 335-336.

74 Claës Johan Ljungström, “Några dagar i Köpenhamn. Reseminnen – Husaby,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 6 (1867), Nr. 8, 236.

Old castles and ruins: While studying *Makt myrkranna* and *Mörkrets makter*, I noticed that the description of Dracula's castle was more extensive and precise than in Stoker's book. Instead of climbing the outside walls of the building to get to the Count's room, Harker starts out on an elaborate expedition through the castle's interior and discovers floors and rooms not described in *Dracula*. Moreover, his notes add up to a logical whole, which allowed me to create a consistent three-dimensional architectural sketch of Castle Dracula.⁷⁵ It did not take long to discover that *Svenska Familj-Journalen* contained numerous article about old castles, ruins and churches, some of them authored by Andersson-Edenberg himself, such as "Ett gammalt herregods i modern drägt,"⁷⁶ "Stjernarps ruin,"⁷⁷ "Säfstaholm,"⁷⁸ "Vikingabol och konungaborg,"⁷⁹ and "Klara kyrka in Stockholm."⁸⁰ An author who is used to explaining the lay-out of such large, complex old buildings to his readers is more likely to care for completeness and consistency than the average fiction writer.



Reconstruction of the lay-out of Castle Dracula, based on the text of *Makt myrkranna*.

75 See my essay "A Room with a View" in *Powers of Darkness*.

76 "Ett gammalt herregods i modern drägt. E-g," *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 11 (1872), Nr. 5, 145-146.

77 "Stjernarps ruin. Af E-g," *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 11 (1872), Nr. 6, 184-85

78 "Säfstaholm. Af A.-E.," *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 11 (1872), Nr. 7, 216-217.

79 "Vikingabol och konungaborg. A.-E. (med sex illustrationer af C. S. Hallbeck)," *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 17 (1878), 145-150. This article is still available as a mini-book under the title "Borgholms slottsruin" (Vervelvind Förlag).

80 "Klara kyrka in Stockholm," *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 24 (1885), Nr. 10, 300-301.

OCCAM'S RAZOR

It is obvious that Stoker – or any Swedish colleague of Andersson-Edenberg – may have come across the same sorts of information, and that it is possible that all mentioned parallels are the result of sheer coincidence. So far, I have merely demonstrated a statistical probability, no absolute proof. But as stated before, an author, editorial secretary or editor who already actively dealt with such diverse topics as the Tatra Mountains, *Sleeping Beauty*, the psycho-social qualities of gold, *Robinson Crusoe*, ethnographic descriptions, old castles and ruins, etc., is far more likely to use them as a stop-gap reference in his later writing than a writer who merely may have read about them in a publication he has no special ties to.

The reference to two of Von Weber's romantic operas from the year 1821 is intriguing; when *Mörkrets makter* was serialized, this genre – that also included Wagner's *Tannhäuser* (1845) – did not represent the newest trend anymore. We could compare it to a situation in which a present-day writer in his new book would refer to three American musicals from the 1940's or 1950's: we would suspect a specific personal taste or expertise that might have its roots in the author's biography.

The flower metaphor in “Sista resan” and the story's notion that nature squanders and varies and distributes its gifts unevenly are even more significant, as they originate from a text Andersson-Edenberg wrote himself. He certainly not was the only Swedish author of that period who worded such ideas, but in combination with the other criteria (acronym with “A” and “E,” contact with Harald Sohlman, translation experience), it definitely narrows down the choice.

The occurrence of “Valkyries from the Bavarian Highlands” in my eyes is the most significant example. I have lived in Munich, the capital of Bavaria, for more than 30 years, and never heard about these Valkyrie statues, although I knew about the Walhalla building. In order for a writer to come up with this highly specific comparison, the image must have a personal meaning to him.

Like most texts appearing in *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, the Walhalla article (1876) was written under a pseudonym, and “-x” is not among the acronyms already known for Andersson-Edenberg. There are some clues, however, that point in his direction:

- Already in 1873, Andersson-Edenberg published a description of Vienna at the banks of the Danube, signed “A.-E.”⁸¹
- In 1874, he contributed “Hungarian Circumstances,” signed “E-g,” describing how the Hungarians established their nation in the valley of the Danube, “one of Europe's most important traffic ways.”⁸²
- The poem “Valkyrian” (1876) praises the likeness of the Valkyries as created by artist's hand and wishes that their spirit of courage may lead us to “higher battles” – but not to war itself. These lines may have been inspired by the Valkyrie statues in the Walhalla Temple in Donaustauf, dedicated to Art and Science. As the poem is signed “-ed-,” it seems plausible that it was created by Andersson-Edenberg; the Walhalla article, published four months earlier, may have been written by him as well.
- In 1879, *Svenska Familj-Journalen* published “From Linz to Vienna,”⁸³ signed “Anderson-Edenberg.” It describes the country along the Danube, “its banks bordered by a host of towns, monasteries, churches, castles, vineyards, myth-shrouded ruins, public amenities, villages and shifting scenes of splendid nature.”

81 “Bilder från Europas hufvudstäder. I. Wien,” (*Svenska Familj-Journalen* 12 (1873), Nr. 7, 214-216).

82 “Ungerska förhållanden. E-g,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 13 (1874), Nr. 1, 15-18.

83 “Från Linz till Wien. Anderson-Edenberg,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 18 (1879), Nr. 2, 40-42.

- In 1882, another article about the Danube appeared, in two parts. “A boat trip along the Danube,” signed “*,” tells the story of “Europe’s second-longest river after the Wolga.”⁸⁴ Partly written as a travel report in first person plural, it portrays the Danube from its origins in the German Black Forest to the delta in Romania where it flows into the Black Sea. In condensed form, it also describes the Walhalla Temple in Donaustauf again, referring to the 1876 article. And again, it stresses that the Danube is “the largest and most convenient transport way of world trade.”
- That Andersson-Edenberg personally had been in Austria is confirmed by his 1882 poem “The Castle by the Lake” with his romantic memories of Lake Traunsee in Styria, south of Linz.⁸⁵

The simplest scenario would be that Andersson-Edenberg was the magazine’s expert on the landscapes and cities along the Danube, and that he wrote *all* of the abovementioned texts, including the 1876 and 1882 articles mentioning the Walhalla Temple, signed “-x” and “*” respectively: these signatures are rather wildcards than actual acronyms and seem to point to an author who sees no need to be identified – possibly because his name is all over the magazine already; this would match Andersson-Edenberg’s position at *Svenska Familj-Journalen*. Within the context of my theories, the assumption that Andersson-Edenberg had personally visited the Walhalla Temple in Donaustauf would offer an elegant explanation for the appearance of a pair of “Valkyries from the Bavarian highlands” in *Mörkrets makter*.⁸⁶

Of course, one could think of other, more complex scenarios telling us how *Mörkrets makter* came to liken pious Transylvanian nuns to Nordic war goddesses from a strictly catholic region⁸⁷ – where Nordic war goddesses are rather rare.⁸⁸ But according to Occam’s Razor, when several theories are competing, one should pursue the hypothesis requiring the smallest amount of ad-hoc assumptions. As Berghorn has not seriously proposed another candidate yet,⁸⁹ there are no alternative theories to be discussed now anyway. In the meantime, this peculiar Valkyrie comparison, together with the other listed congruities, in my eyes seems to point to Andersson-Edenberg, like fingerprints left on a crime scene. I welcome any other proposal, though, that might take this research further.

84 “En Donaufärd,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 21 (1882), Nr. 11, 447-451, and Nr. 12, 483-486.

85 “Slottet vid sjön. Poem af A.-E.,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 21 (1882), Nr. 3, 115. This poem uses the first person singular, stating that the author – the traveling foreigner – never will forget the lovely impression of the Traunsee Lake.

86 If Andersson-Edenberg also wrote “A boat trip along the Danube” (1882), this might give us an explanation for a further congruence. In *Mörkrets makter*, Harker describes the Hungarian plains as monotonous (“enformiga ungerska slättlandet” – see the *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* version, 1.) The same adjective is used in the 1882 article to describe the Hungarian landscape south of Budapest (“enformiga landskapet,” 484). In *Dracula*, the Hungarian countryside is not described at all.

87 In the 1882 article about the Danube, Part I, 450, the author stated that Bavaria competed with Spain for the honor of being the most catholic country in the world.

88 The only other significant Valkyrie from Bavaria that comes to my mind is the “Valkyrie” opera by Richard Wagner, that premiered in Munich in June 1870 and was shown in Bayreuth in 1876 as part of the “Ring der Nibelungen” cycle. If “A-e” would have wished to refer to Wagner’s work, however, he surely would have mentioned the opera or the “Ring” cycle, like in the case of Von Weber’s “Der Freischütz” and “Preciosa,” and Wagner’s “Tannhäuser,” instead of referring to the qualities of the local terrain as discussed in the Walhalla and Danube articles.

89 As other authors using “A-e” or similar acronyms, Berghorn mentions Algot Agelborg (born in 1894 and thus too young to have worked on *Mörkrets makter*), Birger Landén (1846-1927), Albert Engström (1869-1940) and Daniel Bergman (1869-1932), but apparently, he does not believe any of them to be a better candidate than Andersson-Edenberg. See Berghorn’s introduction to the Swedish reprint of *Mörkrets makter* (Landsbro: Aleph Bokförlag, 2017).



D. LAUGELLOT.

Rose.

Interiör af Walhalla-templet.

Illustration of "Walhalla i Bayern," *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 15 (1876), Nr. 6, 169.
As caryatides carrying the roof structure, we see 14 statues of Valkyries, as described in the article.
The Valkyries appear in pairs, just like the two powerful nuns described by Vilma in *Mörkrets makter*.

WHAT WAS STOKER'S ROLE IN THE CREATION AND PUBLICATION OF MÖRKRETS MAKTER?

Having determined a number of elements that may have been added by “A-e” instead of by Bram Stoker, the question remains to what extent the author of *Dracula* was personally involved in the creation and publication of *Mörkrets makter*.

In his introduction to the Swedish reprint of the *Dagen* serialization, Berghorn suggests that Anne Charlotte Leffler (1849-92) and her brother, Gösta (Gustaf) Mittag-Leffler (1846-1927) may have established a link between Stoker and *Aftonbladet*; they were in touch with some of Bram's siblings, and Anne must have seen Irving's version of *Much Ado About Nothing* at the Lyceum Theatre in London. What Berghorn presents as a “strong working hypothesis,” though, reminds me of my own attempts to find a connection between Stoker and *Fjallkonan*: although multiple scenarios appear possible, and – to a certain extent – even plausible, a final proof eludes us, and the argumentation ultimately leans on the desperate assumption that Stoker *must* have met this or that person and *must* have discussed this or that topic with him.

If we look at authorial clues in the Swedish text itself, all questions I already worded with respect to *Makt myrkranna* present themselves again in relation to *Mörkrets makter*: the parallels between Stoker's early notes and the Swedish plot; the names of the new characters, and the hints in the preface: the reference to the Thames Torso Murders (London, 1887-1889), the suggestion that the Van Helsing character is based on a well known personality, appearing under a pseudonym, and the *Hamlet* quote.⁹⁰

Generally, I believe that Andersson-Edenberg had a broader literary ambition than Valdimar Ásmundsson, and probably a broader background knowledge as well. But the chance that the Swedish editor happened to have read the Stoker interview in *The British Weekly* of 1 July 1897, equally suggesting that Van Helsing was a famous person appearing under a pseudonym, seems only marginally better than the chance that this interview had been read by Ásmundsson. As for the Thames Torso Murders, in the Swedish press of the 1880's, I could find only four – very similar – articles mentioning that human limbs had been found



The Thames Torso Murders were widely covered in the British press, but not in Swedish newspapers.

⁹⁰ For a more detailed analysis, see my Introduction to *Powers of Darkness*, 2017.

in the Thames: *Göteborgsposten* and *Svenska Dagbladet* of 16 September and *Upsala* of 17 September and 11 October 1888 mention the Rainhaim and Whitehall incidents within their reports on the Ripper Murders. None of these articles defines these homicides as a separate crime series, to be distinguished from the other Ripper Murders, however. Of course, the Swedish translator/editor could have drawn his knowledge from English newspapers directly, but still the question remains, why he would include a hint to this specific murder series in the preface if his readers could not know what it was pointing at. On the other hand, readers *not* familiar with the Thames Mysteries still are able to follow the text of the Swedish preface and of the Count's conversation with Harker about female corpses found drifting in the Thames, even if they cannot grasp the historical context. And the idea of setting Van Helsing apart from the other characters by typifying him as a famous person in disguise partly has its roots in *Dracula* itself, portraying the Dutch professor as a person of superior intellect, reputation and authority. The *Hamlet* quote, finally, certainly was known to an author as educated as Andersson-Edenberg.

While studying and discussing *Makt myrkranna*, I was convinced that the Icelandic preface was not fabricated by Ásmundsson alone; a linguistic analysis showed that it was atypical of his style and contained newly invented Icelandic equivalents for foreign expressions, as demanded by Icelandic language purism.⁹¹ Today, we know that Valdimar translated a Swedish text. This fact, in combination with the great number of elements in *Mörkrets makter* that seem to have flown from Andersson-Edenberg's pen, not from Stoker's, has changed the game fundamentally: perhaps, the author of *Dracula* was not involved at all. It is hard to imagine that Stoker, who pleaded for censorship of erotic language in fiction and stage plays,⁹² would approve of the suggestive semi-nude scenes featured in the Swedish version,⁹³ or would even allow Dr. Seward to kiss Lucy on the lips during the hallucinatory evening party at Carfax.



Illustration from *Mörkrets makter*, depicting a scene in the secret temple underneath Castle Dracula.

91 In January–February 2016, I discussed this issue with Ásgeir Jónsson (the editor of the third Icelandic edition) and a series of translation experts from Icelandic universities and language research institutes; all of them agreed that the preface rather looked like a translation than like a text originally written in Icelandic.

92 See Bram Stoker, “The Censorship of Fiction,” *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Vol. 64 (1908), September issue : 479-87, and “The Censorship of Stage Plays,” *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Vol. 65 (1909), December issue.

93 In the Swedish version, the scene of the barely-clad girl wrestling with the ape-like brutes in the secret temple is more dramatically described, compared to *Makt myrkranna*. Moreover, it is illustrated by a drawing (see above).

As early as summer 1895, *Publicistklubben* discussed the possibility of Sweden joining the Berne Convention, and concluded that such a ratification was not desirable for the moment.⁹⁴ Sweden co-signed the Convention only nine years later, in 1904, *after* the serialization of *Mörkrets makter*.⁹⁵ We may doubt that in 1899, Harald Sohlman felt an obligation to respect Stoker's intellectual property rights; he may have copied Jenő Rákosi's idea to serialize *Dracula*,⁹⁶ and possibly, "A-e" worked from the *Dracula* serialization appearing in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*, instead of from the original Constable book.⁹⁷ The Swedish adaptation of *Dracula* thus remains a conundrum, with multiple clues suggesting that Stoker contributed to it personally, provided an early draft, or at least gave his permission to the serialization, while other, equally powerful arguments point to a pirated version released without his knowledge.

Interested scholars are invited to build their own opinion, based on the materials presented here; further research on the matter will be necessary, though, in order to reach more definitive conclusions. For the time being, it would not be correct to advertise *Mörkrets makter* as a lost Stoker masterpiece, as a missing link between the early notes and the final 1897 *Dracula*, or as an erotic *Dracula* variant that Stoker could not publish in the prudish U.K. and therefore brought to Sweden: too strong are the deviations from Stoker's own style and too many are the new references, character layers and plot turns seemingly added by Andersson-Edenberg or one of his Swedish colleagues. Whatever the truth may be, both of the Swedish variants can be enjoyed in their own right, filling in some of the dark spots left in the Icelandic edition.

Hans Corneel de Roos
Bantayan Island
24 March 2018

94 See "Litterära aganderätten," *Nerikes Allehanda*, 1 June 1895, 3.

95 Sweden had several laws to protect intellectual property rights in literary works, art works and photographs, but works from other countries only were protected on the basis of reciprocity. As per May 1900, Sweden had special treaties with Norway, Denmark, France and Italy, but not with the U.K. See "Tableau de la législation et des traités concernant la protection des œuvres littéraires et artistiques," *Le droit d'auteur*, Vol. 5 (1900), Nr. 5, 58-64.

96 Chief Editor Jenő Rákosi serialized a Hungarian translation of *Dracula* in his newspaper *Budapesti Hírlap*, starting on 1 January 1898. From the comments Rákosi made on Stoker as an *American* author, I conclude he was not in touch with him. Rákosi and Sohlman met at the Fourth International Press Congress in Stockholm in June 1897, and kept in touch afterwards. For details, see my interview with Adrien Party ("Vladkergan") for *Vampirisme.com* of 30 April 2017.

97 In April 2017, I discovered that *Dracula* had been serialized in the Chicago newspaper *Inter Ocean*, starting on 7 May 1899, more than two months earlier than in the *Charlotte Observer* – the serialization unearthed by David Skal in 2012. In the announcements in the *Inter Ocean*, Lucy's surname had been changed from "Westenra" to "Western," just like in the Swedish and Icelandic versions. See my articles "(Re-)découverte d'une ancienne sérialisation américaine de *Dracula*," *Vampirisme.com*, 27 April 2017, and "Next stop: Chicago! Earliest U.S. Serialisation of *Dracula* Known so Far Discovered. Was it the Source of *Mörkrets makter*?" *Vamped.org*, 27 May 2017.