BRAM STOKER'S VAMPIRE TRAP

VLAD THE IMPALER AND HIS NAMELESS DOUBLE

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ABSTRACT

Since Bacil Kirtley in 1958 proposed that Bram Stoker's Count Dracula, the best known literary character ever, shared his historical past with the Wallachian Voivode Vlad III Dracula, an intense debate about this connection has developed and other candidates have been suggested, like the Hungarian General János Hunyadi – a proposal resurfacing in the most recent annotated *Dracula* edition by Leslie Klinger (2008). By close-reading Stoker's sources, his research notes and the novel, I will demonstrate that Stoker's novel initially links his Count to the person of Vlad III indeed, not Hunyadi, although the novelist neither knew the ruler's first name, nor his father's name, nor his epithet "the Impaler", nor the cruelties attributed to him.

Still – or maybe for this very reason – Stoker did ***not*** wish to uphold this traceable identity: In Chapter 25, shortly before the decisive chase, he ***removes*** this link again, by way of silent substitution, cloaked by Professor van Helsing's clownish distractions. Like the Vampire Lord Ruthven, disappearing through the "vampire trap" constructed by James R. Planché for his play *The Brides of the Isles* in *the English Opera House*, later renamed to *Lyceum Theatre* and run by Stoker, the historical Voivode Vlad III Dracula is suddenly removed from the stage: In the final chapters, the Vampire Hunters pursue a nameless double.

Smoothly performed, this piece of stage magic has gone unnoticed for more than one hundred years now. As a consequence, most of the arguments related to the Count's antecedents turn out to suffer from *ignoratio delenchi* (the fallacy of irrelevant conclusion). The "marriage" of Count Dracula and Vlad the Impaler needs no divorce, as filed for by Toronto Prof. Em. Elizabeth Miller in 1998: As Stoker revoked this bond ***before*** his book went to print, it was never consummated and can be annulled without much ado.

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DEDICATION

This essay is dedicated to my old friend Kathinka Stel in Amsterdam, accomplishing independent literary research on the Durch poet Max de Jong; the mechanism by which Bram Stoker let his Voivoide Dracula suddenly disappear from the stage was first penned down on her birthday.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Bram Stoker's notes, taken down since March 1890 while he was preparing and writing his novel *Dracula* (published 1897), offer us an unique chance to understand the development of the best-known fictional character of all time: Count Dracula. Despite his unparalleled celebrity, his personal antecedents are still shrouded by mystery and have given rise to intense debate among fans and academic experts, resulting in numerous books, articles and blog entries. Various historical figures have been proposed as the Count's lifetime identity, the degree of their influence on Stoker's literary portrait discussed. Especially the Wallachian Voivode Vlad III Dracula "The Impaler", the Hungarian General/Governor János Hunyadi and Countess Elisabeth Báthory have been named as historical substrates of the Vampire Count. Buth while literary creations like Lord Ruthven, mythical characters like werewolves and political rulers from a time completely unrelated to Stokers narrative, e.g. Nero, Herod, Vercingetorix or William of Orange, may theoretically qualify as *role models*, sharing evil or heroic qualities with Stoker's protagonist, the Vampire's *lifetime identity* must name a person, notional or historical, who – within the framework of the novel – shares his bodily existence with Count Dracula: He *was* Count Dracula, before the latter turned into a Creature of Darkness. For this reason alone, I will leave Elisabeth Báthory aside – I have heard no arguments yet that the transformation into a Vampire might involve a change of gender. For clarity's sake, I stress that this paper is about a link which exists *within Bram Stokers work of fantasy only* – I do not believe in Vampires and hope my readers do no either.

Like in the case of searching – and finding – the exact site of Castle Dracula,[1] I will reconstruct the way Stoker treated the Count's lifetime identity by close-reading the story's text, Stoker's notes and the sources he studied. Starting point was my suspicion that Stoker might have handled this central issue in a similar way like the Castle's address, blurring its traces by deliberate vagueness and narrative discontinuity.

My first conclusion that Vlad III Dracula, later known as Vlad Ţepeş (the Impaler), not János Hunyadi fits the identification initially suggested by Stoker will be no great surprise to readers convinced of Vlad's significance anyway. The assessment that Stoker actually knew very little about this historical Voivode is familiar as well in academic circles: For more than a decade now, this has been convincingly advocated by Toronto *Dracula* expert Elizabeth Miller. But other than suggested by Miller, Stoker was not completely indifferent about this national leader being connected to the story's fiend.

In one of the final chapters, Stoker *removes* the initial identification with the historical Voivode Dracula from his text again, by means of slight substitution. Since the substitute resembles the original in many aspects, we can speak of a double. In Moldavia and the Transylvanian border area, the Vampire Hunters chase and finally exterminate a nameless phantom.

Vlad the Impaler dining in sight of his victims. German woodcut, 1499.

It seems that this silent replacement has gone unnoticed for more than a century now – neither in the secondary literature I have at hand nor in the Internet I found any comment specifically addressing this mechanism: Bram Stoker's vampire trap.

We do not know for sure which reason Stoker had for doing so. But as similar camouflage operations can be observed regarding the novel's year of action and Stoker's way of garbling addresses, this intervention must be based on a deliberate decision. Therefore, how much or how little Stoker really knew about Vlad III and how much (how little) of this information was transferred to the novel's text in the end does *not* touch on the Count's identity. As a consequence, all arguments *pro* and *contra* the Impaler's influence put forward since 1958, when Bacil Kirtley first suggested Vlad III to represent the Count's historical past, suffer from the "fallacy of irrelevant conclusion":[2] Even if scholars were able to prove that Stoker's house contained a secret room[3] filled with books about the Impaler's blood-thirsty ferocity, this would not change the fact that Vlad III Dracula was *not* Stoker's final choice for the Vampire Count's lifetime identity. The "divorce" Prof. Elizabeth Miller has been filing for in her 1998 essay can finally be granted, or even better, the "marriage" can be *annulled*, as Stoker himself revised his novel's initial link to Vlad III even *before* the book was printed: the unholy bond between Vlad & Drac was never consummated.

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1 The site Stoker *had in mind*, not the location of an actual building. See *The Dracula Maps*, 2012, part of *The Ultimate Dracula, 2012.*
2 The equivalent expression *ignoratio delenchi* is used in the novel by Stoker's character Renfield in a moment of unexpected lucidity.
3 The topic of a "secret room" in the Count's house is mentioned several times in Stoker's notes, but it does not appear in the novel, except for the crypt Harker discovers in the Castle's basement.

5

I – FROM THE NAMELESS "COUNT____STYRIA" TO "COUNT DRACULA"

Stoker's notes have been put in tentative chronological order by Robert Eighteen-Bisang and Elizabeth Miller in their 2008 facsimile edition of the papers now owned by the Rosenbach Museum and Library in Philadelphia (Herafter referred to as Notes). Following their proposal, we see the Count's character develop in the following selected quotes:

Rosenbach # 35 a:

> Lawyer's clerk – goes to ~~Ge~~ Styria

> { Silent man & dumb woman – Count's servants
> in power of Count terrible fear   London
>
> man knows secret

Rosenbach # 35 verso:

> Letter to Aaronson from Count _____ Styria asking to come or send trustworthy law who does not speak German[4]

> (In this series of letters is told visit to Castle (...)

Rosenbach # 38 a:

> no looking glasses in Count's house
> never can see him reflected in one – no shadow
>   [further qualities of the Vampire follow – HdR]

> I-2 At Munich Dead House see face among flowers – think corpse – but is alive
> III Afterwards when white moustache is grown is same as face of Count in London

Rosenbach # 38 b:

> I. II white teeth
> crosses river & running water at exact slack or full ~~flood~~ of tide
>   [further qualities of the Vampire follow – HdR]

> II. III attitude with regard to religion – only moved by relics older than own real date ~~xxx~~
> century

Rosenbach # 4:

> goes through fog by instinct
>   [further qualities of the Vampire follow – HdR]

Rosenbach # 1:

> The Count_____ Count ~~Wampyr~~ Dracula
>   [Count Dracula, Dracula, Dracula is also written at the top of the page – HdR]

Rosenbach # 2:

> Book I. ~~Styria~~ Transylvania to London
> Chap 1 – The lawyer's letters
>   2 – (~~lawyer~~ clerk visits ~~Styria~~ Transylvania) Munich

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4 The lawyer Aaronson will develop into the character of Peter Hawkins later. According to the editors, "law" stand for lawyer; obviously, the Count does not want him to understand the local language in Styria, which is German. This way, the visitor will not learn the rumours about the Count. This character will develop into Jonathan Harker.

Book III: Discovery
chap 3: ~~Discoveries~~ Mina suspects Dracula

Rosenbach # 5:

Book I

Chapter I

Letter 1 Sir Robert Parton Pres. I.L.S.[5] to Peter Hawkins Cathedral Place Exeter stating letter rec. from Count Wampyr

2. Count ~~Wampyr~~ Dracula   Transylvania to Peter Hawkins asking him to purchase estate.

3. Peter Hawkins to Count Wampyr – replying and stating has gout but will send Harker   asking some kind of idea which place required

4. Count ~~Wampyr~~ Dracula to Peter Hawkins giving information required

5. Peter Hawkins to Count ~~Wampyr~~ Dracula. Place secured on approval [...]

6. [About Kate Reed and Lucy Westenra – HdR]

8. Telegram Dracula to Hawkins to let Harker start for Munich.

Conclusions:

1. According to the editors, the first notes were taken down in March 1890.[6] In or shortly after Stoker visited Whitby in summer 1890 and found Wilkinson's book, *Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia* (1820) in the public library there, the Count, who initially has no name or whose name is indicated by a horizontal stroke to be filled in afterwards, and later on is mentioned as "Count Wampyr", receives the name "Dracula". As the editors point out, the last line I cited is the first time that "Dracula" is not a substitute for "Wampyr". Stoker's protagonist was a "Count" already before Stoker got acquainted with the Wallachian *Voivodes* described by Wilkinson.

2. At about the same time, "Styria" was replaced by "Transylvania". The very first idea must have been Germany (# 35 a).

3. A scene planned to take place in the Munich Dead House (mortuary) about a seemingly dead man coming to live again – a man apparently identical with the Count (now with a white moustache) later spotted in London by Harker – is dropped from the plot altogether. In Rosenbach 38b, we read the Vampire is "only moved by relics older than own real date ~~xxx~~ century". This implies that Stoker's Count Dracula is not a fresh, nameless corpse revived again in the Munich Dead House nor a timeless spirit taking possession of such a lifeless body. Instead, Count Dracula appears to possess a *personal past, reaching back for centuries.*

In this essential point, Stoker deviates from James R. Planché's 1820 adaptation of Charles Nodier's *The Bride of the Isles* for the stage. In this play, Unda, the Spirit of the Flood, explains that Vampires essentially are discarnate: "Thou knowest, Ariel, that wicked souls/ Are, for wise purposes, permitted oft/ To enter the dead forms of other men/ Assume their speech, their habits and their knowledge,/ And thus roam o'er the Earth; but subject still/ At stated periods, to a dreadful tribute".[7] The "dreadful tribute" consists in having to marry a virgin every year and drink her blood:

"Ruthven, Earl of Marsden is the vampire. In this fiction vampires are the wicked spirit who enter the body of another person at the moment of death, as the original soul departs, the corpse was thus reanimated — the same look, the same voice, the same expression of countenance, with physical powers to eat and drink, and partake of human enjoyments, but with the most wicked propensities. (…). This second existence, is held on a tenure of the most horrid and diabolical nature. Every All-Hallow E'en, he must wed a lovely virgin, and slay her, catch her warm blood and drink it, then his existence is renewed for another year, and he is free to take another shape, and pursue his Satanic course; but if he failed in procuring a wife at the appointed time, or had not opportunity to make the sacrifice before the moon set, the vampire was no more – he did not turn into a skeleton, but literally vanished into air and nothingness."[8]

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5 I.L.S.: stands for International Law Society – HdR.

6 See date 8/3/90 on Rosenbach #35 verso, Notes, p. 17f. Just like in the novel, Stoker used the day/month/year scheme.

7 Quoted from http://litgothic.com/texts/vampire_bride.html. Cf. Montague, Noel & Rarignac, Étienne, T*he Theology of Dracula – Reading the Book of Stoker as Sacred Text*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012, p. 50f.

8 Quoted from http://simplysupernatural-vampire.com

II – VAN HELSING AND COUNT DRACULA ON THE VAMPIRE'S IDENTITY

Other than Planché's Ruthven, who after having deceased is possessed by the spirit of "Cromal, the Bloody" as the true moving factor of his weird behaviour, Stoker's Count Dracula appears to possess a personal, bodily and mental continuity, which has survived natural death and centuries of isolation in the Carpathian mountains. In Chapter 18, Professor van Helsing lectures:

> "I have asked my friend Arminius, of Buda-Pesth University, to make his record, and from all the means that are, he tell me of what he has been. He must, indeed, have been that Voivode Dracula who won his name against the Turk, over the great river on the very frontier of Turkeyland. If it be so, then was he no common man, for in that time, and for centuries after, he was spoken of as the cleverest and the most cunning, as well as the bravest of the sons of the 'land beyond the forest.' That mighty brain and that iron resolution went with him to his grave, and are even now arrayed against us. The Draculas were, says Arminius, a great and noble race, though now and again were scions who were held by their coevals to have had dealings with the Evil One. They learned his secrets in the Scholomance, amongst the mountains over Lake Hermanstadt, where the devil claims the tenth scholar as his due. In the records are such words as 'stregoica' witch, 'ordog' and 'pokol' Satan and hell, and in one manuscript this very Dracula is spoken of as 'wampyr,' which we all understand too well. There have been from the loins of this very one great men and good women, and their graves make sacred the earth where alone this foulness can dwell. For it is not the least of its terrors that this evil thing is rooted deep in all good, in soil barren of holy memories it cannot rest."

This suggest that the Voivode Dracula may have been the tenth pupil claimed by the Devil as his servant. In Chapter 24, Van Helsing offers Mina an alternative explanation:

> "All this have I told these others. You, my dear Madam Mina, will learn it in the phonograph of my friend John, or in that of your husband. I have told them how the measure of leaving his own barren land, barren of peoples, and coming to a new land where life of man teems till they are like the multitude of standing corn, was the work of centuries. Were another of the Undead, like him, to try to do what he has done, perhaps not all the centuries of the world that have been, or that will be, could aid him. With this one, all the forces of nature that are occult and deep and strong must have worked together in some wonderous way. The very place, where he have been alive, Undead for all these centuries, is full of strangeness of the geologic and chemical world. There are deep caverns and fissures that reach none know whither. There have been volcanoes, some of whose openings still send out waters of strange properties, and gases that kill or make to vivify. Doubtless, there is something magnetic or electric in some of these combinations of occult forces which work for physical life in strange way, and in himself were from the first some great qualities. In a hard and warlike time he was celebrate that he have more iron nerve, more subtle brain, more braver heart, than any man. In him some vital principle have in strange way found their utmost. And as his body keep strong and grow and thrive, so his brain grow too."

Although the explanations vary, in both descriptions there is no doubt that Dracula, while passing from life to his existence as Un-Dead being, essentially has retained his identity. To understand more about this identity, we must start with the Count's words to Harker in Chapter 3:

> "When was redeemed that great shame of my nation, the shame of Cassova, when the flags of the Wallach and the Magyar went down beneath the Crescent? Who was it but one of my own race who as Voivode crossed the Danube and beat the Turk on his own ground? This was a Dracula indeed! Woe was it that his own unworthy brother, when he had fallen, sold his people to the Turk and brought the shame of slavery on them! Was it not this Dracula, indeed, who inspired that other of his race who in a later age again and again brought his forces over the great river into Turkeyland, who, when he was beaten back, came again, and again, though he had to come alone from the bloody field where his troops were being slaughtered, since he knew that he alone could ultimately triumph! They said that he thought only of himself. Bah! What good are peasants without a leader? Where ends the war without a brain and heart to conduct it? Again, when, after the battle of Mohacs, we threw off the Hungarian yoke, we of the Dracula blood were amongst their leaders, for our spirit would not brook that we were not free. Ah, young sir, the Szekelys, and the Dracula as their heart's blood, their brains, and their swords, can boast a record that mushroom growths like the Hapsburgs and the Romanoffs can never reach."

III – SZEKLER OR WALLACHIAN?

Already *before* speaking on the Dracula race, the Count boasts himself to be a "Szekely":

> "We Szekelys have a right to be proud, for in our veins flows the blood of many brave races who fought as the lion fights, for lordship. Here, in the whirlpool of European races, the Ugric tribe bore down from Iceland the fighting spirit which Thor and Wodin gave them, which their Berserkers displayed to such fell intent on the seaboards of Europe, aye, and of Asia and Africa too, till the peoples thought that the werewolves themselves had come. Here, too, when they came, they found the Huns, whose warlike fury had swept the earth like a living flame, till the dying peoples held that in their veins ran the blood of those old witches, who, expelled from Scythia had mated with the devils in the desert. Fools, fools! What devil or what witch was ever so great as Attila, whose blood is in these veins?" He held up his arms. "Is it a wonder that we were a conquering race, that we were proud, that when the Magyar, the Lombard, the Avar, the Bulgar, or the Turk poured his thousands on our frontiers, we drove them back? Is it strange that when Arpad and his legions swept through the Hungarian fatherland he found us here when he reached the frontier, that the Honfoglalas was completed there? And when the Hungarian flood swept eastward, the Szekelys were claimed as kindred by the victorious Magyars, and to us for centuries was trusted the guarding of the frontier of Turkeyland. Aye, and more than that, endless duty of the frontier guard, for as the Turks say, 'water sleeps, and the enemy is sleepless.' Who more gladly than we throughout the Four Nations received the 'bloody sword,' or at its warlike call flocked quicker to the standard of the King?"

As Stoker had studied Law in Dublin, not East-European History, his notes of course show *lacunae* and errors: A handwritten timeline in his notes places the "battle of Mohacs which extinguished Hungarian independence" shortly before 1695. In fact, the Hungarians were crushed in the *first* Battle of Mohács (1526); in the *second* (1687) they were victorious. But on a typed sheet of notes, Stoker uses the same wording (from Johnson, 1885) again, this time in the right context.[9]

A far more obvious disparity is that the Count speaks of the Draculas as if they were Szeklers. As the Vampire states so eloquently, the Szeklers were descendants of the Huns and related to the Magyars; he claims the blood of Attila is in his veins.[10] Stoker learned about the Szeklers from various books by Nina Elizabeth Mazuchelli, A. F. Crosse, Major E. C. Johnson and Charles Boner.[11] Regarding the historical Voivodes the Drăculeşti branch of the Basarab family, however, Stoker had but a single source documented in his notes: Wilkinson's 1820 *Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia*, reporting on the *Wallachian* leaders.

Stoker's notes evidence he was very well aware of the difference between the "Székelys" or Szeklers "of Turanian origin" on the one hand, descendants of the Ugric tribes and natural allies of the Magyars who under their King Arpad occupied the Great Hungarian Plain and in the year 1008 under King Stephen strived to annex Transylvania, and the Wallachians, descendants of the Getae (Dacians) and the Romans on the other hand. His notes even differentiate between "Wallachs" (Romanians living in Transylvania) and "Wallachians" (inhabitants of Wallachia, south of Transylvania).[12] He records that the Hungarian language is related to the Finnish tongue.[13] He took separate notes on the Saxons, the Slovacks, the Czigany or Gypsies, the Armenians and the Rusnacks or Ruthenians and did not forget to memorise that the Boyars might be descendants from the Slavic race. Because in many typed notes, blank spaces in the typed text are filled in with handwriting, I assume Stoker must have consulted most books twice: the first time to take handwritten notes, the second time to fill in gaps in the typescript – maybe he had difficulty reading his own handwriting?[14]

Considering that the majority of his research notes on Hungarian, Transylvanian and Wallachian history deals with the different origins and contrasting geo-political interests of the mentioned tribes or races, I conclude that Stoker was very well aware that a Szekler would *not* call for throwing off "the Hungarian yoke". Curiously, the original manuscript speaks of the "Austrian yoke", changed to "Hungarian yoke" in the published book.[15] "Austrian yoke" harmonises with the perspective of the Szeklers, while "Hungarian yoke" matches the Wallachian point of view. Stoker, after haphazardly mixing his information about the Wallachian Voivodes with his freshly acquired knowledge about the Szeklers, in the end obviously opted for the Wallachian, not the Szekler interpretation of political relations, in order to restore some consistency to his Voivode Dracula.

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9 See Notes, p. 170. On p. 224, Stoker uses the same wording, derived from Johnson, 1885, this time in the right context.
10 As Vampires have no heartbeat and no blood running through their veins at all, this can only be meant in the figurative sense.
11 See Notes, Typed Research Notes, pp. 199-243.
12 Copying this information from Boner, p. 66, see Notes, p. 240-241.
13 From Crosse, p. 187, see Notes, p. 214-215.
14 Rosenbach # 71 shows that Stoker typed "VOIVOOLE" and "DRACOLA" twice. The most revealing typo: "Dracians" for "Dacians".
15 Noted by Klinger, 2008, p. 70f., note 32.

IV WILKINSON'S ACCOUNT ON THE PRINCIPALITIES OF WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA

I summarise from Wilkinson; the complete text of the relevant passage is found on the next page. I have added colour coding:

In 1444, the son of the Wallachian "Voïvoide Dracula" supported the Hungarian King Ladislas with 4,000 men against the Turks. After the Hungarian leader Hunniades (Hunyadi) lost the Battle of Varna, the Voivode feared the Sultan's revenge and kept Hunyadi prisoner. Once released, Hunyadi with a Hungarian army defeated this Dracula and had him beheaded in his presence. Hunyadi's ally, the new Voivode Dan, was defeated by the Turks at Cossova in 1448 and had no choice but paying tribute. A new opportunity arose only in 1460, when the Turks were occupied in the Archipelago. Again, the name of the Voivode was Dracula. He crossed the Danube to attack the remaining Ottomans. But Sultan Mahomet II mobilised his army and drove him back to Wallachia. The Voivode escaped to Hungary, his brother Bladus was installed in his place and made a treaty with the Turks, binding the Wallachians to a "perpetual tribute".

There can be no doubt that the Voivode Dracula first mentioned by Wilkinson was Vlad II Dracul, member of the Order of the Dragon. Vlad II was the illegitimate son of Mircea cel Bătrân (Mircea the Elder), mentioned by Wilkinson as "Voivode Mirtza", who already in 1391 had started an anti-Turkish campaign, but was defeated by Sultan Bajazet.[16]

It also seems logical that the *second* Voivode Dracula mentioned by Wilkinson is the *first* person mentioned by the Count: one of Vlad II Dracul's sons: Vlad III Dracula or Drăculea, the last part of the name being a patronymic ("Son of Dracul"). He became later known as Vlad Țepeș ("the Impaler"): As Mahomet II in 1462 invaded Wallachia, Vlad III had f ca. 20,000 captives put on stakes. He used this horrible execution method also to fight criminality and punish his enemies. He was born in Sighişoara in the centre of Transylvania in 1431. When his father Vlad II became Voivode of Wallachia in 1436, the sons were brought to Târgovişte, Wallachia's capital. After 1442, Vlad III and his younger brother Radu were sent to Turkey as hostages, to ensure their father's loyalty to the Sultan. During three different periods (1448; 1456–1462; 1476), Vlad III ruled over Wallachia. His brother Radu III cel Frumos (the Handsome) chose the side of the Ottomans and was installed in Vlad's place after the latter's defeat in 1862. After Radu's sudden death in 1475, Vlad III managed to regain power once more for a period of only two months, before he was murdered; his head was brought to Constantinople as a trophy.[17]

V – JÁNOS HUNYADI OR VLAD DRACULA III?

Stoker's notes on "their VOÏVODE [DRACULA]" copy Wilkinson almost *verbatim* and are in turn echoed by the Count (see text comparison on next page). Klinger's hint that the "Dracula" first praised by the Count might be Hunyadi (p. 69) neither has roots in Wilkinson's book nor in Stoker's notes. Rather, it rehashes the ideas of Nandris (1966), Ronay (1974) and Manchester (1985). Wolf picked up this thesis as well (1975), arguing that Hunyadi beat the Ottoman forces at Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade) in 1456.[18] But:

Military leader János Hunyadi (1387-1456)

1. Belgrade was not on the Turk's own ground, it belonged to King Sigismund of Hungary, after the Serbian dictator Đurađ Branković had returned it to him.
2. Wilkinson does not mention the defence of Belgrade at all.
3. Hunyadi had no "unworthy brother" who "sold his people to the Turk".
4. Hunyadi was none of the Drăculeştis, Vlad II's offspring.

According to Wilkinson the name "Dracula" was given "as a surname to any person who rendered himself conspicious either by courage, cruel actions or cunning". But in *Dracula*, the Count speaks of the Draculas as a "race", not as a group of men who happened to share the same nickname. "We of the Dracula blood" implies a common ancestor: the first Dracul, Vlad II. Hunyadi was not related to Vlad II, nor a friend of the family.[19] On the contrary, Hunyadi had Vlad II Dracul decapitated, as reported by Wilkinson.[20] Even in Stoker's *potpourri,* it is quite unthinkable that a genuine Dracula would sing Hunyadi's praise.

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16 Wilkinson, 1820, p. 17. Since this essay is about Stoker, not about history, I will not specify sources for all single historical events here.

17 Alone this detail, unknown to Stoker, disqualifies Vlad III as a vampire-to-be: How could the body, resurrecting from the grave, ever find the head again?

18 Ronay, Gabriel, *The Truth about Dracula,* New York: Stein & Day, 1974, referred to by Wolf, 1975, p. 41, footnote 21.

19 Only posthumously, Hunyadi and Vlad II became related, when Vlad III married a cousin of King Matthias Corvinus, Hunyadi's son.

20 Allegedly, Hunyadi had Vlad II executed in Bălteni in December 1447. His eldest son Mircea II, the leader of the 4,000 men who had joined Hunyadi, was blinded and buried alive in Târgovişte by Boyars. Hunyadi's son, King Matthias Corvinus, imprisoned Vlad III for ca. ten years based on a forged letter, in which Vlad III purportedly offered the Turks an alliance.

WILKINSON, 1820, P. 16–19

Frequent hostilities against the Hungarians, arising from the claims of sovereignity of the latter, accustomed the Wallachians to war; and in 1391 the Voïvode Mirtza collected a numerous force, and attacked the neigbouring possessions of the Turks with the view of rescuing them from their hands. The Sultan Bajazet being at that moment employed in Asia (...), had left his conquests near the Danube without the means of defence. But when the news of their invasion reached him, he suspended his operations in Asia, and returned to Adrianople, from whence he sent a numerous army to Wallachia. The Voïvode marched to meet the Turks; and, after a bloody battle, he was defeated, and compelled to become tributary to the Sultan. The annual tribute was fixed at three thousand piasters.*

Wallachia continued to pay it until the year 1444; when Ladislas King of Hungary, preparing to make war against the Turks, engaged the Voïvode Dracula to form an alliance with him. The Hungarian troops marched through the principality and were joined by four thousand Wallachians under the command of Dracula's son.†

The Hungarians being defeated at the celebrated battle of Varna, Hunniades their general, and regent of the kindom during Ladislas's minority, returned in haste to make new preparations for carrying on the war. But the Voïvode, fearful of the Sultan's vengeance, arrested and kept him prisoner during a year, pretending thereby to show to the Turks that he treated him as an enemy. The moment Hunniades reached Hungary, he assembled an army and put himself at the head of it, returned to Wallachia, attacked an defeated the Voïvode, and caused him to be beheaded in his presence; after which he raised to the Voivodate one of the primates of the Country, of the name of Dan.

The Wallachians under this Voïvode joined again the Hungarians in 1448, and made war on Turkey; but being totally defeated at the battle of Cossova, in Bulgaria, and finding it no longer possible to make any stand against the Turks, they submitted again to the annual tribute, which they paid until the year 1460, when the Sultan Mahomet II. being occupied in completing the conquests of the islands in the Archipelago, afforded them a new opportunity of shaking off the yoke. Their Voïvode, also named Dracula,* did not remain satisfied with mere prudent measures of defence: with an army he crossed the Danube and attacked the few Turkish troops that were stationed in his neighbourhood; but this attempt, like those of his predecessors, was only attended with momentary success. Mahomet, having turned his arms against him, drove him back to Wallachia, whither he pursued and defeated him. The Voïvode escaped into Hungary, and the Sultan caused his brother Bladus to be named in his place. He made a treaty with Bladus, by which he bound the Wallachians to perpetual tribute; and laid the foundation for that slavery, from which no efforts yet had the power of extricating them with any lasting efficacy.

* Knolles's *History of Turkey*, p. 204, and Tounousli's *Historia tes Blachias*, p. 247. A piaster and a half is equal to an English shilling. (Greek title transcribed - HdR)
† Knolles's *History*, p. 296
* Dracula in the Wallachian language means Devil. The Wallachians were, at that time, as they are at present, used to give this as a surname to any person who rendered himself conspicuous either by courage, cruel actions, or cunning.

STOKER'S NOTES

DRACULA in the Wallachian language means DEVIL. Wallachians were accustomed to give this as a surname to any person who rendered himself conspicuous either by courage, cruel actions, or cunning.

The Wallachians joined Hungarians in 1448 and made war on Turkey. being defeated at battle of Cassova in Bulgaria and finding it impossible to make any stand against the Turks, they submitted to annual tribute which they paid until 1460 when Sultan Mahomet II. being occupied in completing the conquests of the islands in the Archipelago gave opportunity of shaking off yoke. Their VOÏVODE [DRACULA] crossed Danube and attacked Turkish troops Only momentary success. Mahomet drove him back to Wallachia where pursued and defeated him. The VOÏVODE escaped into Hungary and the Sultan caused his brother Bladus received in his place. He made treaty with Bladus finding (binding - HdR) Wallachians to perpetual tribute and laid the foundations of slavery not yet abolished. (1820) <p.18-19>

THE COUNT'S SPEECH

When was redeemed that great shame of my nation, the shame of Cassova, when the flags of the Wallach and the Magyar went down beneath the Crescent? Who was it but one of my own race who as Voivode crossed the Danube and beat the Turk on his own ground? This was a Dracula indeed! Woe was it that his own unworthy brother, when he had fallen, sold his people to the Turk and brought the shame of slavery on them! Was it not this Dracula, indeed, who inspired that other of his race who in a later age again and again brought his forces over the great river into Turkeyland, who, when he was beaten back, came again, and again, though he had to come alone from the bloody field where his troops were being slaughtered, since he knew that he alone could ultimately triumph!

COLOUR CODING:

...in 1391 the Voivode Mirtza collected...: Mircea the Elder, father of Vlad II Dracul
...engaged the Voïvode Dracula...: Vlad II Dracul, father of Mircea II, Vlad III, Radu II
Dracula's son.†: Mircea II, Vlad II's heir, joined Hunyadi, buried alive by Boyars.
Hunniades their general, and regent of the kingdom during Ladislas's minority: Hunyades
Their Voïvode, also named Dracula...: Vlad Dracula III = Vlad the Impaler
...his brother Bladus: Radu II the Handsome, brother of Vlad III, ally of the Turks.
That other of his race who in a later age: Who is this??? Michael II the Brave???

11

ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPALITIES OF WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA.ETC.

1820

Wm.Wilkinson late consul of Bukorest.Longmans.Whitby Library.O.1097.

/

P.19. DRACULA in Wallachian language means DEVIL. Wallachians
were accustomed to give it as a surname to any person
who rendered himself conspicuous by courage,cruel actions
or cunning.

P.18.19.The Wallachians joined Hungarians in 1448.and made war on
Turkey,being defeated at battle of Cassova in Bulgaria
and finding it impossible to make stand against the Turks
submitted to annual tribute which they paid until 1460.when
Sultan Mahomet II. being occupied in completing conquest
of islands in Archipelogo gave opportunity of shaking off
yoke. Their VOIVODE [DRACULA] crossed Danube and
attacked Turkish troops Only momentarily success. Mahomet
drove him back to Wallachia where pursued and defeated
him. The VOIVODE escaped into Hungary and the Sultan
caused his brother ~~Bladus~~ *Bladus* *received* in his place. He
made treaty with Bladus finding Wallachians to *perpetual*
tribute and laid the foundations of that slavery not yet
abolished.[1820]

Ancient Kingdom of DACIA = Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and

Temesvar   -finally conquered by Romans.

P.26.   1600. after abdication of Sigismund of Translyvania,

this principality became tributary to Emperor Rodolphus

who appointed Michael VOÏVODE. Translyvanians revolted

& wished to recall Sigismund but were defeatedby Austrians

and whole province subjugated.

P.32.   1695. Sultan Ahmet declared war against the Emperor and

Voïvode Constantine Barancovano Bessarabba   of Wallachia

directed to form an army - did not help and at peace of

Carlowitz   Emperor Leopold made him Prince of Roman Empire

and gave him landed estates in Translyvania.

P.57.   THORNTON= Present State of Turkey[P.116] saysBoyars of

ancient family assert descendants of the Slavi   and are

distinct race from offspring   of Dacians and Romans.

P.79.   Galatz   is in Moldavian close to Wallachia at broadest & deepest par

of Danube 60 miles from Black Sea and 72 from Bukorest .

P.91. Boyars   use German Caleche chiefly - gaudy carriage with poor

harness and horses and Gypsy driver in rags is common.

P.92-3.   No coaches   to be hired - but posting quick but bad - like

, Crate of earthenware on 4 small   wheels by wooden pegs

VI – VLAD THE IMPALER, RADU THE HANDSOME AND MICHAEL THE BRAVE

Two further comments confirm that Klinger's time to get to know the family must have been limited: On p. 70, he refers to Radu the Handsome as "Radu Țepeș" and to "the other" as "Vlad III of Wallachia, Dracul, father of Vlad Țepeș." A quick look into an encyclopedia would have produced the insight that Vlad III *was* Vlad Țepeș and *not* his own father … and that his brother and enemy Radu certainly did *not* bear the (posthumous) sobriquet "Țepeș" ("the Impaler") as if it were a family name!

In the end, Klinger blames Harker's weak memory for this "hodgepodge of misremembered facts". Klinger believes Wilkinson's account to be "distorted and incomplete", but will not explain Harker's "confused memory" from errors and gaps in Stoker's research, resulting from Stoker taking notes from Wilkinson' book: He insists that the Count was an accurate historian, whose lessons were garbled by Harker, relying on Wilkinson, before they were passed on to Stoker.[21] If we leave this complicated "Harker Papers Cover-Up" construct aside, this suggests that *both* Stoker and Wilkinson were uninformed. Leatherdale expresses a similar assessment, arguing that Stoker refers to this "other" without specifying his name: "'That other of his race' is sufficiently vague to reaffirm how little Stoker knew about Dracula and other anti-Turkish campaigners."[22]

Regarding the two Draculas, Wilkinson neither mentions their father-son relationship nor their name "Vlad", let alone the cruelties of Vlad jr. The idea that Stoker sought to connect the blooddripping atrocities of the historical Vlad the Impaler to the novel's bloodsucking Count, as advocated by McNally and Florescu in their *In Search of Dracula* (1972), thus lacks any evidence, as Elizabeth Miller rightly emphasizes in her books. The same argument applies to Countess Elisabeth Báthory, later proposed by McNally in his book *Dracula was a Woman* (1983).

But at least, both Vlad II and Vlad III are specific historical persons, who have an entry in their family's ancestral records and have done enough to build themselves a public profile, so that they appear in Wilkinson's book and in various Romanian patriotic writings, four centuries later. Does this also apply to "that other of his race", mentioned by the Count as a further brave warrior fighting the Turks? Klinger, after having proposed Vlad II (or III?) in note 29, in note 30 suggests that in this "other", several national leaders are conflated and "that it is not possible to translate them into accurate history".[23] In fact, I found that there is *one* historical Voivode who seems to match all criteria set by the Count – a national hero of Romania with a better reputation than Vlad the Impaler. After describing Vlad III and the treaty closed by his ignoble brother, Wilkinson presents Michael the Brave (Mihail II Viteazul, 1558-1601) as the only noteworthy Voivode after Vlad III, "determined to deliver his country from the Turkish yoke, and restore it to independence"; after his death, the Sultans started to appoint Voivodes of their own choice. Stoker took notes on Emperor Rudolphus, who appointed "Michael VOÏVODE" ("Michael" added by hand in a blank space), memorising that the Transylvanians revolted against his appointment, but were defeated by the Austrians.[24]

Michael II receiving the keys of Alba Iulia

Mihail II was from the same race as Vlad III, the Drăculești branch of the Basarabs. He invaded "Turkeyland" far across the Danube: He reached Adrianople and was near Constantinople, farther than any other Voivode ever advanced. Driven back by the Ottomans, in August 1595 his troops had to defend their position south of Bucharest, when the enemy managed to cross the Danube. Outnumbered, Mihail retreated to the marshy area of Călugăreni, where the Osman cavalry forced him to abandon his cannons. In the afternoon, Mihail, striking Sinan Pasha from his horse with a battle axe, regained his cannons and won the battle – which matches the scenario of retreat behind the Danube and the victorious counterattack.

In Chapter 23, the enraged Count claims "My revenge has just begun! I spread it over centuries and time is on my side", causing Leatherdale to suspect that Dracula addresses some grave unjustice done to him during his own life.[25] After his glorious victory at Guruslău in 1601, Mihail was murdered by order of his own ally Giorgio Basta, who wanted to control Transylvania himself: A sufficient motive to brave even Death and return as a Vampire.

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21 Klinger, 2008, p. 70, note 30. Cf. note 28. In the book version of this essay, space being limited, this point is worded elliptically; this is the complete line.
22 Leatherdale, 1998, p. 463, footnote 103.
23 Klinger, 2008, p. 70, note 30.
24 Notes, p. 224f., Rosenbach #72).
25 Leatherdale, 1998, p. 421, footnote 64; cf. Klinger, 2008, p. 418 f., note 20.

The murdering of Michael the Brave (8 August 1601)
Source: *Le Grand Theatre Historique*, 1703

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Vlad III receiving Turkish delegates. Th. Amann (1831-1891)

Michael II receiving Turkish delegates

VII – OTHER VOIVODES OF THE DRACULESTI LINE

Radu cel Mare (the Great) introduced bookprinting to Wallachia but pait tribute to the Sultan; Mihnea cel Rău (the Bad), hated the Turks like his father Vlad III, but ruled only one year, before being overthrown by Boyars with Turkish support. His son Mircea III Dracul revenged his father's assasination by killing some Boyars with his bare hands, but also ruled too short to fight the Turks. It seems that only one Voivode from the Drăculeşti line, besides Vlad III and Mihail II, was famed for attacking the Ottomans: Radu of Afumaţi. He also received the epithet "the Brave". In battle, he was victorious against Mehmed Bey, Pasha of Nicopolis, who claimed the right to reign Wallachia. Two further claimants were defeated: Vladislav III and Radu Bădica. During the same years 1521-25, he fought against the Turks. After victories near Bucharest, Clejani, Ciocanesti and Snagov, he retreated to Transylvania and from there reconquered the Wallachian throne, which he had lost for several months. In 1524, he had to fight Vladislav III, from the House of Dăneşti. After the Battle of Mohács in the summer of 1526, where the Magyars were completely defeated by the Turks, he saw himself surrounded by the Ottomans. By the end of 1528, a group of boyars insurged against him, so that he was beheaded, together with his son. Although his story equally matches the sequence of victory, retreat and victory, neither Wilkinson nor Stoker's own notes acknowledge him.
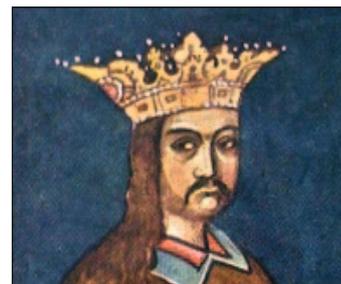
Radu of Afumaţi, the Brave

The third Voivode in Stoker's notes is Constantine Brancovano, who considered an alliance with the Russians and refused to give the Sultan military support. But he was no Drăculeşti and did not attack the Turks. The Ottomans accused him all the same of taking bribes from the German Empire and arrested him. In the end, he shared the fate of many Voivodes before him and was decapitated, after the Turks, looking for his gold, had tortured him.

Constantine Brancovano

To return to the Hunyadi theory, of course we could speculate that Stoker blended in the story of Hunyadi's escape from the chaotic scene at Varna in 1444, after King Władysław of Poland had fallen. Vlad II and his son Mircea II blamed Hunyadi for the defeat. But neither Wilkinson nor Stoker's notes mention Hunyadi's escape nor the Polish charge of cowardice;[26] Stoker merely took notes on his son, King Matthias Corvinus. I conclude that János Hunyadi does not fit the profile of "that other" either.

As to Michael the Brave, nothing in Stoker's notes shows that the novelist was seriuously interested in his military campaigns. Unless Stoker did additional research not documented in his papers, he knew nothing about the Voivode's advance across the Balkan Mountains, nor the "tight place" in Călugăreni.[27] Rather, he may have invented the anecdote of the "bloody field" *ad libitum*: Since David and Goliath, the scenario of a initial defeat in a seemingly hopeless situation finally followed by a decisive victory against an intimidating enemy is commonplace in nearly all novels and movies thriving on heroism.

Members of the Drăculeşti line holding the throne of Wallachia:	
Ruler	**Time of rule, parentage**
Vlad II Dracul	1436-1442 1443-1447 son of Mircea cel Bătrân
Mircea II	1442; son of Vlad II
Vlad III Drăculea	1448, 1456-1462, 1476 son of Vlad II
Radu cel Frumos	1462-1473, 1474 son of Vlad II
Vlad Călugărul	1481, 1482-1495 son of Vlad II
Radu cel Mare	1495-1508 son of Vlad Călugărul
Mihnea cel Rău	1508-1509 son of Vlad III
Mircea III Dracul	1510 son of Mihnea cel Rău
Vlad cel Tânăr	1510-1512 son of Vlad Călugărul
Radu de la Afumaţi	1522-1523 1524, 1524-1525, 1525-1529 son of Radu cel Mare
Radu Bădica	1523-1524 son of Radu cel Mare
Vlad Înecatul	1530-1532 son of Vlad cel Tânăr
Vlad Vintilă de la Slatina	1532-1534 1534-1535 son of Radu cel Mare
Radu Paisie	1534, 1535-1545 son of Radu cel Mare
Mircea Ciobanul	1545-1552, 1553–1554 1558-1559 son of Radu cel Mare
Pătraşcu cel Bun	1554-1558 son of Radu Paisie
Petru cel Tânăr	1559-1568 son of Mircea Ciobanul
Alexandru II Mircea	1568-1574, 1574-1577 son of Mircea III Dracul
Vintilă	1574 son of Pătraşcu cel Bun
Mihnea Turcitul	1577-1583, 1585-1591 s.o. Alexandru II Mircea
Petru Cercel	1583-1585 son of Pătraşcu cel Bun
Mihail Viteazul	1593-1600; possibly son of Pătraşcu cel Bun
Sources: Genealogy.euweb; Wikipedia.	

I must conclude that none of the polical leaders mentioned here can be clearly identified as "that other of his race". The Voivode who would qualify best, after objective criteria, is Michael II the Brave. We know that Stoker had read about him in Wilkinson's book and made a typewritten note about him. But evidently, Stoker was not really interested to gather and record more background information about him, nor to introduce him to his readers by name.

26 See Appendix B. Cowardice would describe the flight of Moldavia's Stephen the Great to his Neamţ castle: His mother refused to let him in and sent him back to his troops! See Samuelson, Appendix C. Here, too, the scenario Attack-Retreat-Counterattack applies.

27 Samuelson's *Roumania – Past and Present*, London, 1882, would have been a logical choice. From Johnson, 1985, p. 106, Stoker knew that the book existed, but we have no proof that he ever read it. "Tight place": Mina imitating Quincey, *Dracula*, Chapter 25.

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VIII – BRAM STOKER AS HARKER'S PUPPET?

Although Klinger recognises that Van Helsing and Mina later "interpret this particular comment [about the other] to refer to Dracula himself[28] and agrees with Leatherdale that "[This portrait] is so vague and contradictory as to be worthless as an historical portrait",[29] his struggle to uphold his "Harker Papers" paradigm throughout 500 pages of annotated text cripples his analytical powers:

> "It is likeley that Harker, not Dracula, confused matters and inaccurately recorded Dracula's very confusing speech, relying instead on Wilkinsons's 1820 *Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia*, which presents and incomplete and distorted chronicle of the succession of rulers and battles.[30]

It is evident that Klinger, presenting Stoker's protagonists as the true authors of the book while the Irishman himself is reduced to a mere secretary, can produce no sensible argument when it comes to the responsibility for errors in the novel. We just have to step out Klinger's carnival mirror cabinet to recognise that the flaws of Wilkinson's account, whatever these may be, have *nothing* to do with the disparities in the Count's speech. These in the first place result from Stoker's decision to merge the national aspirations of Szeklers and Wallachians, against his better judgment. Apart from that, Stoker (*not* Harker, *not* the Count) refuses to give us sufficient historical details for identifying "that other" beyound doubt. Wilkinsons' book contains enough useful information to introduce Michael the Brave as a further brave Wallachian anti-Turkish warrior, but Stoker does not want to do so. Johnson refers to Samuelson and Stoker is zealous enough to copy Johnson's footnote – but nothing demonstrates he cared to read Samuelson's book, published in London in 1882.[31] Had he done so, he would have been informed both about Vlad the Impaler's execution methods and Michael the Brave's accomplishments near Călugăreni.

IX – COUNTING COUNTS

In her *Dracula – Sense & Nonsense,* Elizabeth Miller rightly insists that we cannot explain *Dracula* from what Stoker *could* have read, or *should* have read. Her position being the most advanced and the most outspoken of academic theories about the Count Dracula-Vlad III link, it deserves a longer quote and a precise analysis. On p. 160, Miller presents the case concisely:

> "The case for Count Dracula and Vlad is wafer thin. Stoker knew of no one named Vlad, only of a Voivode named Dracula. Furthermore, close examination of both text and source reveals that Dracula's identity was uncertain. In the text, the Count speaks of "we of the Dracula blood," which suggest the name is identified with more than one person. In fact, he refers to a "Dracula ... who inspired that other of his race" (3:68), while Van Helsing reports that "The Draculas ... were a great and noble race" (18:337). Stoker, like Wilkinson, hadn't a clue which Dracula was which. Stoker just liked the name. Of the three Draculas mentioned by Wilkinson, the voivode "who beat the Turk on his own ground" could equally have been John Hunyadi, while the other two might have been Dracula – father and son (Nandris, 347). Stoker did not know one from the other. When asked in 1897, in the Stoddard interview, about the historical basis for his novel, Stoker said nothing about Vlad. Farson also notes, though he gives no source, that replying to an American correspondent in 1906, Stoker comments "'You know a lot more about Dracula than I do,' suggesting his comparative ignorance and indifference to the historical background " (161)".

Here is the list of the members of the Dracula family tree mentioned by Wilkinson:

1.	Vlad II Dracul	The "Voïvode Dracula" engaged by Ladislas King of Hungary, to form an alliance with him in **1444,** when Ladislas prepared war against the Turks. I marked this Dracula green in Wilkinson's text.
2.	Mircea II, son & heir to Vlad II	Then Wilkinson speaks of four thousand Wallachians under the command of Dracula's son, referring to Knolles's History, p. 296. I marked this person blue in Wilkinson's text.
3.	Vlad III Dracula son of Vlad II	"Their Voïvode*, also named Dracula, who did not remain satisfied with mere prudent measures of defence: with an army he crossed the Danube and attacked the few Turkish troops that were stationed in his neighbourhood; but his attempt, like those of his predecessors, was only attended with momentary success." Wilkinson's footnote links the name Dracula with "Devil". The year: "the year **1460,** when the Sultan Mahomet II being occupied in (…) the Archipelago, afforded them a new opportunity of shaking off the yoke". This Voivode Dracula is marked in red.
4.	Radu II cel Frumos	" (…) and the Sultan caused his brother Bladus to be named in his place." Yellow.

28 Klinger, 2008, p. 70, notes 29 and 30.
29 Klinger, 2008 p. 71, note 36, quoting from Leatherdale, 1998.
30 Klinger, 2008, p. 70, note 30. Also in note 28. See also p. 14 of this essay, second paragraph and footnote 21.
31 Johnson, 1885, p. 106, referred to by Stoker, Notes, p. 220f.

Miller speaks of "the three Draculas mentioned by Wilkinson". But Wilkinson mentions only *two* persons bearing the Dracula epithet: Vlad II and Vlad III. Miller's 1998 article *Filing for Divorce – Count Dracula vs Vlad Tepes* illuminates that with this expression, Miller does not mean three distinct *persons*, but three *occurrences of the name Dracula* in Wilkinson's book. I have underlined these occurences in this quote from Miller's *Filing for Divorce* and added emphasis plus colour coding:

> "This is what Wilkinson wrote:
>
> > "Wallachia continued to pay it [tribute] until the year 1444; when Ladislas King of Hungary, preparing to make war against the Turks, engaged the Voivode **Dracula** to form an alliance with him. The Hungarian troops marched through the principality and were joined by four thousand Wallachians under the command of **Dracula's son**." (17)
>
> And later,
>
> > "Their Voivode, also named **Dracula**, did not remain satisfied with mere prudent measures of defence: with an army he crossed the Danube and attacked the few Turkish troops that were stationed in his neighbourhood; but this attempt, like those of his predecessors, was only attended with momentary success. Mahomet, having turned his arms against him, drove him back to Wallachia, whither he pursued and defeated him. The Voivode escaped into Hungary, and the Sultan caused his brother Bladus to be named in his place. (19)"
>
> The name "Dracula" appears just three times, two of which more accurately refer to the father (Vlad Dracul). What attracted Stoker was a footnote attached to the third occurrence: "Dracula in the Wallachian language means Devil. The Wallachians were, at that time, as they are at present, used to give this as a surname to any person who rendered himself conspicuous either by courage, cruel actions, or cunning" (19). That Stoker considered this important is evident in that he copied into his own notes "DRACULA in Wallachian language means DEVIL." The three references to "Dracula" in Wilkinson's text, along with the footnote, are the only occurrences of the name in all of the sources that we know that Stoker consulted."[32]

X – ONCE MORE: WHY HUNYADI?

Now we can return to *Dracula – Sense & Nonsense*, p. 160:

> "Of the three Draculas mentioned by Wilkinson, the voivode "who beat the Turk on his own ground" could equally have been John Hunyadi, while the other two might have been Dracula – father and son (Nandris, 347)."

The expression "the voivode "who beat the Turk on his own ground"" is only used by the Count, who mentions merely *one* Voivode, "a Dracula indeed", no "other two". Besides, the Count mentions "that other of his race" (singular), who lived "in a later age". Only Wilkinson's text refers to a father-and-son relationship: Vlad II and his son Mircea II (Vlad III's half-brother, what Wilkinson does not mention), acting around 1444, *before* Wilkinson uses the name Dracula again: Vlad III, acting in 1460.

Which Dracula could be a János Hunyadi in disguise now, and why? One of the three "dracula-name-occurences" in Wilkinson's text? But Wilkinson has his own "Hunniades", so why should he use the name Dracula to signify Hunyadi? Or does Miller mean the only Voivode, "a Dracula indeed", mentioned by Stoker's Count? But why should Stoker, copying Wilkinson's remarks on the Voivode Dracula who "with an army (…) crossed the Danube and attacked the few Turkish troops that were stationed in his neighbourhood" almost *verbatim* in his own notes, want this Voivode "a Dracula indeed" to signify the Hungarian General and Governor Hunniades he had just read about in Wilkinson's book half a page before? It simply makes no sense. **My conclusion: Stoker initially refers to Vlad III, without using this name, which he did not know.**

XI – "STOKER, LIKE WILKINSON, HADN'T A CLUE WHICH DRACULA WAS WHICH."

Even if Stoker was scantily informed about the personal background of each of the persons introduced to him by Wilkinson, I see no evidence for Miller's assessment "Stoker did not know one from the other". Why should a man who studied Law and managed a large theatre – where dozens of fictitious characters were presented to the public every year – not be able to discern between (a) Hunniades, "general and regent of the [Hungarian] kingdom during Ladislas's minority" (b) the "Voïvoide Dracula" engaged to form an alliance with King Ladislas in the year 1444 but arresting this Hunniades after

32 From Miller, Elizabeth, ed. *Dracula: The Shade and the Shadow*, Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books, 1998,

the lost Battle of Varna, only to be attacked, defeated and beheaded by Hunniades once set free (c) the son of this Voivode Dracula who marched with Hunniades commanding 4,000 Wallachians against the Turks in 1444 (d) another Wallachian "Voïvode, also named Dracula", wanting to shake of the Turkish yoke in 1460 and (e) The brother of this last Voivode Dracula? All descriptions taken from Wilkinson, nothing from other sources was imported here. I merely added colours.

For all persons above listed (a) to (e), Wilkinson names their actions, the years in which these actions takes place, their allies and their enemies. That is reproducible enough to identify them as historical persons. He may leave out the father-son relationship between Vlad II and III, he may omit their first name "Vlad", he may be ignorant of Vlad III's cruelties and the corresponding epithet "Impaler", in short, his text may be *incomplete* – but his book is *not* distorting, as Klinger claims. And because Wilkinson does *not* mention that (d) was a son of (b), Stoker was not even tempted to mix up (d) or (e) with (c).

Miller addresses that Stoker's Count speaks of a multitude of persons connected with the Dracula name:

> "In the text, the Count speaks of "we of the Dracula blood," which suggest the name is identified with more than one person. In fact, he refers to a "Dracula ... who inspired that other of his race" (3:68), while Van Helsing reports that "The Draculas ... were a great and noble race" (18:337). Stoker, like Wilkinson, hadn't a clue which Dracula was which. Stoker just liked the name."

To begin with, the Count uses these expressions correctly. The Draculas *were* a blood line, a branch of the Basarab family, the Drăculeşti branch, as opposed to the Dăneştis.[33] If a novelist today refers to "the Bourbons", "the Capets", "the Tudors" or "the Windsors", that does not *per se* imply that he does not know which is which and *must* mix up Louis Quinze with Louis Seize. A problems arises from the Count mentioning a Voivode who "was a Dracula indeed", what might be construed to refer to a member of the blood line known by another ephithet. But Van Helsing, after receiving mail from Arminius, in Chapter 18 unambiguously talks of "that Voivode Dracula". This "heals" the disambiguation in the Count's expression: By the letter from Budapest and the Professor's subsequent lecture to the Vampire Hunters, Stoker allows us to tag the first Voivode he mentions, "who crossed the Danube to beat the Turk on his own ground", as a Voivode *named* "Dracula". Therefore, we may safely assume that Van Helsing in Chapter 18 establishes a *rudimentary*, but still *unmistakable* link to Vlad III.

Miller purports that Stoker was compelled to pick the Dracula name because Wallachian "drac" means "Devil" (p. 156). This may be true, but regarding the relative importance of such an association, to speak with Miller (p. 160) "(…) we must confront some crucial questions. First and foremost, why did he not use what he (…) had found?" Van Helsing links Dracula to the Devil's school and to "such words as 'stregoica' witch, 'ordog' and 'pokol' Satan and hell" and explains that "in one manuscript this very Dracula is spoken of as 'wampyr,' which we all understand too well." All kinds of devils… but Van Helsing *never* mentions that "drac" is Wallachian for "Devil". So if "using what he found" is the criterium by which to judge what was *important* for Stoker, the connection Dracula/drac/Devil was *not* crucial. Because Stoker does *not* play this etymological trump card, he could have as well have named his Count "Duc de l'Omelette" and then link him by slanderous rumours to the Scholomance, "stregoica", "ordog", "pokol" and "wampyrism". For his readers, who did not study Wilkinson's footnote about the Wallachian word "drac", the effect would have been identical. But obviously, Stoker found it a better move to baptise his vampire after a Wallachian warrior with a weird-sounding name than after a fried egg.[34] Etymologically, the novel links Dracula no more to Beelzebub than Van Helsing – the Dutch word for "hell" is "hel" with one **l**.

What does it all boil down to?

1. Stoker, in the Count's word about the Voivode who crossed the Danube, "a Dracula indeed" combined with Van Helsing's lecture in Chapter 18, suggests that the Vampire during his lifetime was a Voivode named Dracula, who tried to shake of the Turkish yoke, crossed the Danube, was defeated and finally betrayed by his own brother, who sold his people to the Turk. This Dracula's military campaign could be valued as a revenge for the defeat at Cossova (which was in 1448).
2. As no other Voivode but Vlad III Dracula matches this description, any impartial reader, backed up by some historical knowledge about Eastern Europe, *must* reach the conclusion that Stoker wished to link his Vampire to this Vlad III, even when this reader had *no* access to Stoker's notes and did *not* know that Stoker had read Wilkinson's book.
3. This does *not* imply that Stoker knew about this Voivode's harsh rule, especially his cruel execution and torture methods.
4. The only confusion in the Count's speech concerns (I) mixing up Szeklers & Wallachs and
   (II) the mysterious identity of "that other of his race".
5. In my opinion, both these equivocalities have *nothing* to do with Stoker being insufficiently informed or with sheer indifference on his part; they result from the *strategy he pursued as an author.*

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33 The title of Voivode was not hereditary in the strict sense, because the Voivode had to be elected by the Boyars and approved by the Sultan. Still, the Drăculeşti managed to obtain this position numerous times (see list on page 16). So did the competing Dăneştis.

34 Poe reader's will be aware that Poe's Duc de l'Omelette also had his dealings with the Devi and even came out as the winner.

XII – SUMMARISING THE CURRENT STATE OF DEBATE

To summarise what triggered the controversy about the Impaler's alleged influence on Stoker's novel, here again the Count's words from Chapter 3, matching with Van Helsing's words from Chapter 18, as quoted in Section II of this essay already:

THE COUNT: "Who was it but one of my own race who as Voivode crossed the Danube and beat the Turk on his own ground? This was a Dracula indeed! Woe was it that his own unworthy brother, when he had fallen, sold his people to the Turk and brought the shame of slavery on them! "

VAN HELSING: "I have asked my friend Arminius, of Buda-Pesth University, to make his record, and from all the means that are, he tell me of what he has been. He must, indeed, have been that Voivode Dracula who won his name against the Turk, over the great river on the very frontier of Turkeyland."

Despite the fact that the Count mixes the Szeklers with the Wallachians, everything suggests that Stoker points to Vlad Dracula III here, although *not knowing*, let alone *mentioning* his full name and his atrocities. Despite these gaps in Stoker's knowledge, Miller does not seriously challenge that Stoker linked the lifetime identity of his Count Dracula with that of a Voivode by the same name who after the defeat of Cossova tried to fight Ottoman supremacy but lost in battle and was followed up by his brother, who made a shameful contract with the Turks: quite a rudimentary description of Vlad III, but essentially, it matches only *one* historical person.

In fact, it appears that Miller, maybe in an earlier print run of her book, already made mince-meat of Sean Manchester for proposing Hunyadi as the model for Dracula instead: I found an overview of this discussion in the *Diary of a Amateur Vampirologist,* posted by Anthony Hogg on 28 July 2009. Hogg refers to Miller, *Dracula – Sense & Nonsense*, 2000, p. 111, but in the 2006 edition of her book, I could not find anything similar at this page; neither Miller's 2006 *Works Cited* nor her *Index* mention Manchester at all. For this reason, the text field at the right side of this page quotes the relevant passage from Hogg's blog.[35] I do not know what motivated Miller to include the Hunyadi option in the 2006 (second) edition

From Diary of a Amateur Vampirologist, posted by Anthony Hogg on 28 July 2009

Let's take a look at what Miller actually wrote (p. 111):

"In fact, this line of debate has resulted in outrageous conclusions, most notably by Sean Manchester who argues that the fifteenth-century Hungarian leader Janos Hunyadi „fits the bill [as the model for Dracula] much better [than Vlad], since he was a count, and Vlad wasn't."

Miller is referring to the occasional habit of some writers to „correct" Count Dracula's title, as the real Dracula was a voivode.

She points out that to do so is nonsensical, as Stoke's Dracula was a fictional creation, not an accurate rendering of a fifteenth century Wallachian warlord.

Now, let's take a look at what Sean Manchester's theory actually consisted of.

If we turn to pages 82-83 n1 of his book, *The Highgate Vampire: The Infernal World of the Undead Unearthed at London's Famous Highgate Cemetery and Environs* (London: British Occult Society, 1985), we find this:

"Philologists at the Sixth Congress of Onomastic Sciences in Munich in 1958 designated Vlad Tepes, who ruled Wallachia from 1456-62 and again briefly in 1476, as Bram Stoker's Dracula. Since then virtually every writer on the subject unquestioningly endorsed this theory. This author, however, does not and identifies Janos Hunyadi (1407-56) as the historical Dracula."

Under what justification?

"Stoker describes Dracula as having the title Count of Beszterce which was historically one of the titles of Hunyadi, as was Voivode (govenor) of Transylvania and Count of Temes (now Timis, Romania)."

"Beszterce", it should be noted, is the Hungarian name for Bistriţa, referred to by its German name, in Stoker's novel, as "Bistritz". To my knowledge, the Count doesn't explicitly refer to himself as the Count of either of these places. Although, I'm happy to be corrected.

of her book again, unless she intended to ilustrate that the scope of Stoker's background knowledge and his intellectual capacities were so limited that that possibly, he could not tell (a) from (d). In effect, Miller makes no real effort to make this last idea plausible either: Unless the contrary is demonstrated, I see no reason to assume that Bram Stoker was intellectually unable to discern these two persons or wished to disguise János Hunyadi as Dracula. The current state of the debate still hovers around this one question: How much did Stoker really know about Vlad III and what of this knowledge finally shows up in his famous *Dracula* novel? Questioning Stoker's ability to tell Hunyadi and the Voivode Dracula apart seems convenient to help separate the Vampire King from Vlad the Impaler[36]. As I will demonstrate in the following sections, this is not neccessary at all to reach the divorce Miller is filing for. But before we arrive there, Bram's brain is still needed!

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35 http://doaav.blogspot.com/2009/07/manchester-vs-miller.html

36 In an 2002 interview with *Frontline World*, Miller stated: "Most people, even experts in the field, say it's a given (fact) that Stoker based Count Dracula on Vlad the Impaler. I'm sort of a lone voice crying in the wilderness." Sourve: http://pbs.org/frontlineworld/ stories/romania/miller.html. By now it appears she has earned the respect of anyone doing serious academic research about *Dracula*.

XIII – THE "FAKE FACT PARADOX"

To avoid any misunderstanding: I *completely agree* with Elizabeth Miller that Stoker probably knew almost nothing about the historical Vlad III: neither his father's name, nor his first name, nor his nickname, nor what he received it for. And I *agree* with her that it is irresponsible to claim that Bram Stoker built his novel on the Impaler's atrocities, without citing evidence: Stoker did not want to portray a *Vampaler*. Still, I think that one important clue needed to understand Stoker's *modus operandi* has been overseen by all participants in this debate – a clue I only recently came across by analysing the geographical backdrop of his novel. By trying to identify all of the novel's addresses in order to mark-up *The Dracula Maps*, I arrived at even more radical conclusions than the divorce Miller called for: Stoker kicked Vlad out before the wedding night!

Miller stresses that "A fictional character can have any history his creator wishes to endow" (p. 172) and that Stoker "was creating a fictional "history" for a fictional character, and in doing so, he tossed everything he could find into the stew" (p. 174). This is true, and it is not: Stoker was not writing *any* kind of fiction. By presenting his novel as a *manuscrit trouvé*, at the same time personally warranting its factual character, the journal entries being made by his high-standing friends without any "statement of past things wherein memory may err", he *abandons* the option to write whatever he wants. What applies to the Vampire, also aims at the editor of this "true story": "

> "He can do all these things, yet he is not free. Nay, he is even more prisoner than the slave of the galley, than the madman in his cell. He cannot go where he lists, he who is not of nature has yet to obey some of nature's laws, why we know not."[37]

Just like Klinger is trapped in his "Harker Papers" discourse, Stoker sees himself obliged to provide detail after detail, reconstruct all train trips with the 1893 *Bradshaw's* in hand, cite local habits, dishes, costumes, proverbs etc. in order to create a convincing backdrop. But the paradox is: The more authentic the setting and history he describes, the easier recognisable the persons and places, the quicker his narrative can be cross-checked and thus falsified. Stoker is broke, still he is ambitious: His *nosferatu* is not just any bloodsucker, it must be the Vampire *King*. This means, in life, he cannot be *any*one: To be a Count is the least, but why not the commander of a complete nation? Who cares for a local nobleman with some fancy title like Earl of Marsden or Count von Klatka? A real historical *princeps* would sell better. Edmund Ironside, Richard the Lionheart, Henry the Eighth – but would anyone believe they were shapeshifters? And if the book is taken seriously, how to avoid damage to the Kingdom's reputation, now that Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee is approaching? A vile Frenchman maybe? What about an unknown twin brother of King Louix XIV, who suddenly rises to power? Damn, Dumas used that guy already! Where to find a reckless warrior, not worn by romantic prose yet?! I love these sunny days at the harbour, talking with the old fishermen… but all their heroes were sailors… the library… I have to go to the library… some spot in Europe still must be virginal ground for novelists… mysterious… full of natural wonder… yet war-ridden and blood-soaked!
Such may have been Stoker's thoughts – we do not know. But as an artist, I would understand an other artist thinking that way.

XIV – IN THE WRITER'S KITCHEN

What we *do* know, however, is that Stoker garbled *all* addresses which could possibly lead to an identification of his characters.[38] The only genuine addresses are merely temporarily inhabited: the London hotels. Likewise, *The Spaniards* and *Jack Straw's Castle* are given with their true names: Should someone ever try to trace Van Helsing and Seward, visiting these pubs would be of no great help anyway. The farther removed from the private sphere of the characters, the more authentic the information: the railway stations, Bradshaw's train tables, the transport company Carter, Paterson & Co., the Orient Express, until we arrive at Slovak clothing and local recipes. But the addresses of the Whitby lodging house, of the Westenra estate Hillingham, of Seward's asylum, Holmwood's Ring estate, the Harker's home in Exeter, the Vampire's lairs in London's West End, Whitechapel, Walworth or Bermondsey are either simply omitted or tampered with: Every trace is a dead end.

The names of the protagonists themselves: modified, of course, as the novelist readily admits – he sees it as his duty to protect the privacy of these brave and virtuous people, his own friends:

> "Apart from excising minor details which I considered unnecessary, I have let the people involved relate their experiences in their own way; but, for obvious reasons, I have changed the names of the people and places concerned. In all other respects I leave the manuscript unaltered, in deference to the wishes of those who have considered it their duty to present it before the eyes of the public. (…) All the people who have willingly – or unwillingly – played a part in this remarkable story are known generally and well respected. Both Jonathan Harker and his wife (who is a woman

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37 *Dracula*, Chapter 18, Mina Harker's Journal of 30 September.
38 See *The Ultimate Dracula*, 2012, Part B and *Castle Dracula – Its exact location reconstructed* at http://www.ep.liu.se/ea/cis/2012/001/.

of character) and Dr. Seward are my friends and have been so for many years, and I have never doubted that they were telling the truth; and the highly respected scientist, who appears here under a pseudonym, will also be too famous all over the educated world for his real name, which I have not desired to specify, to be hidden from people – least of all those who have from experience learnt to value and respect his genius and accomplishments, though they adhere to his views on life no more than I."[39]

Sources quoted in the novel, like the names of newspapers: mostly faked or modified. Arminius, introduced as a Professor at the Budapest University, might point to Ármin Vámbéry – but the latter had left Hungary already in 1864, long before the Orient Express service was established.[40]

Now should we expect that in the very centre of this elaborate camouflage operation, Stoker would place a member of the European nobility, a national leader merited by defending Christian Europe against the Muslims, now to represent the Anti-Christ, the most horrible embodiment of pure Evil? As Stoker knew nothing about the sadistic executions staged by the Voivode Dracula he initially connects to his Vampire Count, he had no reason to believe he could simply smear the reputation of this historical person, whose descendants possibly still were in power positions, without any counter-reaction. Simply taking for granted that Stoker had no clue at all about whom he was writing and mixed up the historical persons involved implies that the good name of some leader of an "obscure" country at very the outskirt of Western civilisation did not bother him anyway. This point is open to debate. What in Canada today is believed to be a merely fictitious country,[41] in England was perceived as real, though distant. But I reckon that at least his own public standing as a novelist publishing a mystery story, that is "a history almost at variance with the possibilities of latter-day belief (…) stand(ing) forth as simple fact", was not completely indifferent to Stoker. Within the framework of his literary enterprise, a national leader who could be traced in any history book on his country in the long run might be no sustainable candidate for the role of Satan's ally on earth.

As we cannot read Stoker's mind, let's return to the novel. The year, in which the action is supposed to take place, for example. Many hints point to the year 1893: the death of Charcot in August 1893, bemoaned by Van Helsing, the *Westminster Gazette*, which first appeared in 1893, the use of the term "New Woman", coined in the very same year, etc.[42] But when the novel appeared in 1897, Harker's final note stated that the events must have taken place at least seven years before. Counting back, this means *in* or *before* 1890. Impossible to believe that Stoker, the date-and-time fiend, was not aware of this. It would not have cost him any extra penstroke to write: "Four years ago we went all through the flames." But for some reason, he had to tear down that elaborate framework of clues, all indicating the year 1893, in the very last second – a point completely ignored by Elizabeth Miller. Klinger uses it to backdate the novel's events to 1888 or 1889, but equally ends up with disparities, as he is forced to assume Stoker smuggled some later-day inventions into the "Harker Papers".[43] I vote for the much simpler conclusion that Bram Stoker simply did *not want* his novel to be connected to a specific year.

And very much in the same way, by the end of his book, Stoker *removes* the historical Voivode, whom we have identified as a proto-Vlad-III-Dracula by now, from the scene again.

XV – BRAM STOKER'S VAMPIRE TRAP

No *Dracula* aficionado yet has recognised the truly astonishing stage magic trick that Bram Stoker is playing on us here. Shortly before the final chase commences, in Chapter 25 Van Helsing starts a spiralling discourse, then invites Mina to join in his thoughts, only seconds after he admonished Seward not to tell her a word about her trance. Seward reports:

> "I thought that the Professor was going to break down and have hysterics, just as he had when Lucy died, but with a great effort he controlled himself and was at perfect nervous poise when Mrs. Harker tripped into the room, bright and happy looking and, in the doing of work, seemingly forgetful of her misery. As she came in, she handed a number of sheets of typewriting to Van Helsing. He looked over them gravely, his face brightening up as he read.

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39 *Author's Preface* to the 1901 Icelandic edition, titled *Makt Myrkranna* (Powers of Darkness), transl. Valdimar Ásmundsson.

40 Some authors believe Stoker was informed about Vlad the Impaler by the Orientalist/Philologist Ármin Vámbéry from the University of Pesth, who moved to England in 1864, reacting to a wave of anti-Semitism in Hungary; it is also assumed that Vámbéry worked as a spy for England. Stoker and Vámbéry met at the *Beefsteak Room* on 30 April 1890, after a performance of Henry Irving ,and also two years later at Trinity College, Dublin, where Vámbéry received an honorary degree. Stoker mentions their meeting in his *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving,* but nothing confirms they ever talked on the Wallachian Voivode Vlad III. Cf. Miller, 2000, p. 161-163.

41 Elizabeth Miller reports that many of her (Canadian) students easily associate Transylvania with Count Dracula, but believe the country is purely fictional – Miller, 2000, p. 199.

42 For the internal dating of *Dracula*, see the *Introduction* essay of *The Ultimate Dracula*, 2012, p. 8 footnote 49 and Miller, 2000, p. 86ff.

43 Klinger, 2008, p. 517-519.

Then holding the pages between his finger and thumb he said:

"Friend John, to you with so much experience already, and you too, dear Madam Mina, that are young, here is a lesson. Do not fear ever to think. A half thought has been buzzing often in my brain, but I fear to let him loose his wings. Here now, with more knowledge, I go back to where that half thought come from and I find that he be no half thought at all. That be a whole thought, though so young that he is not yet strong to use his little wings. Nay, like the "Ugly Duck" of my friend Hans Andersen, he be no duck thought at all, but a big swan thought that sail nobly on big wings, when the time come for him to try them. See I read here what Jonathan have written.

"That other of his race who, in a later age, again and again, brought his forces over The Great River into Turkey Land, who when he was beaten back, came again, and again, and again, though he had to come alone from the bloody field where his troops were being slaughtered, since he knew that he alone could ultimately triumph.

"What does this tell us? Not much? No! The Count's child thought see nothing, therefore he speak so free. Your man thought see nothing. My man thought see nothing, till just now. No! But there comes another word from some one who speak without thought because she, too, know not what it mean, what it might mean. Just as there are elements which rest, yet when in nature's course they move on their way and they touch, the pouf! And there comes a flash of light, heaven wide, that blind and kill and destroy some. But that show up all earth below for leagues and leagues. Is it not so? Well, I shall explain. To begin, have you ever study the philosophy of crime? "Yes'"and "No." You, John, yes, for it is a study of insanity. You, no, Madam Mina, for crime touch you not, not but once. Still, your mind works true, and argues not *a particulari ad universale*. There is this peculiarity in criminals. It is so constant, in all countries and at all times, that even police, who know not much from philosophy, come to know it empirically, that it is. That is to be empiric. The criminal always work at one crime, that is the true criminal who seems predestinate to crime, and who will of none other. This criminal has not full man brain. He is clever and cunning and resourceful, but he be not of man stature as to brain. He be of child brain in much. Now this criminal of ours is predestinate to crime also. He, too, have child brain, and it is of the child to do what he have done. The little bird, the little fish, the little animal learn not by principle, but empirically. And when he learn to do, then there is to him the ground to start from to do more. "*Dos pou sto,*" said Archimedes. "Give me a fulcrum, and I shall move the world!" To do once, is the fulcrum whereby child brain become man brain. And until he have the purpose to do more, he continue to do the same again every time, just as he have done before! Oh, my dear, I see that your eyes are opened, and that to you the lightning flash show all the leagues," for Mrs. Harker began to clap her hands and her eyes sparkled. He went on, "Now you shall speak. Tell us two dry men of science what you see with those so bright eyes." He took her hand and held it whilst he spoke. His finger and thumb closed on her pulse, as I thought instinctively and unconsciously, as she spoke:

"The Count is a criminal and of criminal type. Nordau and Lombroso would so classify him, and *qua* criminal he is of an imperfectly formed mind. Thus, in a difficulty he has to seek resource in habit. His past is a clue, and the one page of it that we know, and that from his own lips, tells that once before, when in what Mr. Morris would call a "tight place," he went back to his own country from the land he had tried to invade, and thence, without losing purpose, prepared himself for a new effort. He came again better equipped for his work, and won. So he came to London to invade a new land. He was beaten, and when all hope of success was lost, and his existence in danger, he fled back over the sea to his home. Just as formerly he had fled back over the Danube from Turkey Land."

"Good, good! Oh, you so clever lady!" said Van Helsing, enthusiastically, as he stooped and kissed her hand. A moment later he said to me, as calmly as though we had been having a sick room consultation, "Seventy-two only, and in all this excitement. I have hope."

Turning to her again, he said with keen expectation:

"But go on. Go on! There is more to tell if you will. Be not afraid. John and I know. I do in any case, and shall tell you if you are right. Speak, without fear!" "I will try to. But you will forgive me if I seem too egotistical."

"Nay! Fear not, you must be egotist, for it is of you that we think."

"Then, as he is criminal he is selfish. And as his intellect is small and his action is based on selfishness, he confines himself to one purpose. That purpose is remorseless. As he fled back over the Danube, leaving his forces to be cut to pieces, so now he is intent on being safe, careless of all. So his own selfishness frees my soul somewhat from the terrible power which he acquired over me on that dreadful night. I felt it! Oh, I felt it! Thank God, for His great mercy! My soul is freer than it has been since that awful hour. And all that haunts me is a fear lest in some trance or dream he may have used my knowledge for his ends.""

The amount of text in this dialogue is vast; for better orientation, I have highlighted the crucial lines in yellow: All of a sudden, Van Helsing no longer quotes the expertise of his friend Arminius on "that Voivode Dracula". Rather, he relies on his "friend Hans Andersen"[44] now and follows the half-thought buzzing in his brain, reciting Jonathan's Journal about "that *other* of his race who, *in a later age*, again and again, brought his forces over The Great River into Turkey Land" (my italics) and applauding Mina, who follows his hint and without hesitation identifies the Count with this "other", living in "a later age".

44 Dead since 1875. Does van Helsing live in the past or is this another example of Stoker undermining his own 1893 date schedule?

About this "other" we learn a lot, about his concentration on a single purpose, about his need for habit, about his selfishness.[45] But we do *not* learn about his name, or the exact time he lived in, or where his battles took place, or which Sultan was his adversary. Whereas the Voivode Dracula initially connected with the Count (Chapter 18) could be traced down in the history books and in the family tree of the Drăculeştis, "that other of his race" remains faceless. But because he shares so many characteristics with the Voivode Dracula he replaces, he is the *perfect double* for this quick and silent exchange: Before our very eyes, Stoker performs the trick of "The Transported Man" as shown in the movie *The Prestige*, taking places in the London theatres at the end of the 19th Century – exactly the place and the time of Stoker's job as Irving's theatre manager.[46]

The film shows the trick in two variants: first in the version of Alfred Borden, using closed cabinets, later in the improved version of Robert Angier, "The New Transported Man" using free-standing doorframes. In both versions, the stage magicians use a conventional device, a trapdoooor in the stage: The conjurer steps into a door; the same moment that this door is closed, his double steps out of a second door, several meters apart from the first. The conjurer has left the stage through the trap door, while the double uses a similar device to suddenly appear on the stage.[47] Stoker fobs us off with a substitute, whose identity we cannot check.

The distractive sound and light effects are produced by Van Helsing, with his convoluted speech about the criminal's child-brain that learns like the little fish and about the "elements which rest, yet when in nature's course they move on their way and they touch, the pouf! And there comes a flash of light, heaven wide…" Just like on the stage, there is a flash of light, and with a "Pouf!" the Voivode Dracula has vanished. The Vampire Hunters are chasing a nameless phantom now.

Stoker, through his work, of course was familiar with the use of trap doors, frequently featured in Shakespearean theatre.[48] The "vampire trap", employed to let Lord Ruthven, struck by lightning, suddenly disappear at the end of the play, was developed by James Planché for his play already discussed: *The Vampire, or the Brides of the Isles*, staged at *The English Opera House* in 1820, later renamed to *Lyceum Theatre,* run by Stoker.[49]

Here is the final scene of the play, Ruthven's wedding:

LORD RONALD: I do not rave. [Loud thunder. Another gust of wind blows open the casement.] See, see! the moon already rests upon the wave! – One moment! – but one moment! – [detaining Margaret]
LORD RUTHVEN: Nay, then thus I seal thy lips, and seize my bride. [Draws his poniard, and rushes on Ronald. Lady Margaret shrieks when Robert throws himself between Ruthven and Ronald and wrenches the dagger from his grasp.]
LADY MARGARET: Hold! hold! – I am thine; – the moon has set.
LORD RUTHVEN: And I am lost! [A teriffic peal of thunder is heard; Unda and Ariel appear; a thunder-bolt strikes Ruthven to the ground, who immediately vanishes. General picture, as the curtain falls.]

The New Transported Man trick

45 Focus, repetition, solitary action and return from a bloody scene also were the characteristics of Jack the Ripper's *modus operandi*.
46 USA/UK, 2006, written & directed by Christopher Nolan, with Hugh Jackman, Christian Bale, Michael Caine, Scarlett Johansson and David Bowie. Touchstone Pictures/Warner Bros./Syncopy Fims.
47 Finally, with the help of Nikola Tesla, Angier develops a third version: "The Real Transported Man". Tesla's machine generates an electrical lightning creating a clone of the conjurer. Angier uses this to simulate his own death by drowning in a water tank, so that Borden is accused of murder: A final revenge for the death of Angier's wife, who died in a water tank on stage. Borden is convicted to death and is forced to let his daughter be raised by Angier, disguised as Lord Caldlow. After being hanged, the framed Borden appears again as one of two identical twins, Fallon and Alfred Borden, who shared their life in order to create a perfect stage illusion.
48 Mabillard, Amanda, *The Globe, Shakespeare online* (20 Aug. 2000).
49 Ward, Kyla, *Slayin'em in the Aisles – A History, Tabula Rasa* #6 (1995).

By his stunning trick, so smoothly performed that it has gone unnoticed for more than a century, Stoker bereaves us of "that Voivode Dracula" and thus, without knowing, from Vlad the Impaler – that pet of 50 years of heated *Dracula* debate – and has no intentions at all to give us Michael the Brave (or any other national leader) in exchange: Any traceable historical person would be an invitation to expose Stoker's bundle of allegedly factual reports as notional, thereby reducing its artistic impact and commercial success. Possibly – but this remains speculation – the studied barrister even thought of the risk of libel suits by an indignant offspring of the nobleman his novel might connect to compulsive bloodsucking, or of protests by Romanian nationalists: During the 19th Century, Michael II was greatly romanticised as the first Romanian ruler unifying Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania.[50] But also Vlad III, despite the many complaints by the Saxons who suffered under his rule and published his inhuman deeds in several manuscripts and pamphlets, the Impaler later had several advocates in Romania, who hailed him as a strict ruler, who just did what had to be done to defend his country against the Turks and extinguish crime and corruption. In May 1881, the famed Romanian poet Mihail Eminescu wrote as last stanza of his Satire IV:[51]

Dar lasati macar stramosii ca să doarma-n colb de cronici
Din trecutul de marire v-ar privi cel mult ironici.
Cum nu vii tu Tepes doamne, ca punand mâna pe ei,
Să-i imparti în doua cete: în smintiti si în misei,
Si în doua temniti large cu de-a sila să-i aduni,
Să dai foc la puscarie si la casa de nebuni!

O, leave in the old chronicles our forefathers to rest;
For they would gaze upon you with irony at best.
Rise once more, o Tepes ! Take and divide these men
As lunatics and rogues in two big tribes, and then
In mighty, twin infirmaries by force both tribes intern,
And with a single faggot prison and madhouse burn.

Insults were not taken lightly in Stoker's day, as the criminal conviction of the journalist Edward Mylius shows. After Prince George of Wales (King George V) had married Princess Mary of Teck in 1893, Mylius, called him a bigamist in the French newspaper *The Liberator* in 1910. Still, I reckon that Stoker was not aware that Prince George's bride was a descendant of Vlad II Dracul – which makes her granddaughter, Queen Elizabeth II of England, a relative of the infamous Vlad the Impaler.[52]

We do not know for sure what finally moved Stoker to revoke the initial link to the historical Voivode, thin as it may be. Neither do we know at which point in time he created the Count's double-tracked discourse as presented in Chapter III. Already in this monologue, the foundation is laid for both Van Helsing's – or rather Arminus' – statement about "that Voivode Dracula" *and* its later revision in Chapter 25. The only thing that seems sure to me is that Stoker *knew* what he was doing. Too obvious are the parallels to the way he handled the issue of addresses and the novel's year of action. Already his mixing up of Szeklers and Wallachians may have been part of his strategy to mystify the Count's historical past: He had gathered enough

information to avoid this confusion, if he had wanted to. To take Stoker serious as an author in my view means to understand this *modus operandi* from the dilemma he saw himself confronted with, that is, from his high ambition. Creating a mere fantasy tale was not enough for him: He wished his story to fulfil the expectations of authenticity set out in the preface. On the other hand, he did not want persons, places and dates to be clearly identifiable. Only from this paradox, the contrast of detail and vagueness, the narrative ruptures and the evident garbling can be explained. And like in the case of Castle Dracula's precise site, his methods turned out to be highly effective: His novel has shown to be a genuine "mystery story", or, to employ the idiom coined by Professor Van Helsing in Chapter 23: The plot is a perfect puddle.
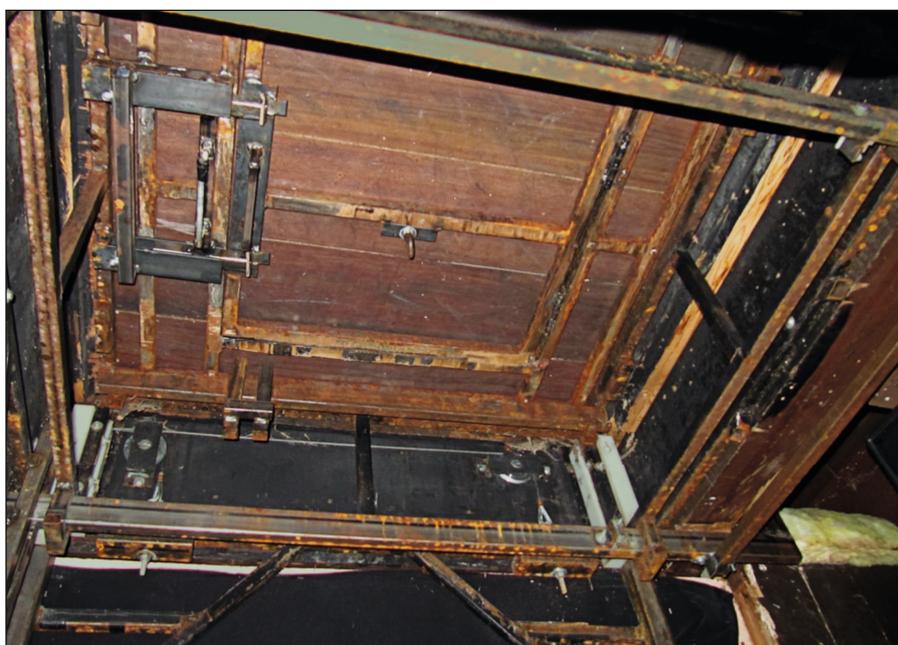
Stage trap door in the *Adams Theatre*, a reconstruction of the Shakespearean *Globe Theatre.* Photo: http://rickety.us, illustrated article of 27 August 2010

50 E.g. Nicole Bălcescu, *Romanian History under the Rule of Voivode Michael the Brave* (1849, published 1860). But during the same time, some Romanian authors also hailed Vlad III as an energetic leader defending national interests. Maybe to appease the progeny of "that Voivoide Dracula", Van Helsing in Chapter 18 assures that "There have been from the loins of this very one great men and good women, and their graves make sacred the earth (…)"

51 Source: http://gabrielditu.com/eminescu/satire_p.asp. Translated by Corneliu M. Popescu.

52 Prince Charles in the TV Show *Wild Carpathia*, 30 Oct. 2011, Travel Channel. Edward Mylius was sentenced to one year in prison for criminal libel. The rumour he had spread was that George had already married on Malta as a young man. Source: Wikipedia.

25

APPENDIX A: HOUSE OF BASARAB

The ancestor of this family was one Thocomerius, Voivode of Wallachia (ca 1298-ca 1310), who could have been either a Bulgarian boyar called Tihomir, or (less probably) a Tatar khan named Toqtemir. He had a son:
Ioan Basarab, Voivode of Wallachia (ca 1310-1352), *1270-80, +1352; m.Margit Dobokai, from Kökényes-Renold family; They had issue:

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* A1. Teodora Basaraba; m.ca 1320 (div) Tsar Ivan Aleksandar of Bulgaria (+17.2.1371)
* A2. Nicolae Alexandru, Voivode of Wallachia (1352-64), +16.11.1364; 1m: Maria N; 2m: Clara N
   o B1. [1m.] Voislav
   o B2. [1m.] Vlaicu I, Voivode of Wallachia (1364-75), +ca 1375; m.Cherana N
   o B3. Radu I „Negru Voda", Voivode of Wallachia (1375-83), +ca 1383; 1m: Ana Kallinichia; 2m: NN; (possibly m.Pss Kaliphie of Byzantium)
      + C1. [1m.] Dan I, Voivode of Wallachia (1383-86), +k.a.Bulgaria 23.9.1386; m.Maria N (a Serbian noblewoman)
         # D1. Dan II, Voivode of Wallachia (1422-31), +1.6.1432
            * E1. Basarab II, Voivode of Wallachia (1442-43), +after 1458; m.Maria N
               o F1. Basarab IV „Tinar", Voivode of Wallachia (1477-81), +after 23.3.1482; m.Maria N
                  + G1. Danciu, fl 1508
               o F2. [member of the Craiovescu family who adopted the surname Bassarab for himself and his descendants; (some sources say he was a son of Bassarab II)] Néagoé Bassaraba, Voivode of Wallachia (1512-
1521); m.Milica Brankovic
                  + G1. a son
                     # H1. Radu Serban, Voivode of Wallachia (1602-1610)+(1611), +1611
                        * I1. Constantin, Voivode of Wallachia (1654-1658), Voivode of Moldavia (1659)+(1661), +1661
                        * I2. [possibly dau.of Voivode Constantin] Helena; m.Constantin Cantacuzene (+20.12.1663)
                        * I3. Ancuta; m.Nicolae Patrascu (+IX.1600)
                     # H2. Mattia Bassaraba, Voivode of Wallachia (1632-1654)
                  + G2. a daughter; m.Radu Paisie Bassaraba, Voivode of Wallachia
                  + G2. Ruxandra; m.Radu de la Afumati, Voivode of Wallachia (+2.1.1529)
                     + (G4. Stanca, +1530; m.Hospodar Stefan of Moldova (+14.1.1527))
               o F3. Anca, fl 1482; m.Stancia de la Glogova
            * E2. Dan III, Voivode of Wallachia, +ca 1460
               o F1. Albert, fl 1499
            * E3. Stanicul, +XII.1446
            * E4. Basarab III, Voivode of Wallachia (1474-77), +Brasov XII.1480; m.dau.of Sinadin Capitanu
            * E5. Vladislav II, Voivode of Wallachia (1446-56), +22.8.1456
               o F1. Vladislav, fl 1488; m.Neacsa N
                  + G1. Vladislav III, Voivode of Wallachia (IV.1523-XI.1523)+(1524)+(1525), +after 1525
                     # H1. Moise, Voivode of Wallachia (I.1529-VI.1530), +29.8.1530; m.Anca N
                        * I1. Zamfira Basaraba; m.Stanislaw Nisowski
                     # H2. a daughter; m.Barbu Craiovescu
         # D2. [illegitimate] Vlad I, Voivode of Wallachia (1394-97), +I.1397
      + C2. [2m.] Mircea I „the Elder", Despot of Dobruja, Voivode of Wallachia (1386-94)+(1397-1418), +1418; m.Mara N (possibly m.N Lackfi /OR N, from Jagiello family)
         # D1. Mihail, Voivode of Wallachia (1418-20), +VIII.1420
            * E1. Radu, +1418
            * E2. Mihail, +1418
         # D2. [by Maria Tolmay] Vlad II Dracul „the Dragon", Voivode of Wallachia (1436-42)+(1443-46), he was granted Order of the Dragon by his relative Emperor Sigismund, hence his nickname,
            *in Wallachia before 1395, +beheaded Balteni XII.1446; 1m: Vasilissa of Moldavia (+after 1447); 2m: N, a Transylvanian noblewoman
            * E1. [1m.] Mircea II Basarab, Voivode of Wallachia (1442), *in Wallachia ca 1422, +buried alive XII.1476 (This date is not accurate, must be XII.1446, before his father was beheaded - HdR)
            * E2. [1m.] Vlad III Tepes „the Impaler", Voivode of Wallachia (1448)+(1456-62)+(1476), *in Wallachia ca 1431, +murdered XII.1476, bur Snagov; 1m: 1452/56 N, a Transylvanian noblewoman
               (she committed suicide when their home was captured by enemy forces); 2m: 1474/76 Ilona Szilágyi de Horogszeg (+after 1497), cousin of king Mathias I of Hungary
               o F1. [1m.] Mihail, fl 1486
               o F2. [1m.] Vlad, fl 1485
                  + G1. Vlad Dracula de Sintesti (László Drakulya de Semtheest), fl 1535; m. Anna Vass de Czege
                     # H1. Borbála, +before 1562; m.1554 Mihály Kornis de Homoródszentpál (+1582)
               o F3. [2m.] Mihnea I „Rau" „the Bad", Voivode of Wallachia (1508-09/10), +murdered 12.3.1510; 1m: Samaranda N; 2m: Voica Izvorani (+after 1510)
                  + G1. [1m.] Mircea II, Voivode of Wallachia (1509-10), +after 1521; m. ca 1519 Maria Despina, a Serbian noblewoman
                     # H1. Milos „Voda", +20.2.1577; m.Irini N
                        * I1. a daughter; m.boyar Albu Golescu
                     # H2. Alexandru II Mircea, Voivode of Wallachia (1568-77), +after 11.9.1577; m.Catherine Salvarasso/Salvarezi (+Tripoli ca 1590)
                        * I1. Mihnea II „Turcitul" „the Turk", Voivode of Wallachia (1577-83)+(1585-91), *VII.1564, +ca 1601; 1m: NN; 2m: VII.1582 Neaga, dau.of Vlaicu Cislau
                           o J1. [2m.] Alexandru „Tinar", +by 8.2.1589
                           o J2. [2m.] Vlad Basarab, +5.5.1591
                           o J3. [by Vlaica N] Radu Mihnea, Voivode of Wallachia (1601-02)+(1611-16)+(1620-23), Voivode of Moldavia (1616-19)+(1623-26), +after 20.1.1626; m.Arghira Minetti
                              + K1. Alexandru III „Coconul", Voivode of Wallachia (1623-27), Hospodar of Moldavia (1629-30), +Istanbul 26.6.1632; m.Ruxandra (+1684), dau.of Skarlatos Beglitzi
                              + K2. Mihail Radu, Voivode of Wallachia (III.1658-XI.1659), +26.3.1660
                              + K3. a daughter; m.Moise Movila (+1634), Hospodar of Moldavia
                              + K4. a daughter; m.Miron Barnowski Movila (+1633), Hospodar of Moldavia
                        # H3. Petru „Schiopul" „the Lame", Hospodar of Moldavia (1574-77)+(1578-79)+(1582-91), +Bolzano 1.7.1594; 1m: Maria Amirali; 2m: Irini, a Gypsy woman
                  + G2. [2m.] Ruxandra; m.21.7.1513 Bogdan III, Hospodar of Moldavia (+20.4.1517); 2m: boyar Dragomir
            * E3. [2m.] Radu III „cel Frumos" „The Handsome", Voivode of Wallachia (1462-75), *before 2.8.1439, +I.1475; m.Maria Aranita
               o F1. Voichita Maria, +1511; m.1478 Stefan III „the Great", Hospodar of Moldavia (+2.7.1504)
            * E4. [by Catuna N, later Mother Euphrasim, an Abbess] Vlad IV „Calugarul" „the Monk", Voivode of Wallachia (1482-95), +XI.1495; 1m: Rada-Samaranda N; 2m: by 1487 Maria Palaiologina
               o F1. [1m.] Radu IV „the Great", Voivode of Wallachia (1495-1508), *ca 1467, +IV.1508; m.Catalina from Sarata
                  + G1. Vlad „Vintila", Voivode of Wallachia (1532-35), +after 10.6.1535; m.Rada, dau.of Vlaicu of Wallachia
                  + G2. Radu „Paisic", Voivode of Wallachia (1535-45) +after 1545; m.Targoviste 1541 Stana N /OR N Basarab, dau.of Néagoé Bassaraba
                     # H1. Petru Patrascu „Bun" („the Good"), Voivode of Wallachia (1554-57), +26.12.1557; m.Voica Slaticare
                        * I1. Vintila, Voivode of Wallachia (4 days in V.1574), +V.1574
                        * I2. Petru „Cercel", Voivode of Wallachia (1583-85), +III.1590; m.Druzsa (Druzsianna) Bogáthy de Bogát (fl 1590-1635)
                           o J1. Dimitrie, fl 1585
                           o J2. Marcel Cercel, fl 1600
                        * I3. Maria; m.by 1555 Tudor Dragoesti
                        * I4. [by Theodora (+1606)] Mihail Viteazul, Voivode of Wallachia (1593-1600), Hospodar of Moldavia (1600), +19.7.1601; m.Stanca, dau.of Dimitru Izverani
                           o J1. Nicolae Patrascu, +IX.1600; m.Ancuta, dau.of Radu Serban, Voivode of Wallachia
                              + K1. Ileanu; m.Istrate Leurdeanu
                           o J2. Florica; 1m: Stefan Basarab (*1584, +21.3.1602); 2m: 1603 Ioan Cantacuzino
                           o J3. [by Tudora Tirgsov] Marula; m.Socol Cornateni
                        * I5. [by Maria Floresti] Radu, +ca 1604
                  + G3. Mircea III „Ciobanul" („the Shepherd"), Voivode of Wallachia (1545-52)+(1553-54)+(1558-59), +21.9.1559; m.Suceava VI.1546 Chiajna of Moldavia
                     # H1. Petru „Tinar", Voivode of Wallachia (1559-68), +Konya 19.8.1569; m.22.8.1563 Jelena Crepovic (+after 1572 in Russia)
                     # H2. Radu, Voivode of Wallachia, +IV.1591
                     # H3. Stana, +after 1601; m.Ioan Norocea (+Transylvania 1599), Logofat de Pitesti, Great Chancellor of Wallachia
                     # H4. Marina Ancutza; she possibly m.Andronicu Cantacuzino (+1601)
                     # H5. Dobra; m.Barbu Pietrosani
                     # H6. a daughter; m.1574 Sultan Murad III of the Ottoman Empire (*Manisa 4.7.1546, +Istanbul 15.1.1595)
                     # H7. a daughter; m.Ioan Iacob Heraclid, Hospodar of Moldavia (1561-63)
                  + G4. [illegitimate] Radu de la Afumati, Voivode of Wallachia (1522-23)+(1524)+(1524-25)+(1525-29), +2.1.1529; 1m: Voica, dau.of Zupan Vlad of Bucsani; 2m: Ruxandra Basarab Craiovescu
                     # H1. [1m.] Vlad, +2.1.1529
                     # H2. [1m.] Anca; m.Udriste from Margineni
                     # H3. [2m.] Radu Ilie „Haidaul", Voivode of Wallachia (1552-53), +V.1553
                  + G5. Carstina; m.Stancuil Bratovoesti
               o F2. [1m.] Mircea, +after 15.9.1497
               o F3. [1m.] Vlad, +4.2.1488
               o F4. [1m.] Caplea; 1m: Staico Rusi; 2m: 1507 Bogdan Popesti
                  + G1. [2m.] Vladut, Voivode of Wallachia (1510-12), +23.1.1512; m.Anca from Sarata
                     # H1. Vlad „Inecatul", Voivode of Wallachia (1530-32), +after 18.9.1532; m.1531 Ana of Moldavia (+1542/46)
                  + G2. [2m.] Neacsa; m.by 1512 Jupan Calota
            * E5. [by Catuna N] Mircea, Voivode of Wallachia (1481)
         # D3. [by Maria Tolmay] Alexandru Aldea, Voivode of Wallachia (1431-36), +after 25.6.1436
         # D4. [by Maria Tolmay] a daughter; m.1407 Musa Celebi, Governor of Bursa and Sultan of Rum (*1388, +k.a.Camurlu 5.7.1413)
      + C3. Radu II, Voivode of Wallachia (1420-1422)+(1423)+(1424)+(1426)+(1427)
         # D1. Néagoé
      + C4. a daughter; m.Staicu N, logofat
      + C5. a daughter
   ; m.Dobrisan N
   o B3. [1m.] Godon
   o B3. [1m.] Elisaveta Basaraba, *ca 1340, +1367/69; m.1352/55 Pr Wladislaw of Opava (+8.5.1401), Palatine of Hungary
   o B4. [2m.] Ana Slava Basaraba; m.1369 her cousin Pr Ivan Strazimir of Vidin (+after 15.9.1396)
   o B5. [2m.] Ana Basaraba; m.VII.1360 Stefan Uros V, Tsar of Serbia (+4.12.1371)
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APPENDIX B: SAMUELSON ON HUNNIADES AND VLAD THE IMPALER

Before referring to the events which were passing in Moldavia during the period, it may not be out of place to say a few words here concerning another hero, who, although he ruled in Transylvania, was a Wallachian by birth, led the Wallachian armies against the Turks, and for a time succeeded in checking their advance in Europe. This was John Corvinus, as he is known to English readers, or, more correctly, Johann Corvin von Hunniad, Prince of Siebenbuergen, who was born about the year 1368 in the village of Corvin, in the Wallachian Carpathians. His father was a Wallachian, some say of ancient family, and his mother a Greek, to whom also a high ancestry is attributed. As his history was written by flatterers in order to gain the favour of his son and successor, these statements as to his high ancestry must be taken _cum grano salis_. Johann was at first the captain of a small party of adventurers, having served, as was the custom in those days, with a troop of twelve horse, first under Demetrius, Bishop of Agram, and then for two years in Italy under Philip, Duke of Milan. There he met Sigismund, King of Hungary, who induced him to join his standard, and, as a reward for his services, conferred upon him the estate of Hunnyades, from which he took his name. Subsequently he rose from post to post, until he was appointed Viceroy of Siebenbuergen (Transylvania), and eventually Regent of Hungary. In the former capacity he formed an alliance against the Turks (about 1443) with Vladislaus, King of Poland and Hungary,[133] and Vlad, Voivode of Wallachia, and under his leadership the Christian armies frequently encountered the Ottomans, notably on three occasions – at Varna under Amaruth II. (1444) and Cossova (1448), in both of which encounters the allies were defeated, and finally at Belgrade (1456), where the Turks were completely routed. Various and conflicting accounts have been given of these battles, and of Hunniades's conduct during the encounters. At Varna, where Vladislaus was killed, the Poles charged Hunniades with cowardice; but the facts are probably that he defeated the right wing of the Turks, but that the temerity of Vladislaus caused the defeat of the army and his own death. The same charge was brought against him by the Poles in regard to the defeat at Cossova, but from his known bravery it was no doubt equally groundless. At Belgrade the city was completely invested by the Turks; but at the head of an undisciplined army Hunniades forced his way into the city, and by a subsequent sally, in which the Sultan Mohammed was wounded, he compelled the Turks to raise the siege and withdraw in confusion. John Hunniades died in the same year, and his son Matthias was elected to the crown of Hungary, over which country he ruled for more than thirty years.

The character of John Hunniades is well worth a brief consideration. As we have said, he was charged with cowardice by his Polish allies, but by the Turks he was so dreaded that they gave him the name of the Devil, and used it to frighten their children when they misbehaved themselves. Many anecdotes, of which the following is one, are related of his personal courage. After the battle of Cossova, whilst fleeing alone through the Carpathians, he was captured by two brigands, who deprived him of his arms. The cupidity of these men was aroused by a splendid gold chain which he wore, and one of them snatched it from his neck. Presently, however, forgetting the maxim that there is honour even amongst thieves, the two bandits began wrangling for the possession of the booty, and whilst they were so occupied Hunniades managed to recover his sword, and, engaging them in fight, he ran one through the body, whereupon the other fled.

If his biographers are to be believed, he must have been a remarkable man. 'As fishes are used to the water,' says one, 'as the deer to the forest glade, so was he adapted for the bearing of arms, a born leader of warriors, and the field of battle was his life-element.' The nobility of his bearing, another says, and his winning manner enabled him to secure the affection of his soldiers, whilst his readiness to serve, his piety and benevolence, and his shrewd policy, gained for him the confidence of his superiors, the leadership of armies, and the highest offices of the State. At his death he was universally mourned. Pope Nicholas ordered the cardinals to perform a magnificent _requiem_ in his memory, as the pious and successful defender of the Christian religion. Even the Sultan Mohammed, whom he had just defeated – when George, Despot of Servia, brought him what he thought would be the gratifying news of the prince's death – lowered his head, and, after a long silence, exclaimed, 'There never was, under any ruler, such a man since the beginning of the world.'

As we have said, the Turks were so much afraid of Hunniades that they are said to have given him the name of ‚the Devil;‘ but the same designation, as well as that of the Impaler, has also been bestowed upon Vlad, a voivode of Wallachia, who was probably the ally of Hunniades, and who, if one-tenth of what has been related of him be true, has a much better claim to the title. He is represented to have been one of the most atrocious and cruel tyrants who ever disgraced even those dark ages. One day he massacred 500 boyards who were dissatisfied with his rule. The torture of men, women, and children, seems to have been his delight. Certain Turkish envoys, when admitted into his presence, refused to remove their turbans, whereupon he had them nailed to their heads. He burned 400 missionaries and impaled 500 gipsies to secure their property. In order to strike terror into Mohammed II. he crossed over into Bulgaria, defeated the Turks, and brought back with him 25,000 prisoners, men, women, and children, whom he is said to have impaled upon a large plain called Praelatu. Notwithstanding his successes, however, Vlad was at length compelled to submit to the Turkish rule, and he concluded the ‚Second Capitulation‘ at Adrianople (1460), in which the tribute to the Porte was increased, but no other important change was made in the terms of suzerainty.[134]"

133 The two crowns had been united under him.

134 To show what uncertainty hangs over the history of this man, and in fact of the whole period, it may be mentioned that Neigebaur and other writers make this treaty to have been signed between Vlad II. and Mohammed III., who reigned 135 years later, whilst French writers state that it was between Vlad V. and Mohammed II.; but they all agreed as to the date 1460. Henke calls him Vlad III. He was universally named the Impaler in consequence of a practice which is well known to our readers through the so-called Bulgarian atrocities. A sharpened pole was forced into the body of the victim, and the other end was then driven into the earth, the unfortunate man, woman, or child being left to writhe in agony until relieved by death.]

<div align="right">Quoted from Samuelson, 1882, Chapter 4, p. 96ff.</div>

APPENDIX C: THE BALLLAD OF STEPHEN THE GREAT'S FLIGHT TO NIAMTZ

In 1476 Stephen sustained a terrible defeat at the hands of the Ottomans at Valea Alba (the White Valley), but eight years afterwards, allied with the Poles, he again encountered this terrible enemy. His army was at first forced to give way, and he is said to have fled for refuge to Niamtz, where he had a castle, but his mother refused him admission and bade him return to his army. Here is the story, with its sequel, as it is told by the poet who has already once been quoted (Bolentineanu):--

"Blows are heard resounding at the outer gate.
'Tis the hour of midnight; whose the voice so late?
"Hasten, dearest mother" – ha! that well-known sound –
"From the host I'm driven, bleed at every wound!
Fearful was our fortune, terrible the fray,
Scattered all my army, fled they in dismay.
Mother, open quickly; infidels pursue,
Icy is the night wind, purple blood their cue."

Ha! what say'st thou, stranger? Stephen's far away,
Dealing death, strong-handed, where he stands at bay.
Of him the mother I; such my son is he.
Be thou who thou may'st, my son thou canst not be.

(Yet can Heaven have fated, dealt this fearful blow?
Can his soul be craven, quail before the foe?)

If in truth thou'rt Stephen, faint returning home,
Not within these portals shalt thou ever come.
Hasten to thy brave ones; for thy country fall;
Then maternal love with wreaths shall deck thy pall!"

Once more Stephen rallies; lusty sounds his horn;
Heroes flock around him on the battle morn.
Fierce and dire the slaughter; on that glorious day
Falls the Moslem chivalry like the new-mown hay."

<div align="right">Quoted from Samuelson, 1882, p. 99</div>

APPENDIX D: ALLEGED LINK OF QUEEN ELIZABETH II OF ENGLAND TO VLAD THE IMPALER

Vlad II Dracul (*in Wallachia before 1395, †beheaded Balteni XII.1446) ↭ Catuna N, later Mother Euphrasim, an Abbess
◊ Vlad IV 'the Monk' († 1495) (half-brother of Vlad III Dracula "the Impaler") ↭ Rada-Samaranda
  ◊ Radu IV, Voivode of Wallachia (1508) *ca 1467, † IV.1508; ↭ Catalina from Sarata
    ◊ Mircea III „Ciobanul" („the Shepherd"), Voivode of Wallachia (1545-52)+(1553-54)+(1558-59), † 21.9.1559;
                    ↭ Suceava VI.1546 Chiajna of Moldavia
      ◊ Stanka Basarab (Stana, † after 1601; ↭ Ioan Norocea († Transylvania 1599), Logofat de Pitesti,
                                                    Great Chancellor of Wallachia
        ◊ Semphira (Zamphira) Logofat de Szaszebes
         ◊ Adam Racz de Galgo
          ◊ Peter (Petru) Racz de Galgo
           ◊ Christiana (Kristina) Racz de Galgo
            ◊ Katalin Kun de Osdola
             ◊ Ágnes Baroness Kendeffy de Malmoviz
              ◊ Baron Gregor (Gergely) Inczédy de Nagy-Várad
               ◊ Ágnes Countess Inczédy de Nagy-Várad
                ◊ Claudine, Countess of Hohenstein (Klaudia Rhédey de Kis-Rhéde)
                 ◊ Francis, Duke of Teck
                  ◊ Princess Victoria Mary of Teck = Queen Mary
                   ◊ King George VI of England
                    ◊ Queen Elizabeth II of England

Sources http://genealogics.org; http://genealogy/enweb.cz/balkan/basarab.html:
http://nickgombash.blogspot.com/2010/06/queen-elizabeth-related-to-vlad.html

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