

From Upyr' to Vampire: The Slavic Vampire Myth in Russian Literature

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From *Upyr'* to *Vampir*:
The Slavic Vampire Myth in Russian Literature

Dorian Townsend

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
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The Slavic vampire myth traces back to pre-Orthodox folk belief, serving both as an explanation of death and as the physical embodiment of the tragedies exacted on the community. The symbol's broad ability to personify tragic events created a versatile system of imagery that transcended its folkloric derivations into the realm of Russian literature, becoming a constant literary device from eighteenth century to post-Soviet fiction. The vampire's literary usage arose during and after the reign of Catherine the Great and continued into each politically turbulent time that followed. The authors examined in this thesis, Afanasiev, Gogol, Bulgakov, and Lukyanenko, each depicted the issues and internal turmoil experienced in Russia during their respective times. By employing the common mythos of the vampire, the issues suggested within the literature are presented indirectly to the readers giving literary life to pressing societal dilemmas.

The purpose of this thesis is to ascertain the vampire's function within Russian literary societal criticism by first identifying the shifts in imagery in the selected Russian vampiric works, then examining how the shifts relate to the societal changes of the different time periods. The four authors were chosen to represent four distinct periods that proceed from one another to illustrate the continued relevance of this symbolism to literary societal commentary. In order to do this, this thesis employs the methods of Greenblatt and Berdyaev, developing a means of studying the vampiric works through a societal dialectic. Each author is examined, utilizing Greenblatt's theoretical principle of an "intelligible network of signs." By concentrating on the "minor feature" of the vampire myth in these works, the "singular, specific, and individual" of the vampiric symbolism within each work reveals a cultural matrix, exposing the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal connotations of the vampire, both in its depictive qualities and in its transitioning role within the works. In order to comprehend the cultural matrix of the network of signs, Berdyaev's Dostoevskian dialectic was employed as a template, adapting the structure from Berdyaev's dialectic of theological ideas to a societal dialectic. The originality of this thesis lies in its exposure of the vampire myth as a persistent form of societal symbolism in Russian literature and its discovery of the dialectical nature of the vampire myth. This thesis hopes to serve as a model for future studies of folkloric symbolism in Russian literature.

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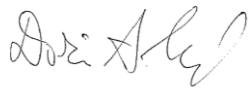
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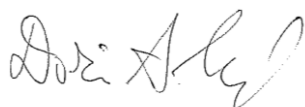


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Abstract

The Slavic vampire myth traces back to pre-Orthodox folk belief, serving both as an explanation of death and as the physical embodiment of the tragedies exacted on the community. The symbol's broad ability to personify tragic events created a versatile system of imagery that transcended its folkloric derivations into the realm of Russian literature, becoming a constant literary device from eighteenth century to post-Soviet fiction. The vampire's literary usage arose during and after the reign of Catherine the Great and continued into each politically turbulent time that followed. The authors examined in this thesis, Afanasiev, Gogol, Bulgakov, and Lukyanenko, each depicted the issues and internal turmoil experienced in Russia during their respective times. By employing the common mythos of the vampire, the issues suggested within the literature are presented indirectly to the readers giving literary life to pressing societal dilemmas.

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“minor feature” of the vampire myth in these works, the “singular, specific, and individual” of the vampiric symbolism within each work reveals a cultural matrix, exposing the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal connotations of the vampire, both in its depictive qualities and in its transitioning role within the works. In order to comprehend the cultural matrix of the network of signs, Berdyaev’s Dostoevskian dialectic was employed as a template, adapting the structure from Berdyaev’s dialectic of theological ideas to a societal dialectic. The originality of this thesis lies in its exposure of the vampire myth as a persistent form of societal symbolism in Russian literature and its discovery of the dialectical nature of the vampire myth. This thesis hopes to serve as a model for future studies of folkloric symbolism in Russian literature.

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During my research trip in Moscow, I was fortunate enough to be granted access to many remarkable archives and museums. Particular thanks go to the Russian State Library, the Pushkin Museum, the Bulgakov House Museum, the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, and especially the Russian State Library's Bulgakov Archive. During my stay in Moscow the staff at the GRINT Institute at the Moscow Humanitarian University were kind enough to grant me accommodation and assistance with any concerns, to which I owe them enormous thanks.

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Explanatory Notes on Transliteration, Translation, and Referencing

In this thesis the American Library Association-Library of Congress (ALA-LC) romanization method for the Russian language is employed, excluding the diacritics and two-letter ties, so as to avoid any potential future incompatibilities in internet copies of the thesis. The one deviation from this method of transliteration occurs with common proper names of Russian literary figures, such as Dostoevsky, Afanasiev, Gogol, and Lukyanenko, where the conventional transliteration has been used.

With the exception of Lukyanenko's literary works, Gogol's *Vii*, and Bulgakov's short tale "When the Dead Rise from the Grave," both the Russian original and the English translations have been referenced for the works of the primary authors of this thesis. For quotations within this thesis, the following translations have been referenced with details from the Russian originals included within the footnotes:

- Montague Summer's translation of Afanasiev's tales "The Coffin Lid" and "The Two Corpses," from: Summers, Montague. *The Vampire in Europe*. Headly Brothers, London, 1929.
- Jan Perkowski's translation of Afanasiev's tales "The Soldier and the Vampire," "The Dog and the Corpse," and "Upyr" from: Perkowski, Jan. *The Darkling: A Treatise on Slavic Vampirism*. Slavica Publishers, Columbus, 1989.
- Leonard J. Kent's translation of Gogol's stories *A Terrible Vengeance* and *Nevskii Prospekt* in: Gogol, Nikolai. *The Complete Tales of Nikolai Gogol*, trans. Leonard J. Kent. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1985.

- Michael Glenny's translation of Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita*: Bulgakov, Mikhail. *The Master and Margarita*, trans. Michael Glenny. Vintage, London, 2004.

References to the remaining works are translated by the author of this thesis, with transliteration of the original Russian passages included within the footnotes. While there are current English translations of Lukyanenko's series, the author of this thesis chose not to cite the English versions, due to errors in translation, such as the incorrect transliteration of Zavulon as Zabulon.

Referencing of works in this thesis follows the Oxford Footnote/Bibliography System.

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Introduction

I.1 Overview

In this thesis, the Russian literary vampire will be shown to maintain consistent connotations within a cultural mythical consciousness, embodying the shortcomings of society. Despite the occasional literary or folkloric shift, the vampire continued to illustrate the concerns of the times in which the works were written through metaphorical imagery. The vampire's literary usage within Russian artistic works arose during a time when supernatural themes gained considerable popularity, particularly during and shortly following the reign of Catherine the Great. Nikolai Gogol' wrote no less than four stories incorporating vampiric symbolism, A.K. Tolstoi wrote about a werewolf in *La famille du Vourdulak* and a vampire in *Upyr'*, Aleksandr Pushkin composed his poem *Demons*¹, and Lermontov had a literary protagonist comment, "there are times when I understand the Vampire."² Even in Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita*,³ a vampire played a role and during the Occultist revival encountered within post-Soviet Russia, vampiric imagery is encountered in many publications.

Often supernatural themes were employed as devices for depicting different forms of vice in a manner that could be simplified within an almost black and white

¹ A.S. Pushkin. *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii v desiati tomakh*. Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva, 1963, tom 3, pp. 176-177.

² "[...]jest' minuty kogda ia ponimaiu Vampira..."

(M. Lermontov. *Stikhotvoreniia, poemy, geroi nashego vremeni*. Izdatel'stvo Astrel', Moskva, 2003, p. 232.)

³ Mikhail Bulgakov. *Master i Margarita*. Tsentrpoligraf, Moskva, 2004.

setting. Verging on Aesopian language, Russian writers used the vampire and other demonic themes not just as a study of prior folkloric beliefs, but also as a means of criticizing the darker sides of society.

As Berdyaev notes, the inner divisions of human nature as seen during the transition of historical periods lead to an examination of the concepts affecting humanity. Through the “unsteady and contradictory” nature of such times, the depths of humanity and human nature become transparent. The authors examined in this thesis, Afanasiev, Gogol, Bulgakov, and Lukyanenko, each created a symbolic representation of societal issues through vampiric symbolism, portraying the internal turmoil experienced by the Russian people during the differing historical periods.

This was not done by directly portraying the internal and external conflicts encountered in Russia during the authors’ respective times. Rather, it is the employment of mythological symbolism, both within the classical folkloric and modern cultural variation that allowed for the development of commentary upon the eccentricities of society. Each author’s works addressed the nature of life, delving into the religious, political, philosophical, and societal concerns encountered by them. By representing these themes through vampiric symbolism, the works transcended a more literary and academic round of discourse of the elements of society, illustrating the nature of life at a mass cultural level, both through the culture’s myths and by using simple language and images that are widely understood. By employing a common mythos, the issues suggested within the literature are presented indirectly to the readers, giving literary life to pressing societal dilemmas. This thesis will examine the multifaceted nature of these dilemmas as seen through a selection of vampiric works, forming a unique methodology of societal examination. However, before addressing the structure and methodology of

this thesis, a brief overview of the Slavic vampire myth will be detailed, followed by a short review of prior works applicable to this thesis.

I.2 The Slavic Vampire Myth

Although the exact origin of the vampire myth is the subject of much dispute, it has been confirmed by various Christian missionaries to have already been an aspect of Slavic belief before the rise of Orthodoxy. The word itself is often purported to be of Slavic roots. Originally called an *upyr*, the term “vampire” is usually traced to either the Serbian *vampir* or the Bulgarian *upire*. In either case, the term *upyr* has long been utilized by the Eastern Slavs, with written sources dating as far back as 1047.⁴ The term itself was first recorded in French, English, and Latin texts that were referring to Poland, Russia, and Macedonia.⁵ Since they referred to Slavic folk beliefs, it is generally believed that its genesis was in Eastern Europe and that the term merely gained popularity in the West after a supposed epidemic in Serbia from 1725 to 1732.⁶ Although the depiction of the vampire itself is relatively homogeneous, the pretexts for the development of vampirism are numerous, varying from the belief that vampires

⁴ Katharina M. Wilson. “The History of the Word ‘Vampire.’” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 46, no. 4 (Oct-Dec, 1985), p. 582.

⁵ Ibid., p. 577.

⁶ Ibid., p. 583.

were the children of witches and shape-shifters⁷ to embodiments of unnatural death, such as those who died of an epidemic or during a duel.⁸

There are a number of different theories on the purpose of the myth within the context of the folk-understanding of various tragic events. Although Paul Barber claims that, in general, vampire lore “proves to be in a large part an elaborate folk-hypothesis designed to account for seemingly inexplicable events associated with death and decomposition,”⁹ the ambivalence towards death in Slavic folk-culture indicates a deeper foundation to the myth, enveloping a plethora of natural calamities tied to the vampire. The vampire and other forms of malevolent dead were viewed as the reason for the outbreak of epidemics, for the premature death of loved ones, and for natural tragedies that occurred in the community. The vampire was not merely an explanation of death; rather, it was a physical embodiment of the tragedies exacted on the community, often through some unnatural or corrupt means, creating a lucrative imagery that would transcend its folkloric derivations into the realm of literature.

I.3 Prior Works

This thesis progresses from a myriad of differing academic studies addressing both the folkloric and the literary vampire. The essential works leading up to this thesis will now be addressed, categorized by subject matter.

⁷ W.F. Ryan. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 1999, p. 74.

⁸ Elizabeth Warner. *Russian Myths*. The British Museum Press, London, 2002, p. 46.

⁹ Paul Barber. *Vampires, Burial, and Death: Folklore and Reality*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, p. 3.

I.3.1 Folkloric Works

The works addressing the folkloric vampire's position within Slavic folklore varied from excerpts about the myth within general folkloric compilations, works directly addressing the vampire, and a few that formulated specific analytical methods for ascertaining the connotations and internal symbolisms of folkloric figures. Many works have been published addressing the differing themes and fairy tale motifs of Slavic folklore. The selection of folklorically focused works touched upon in the section to follow is a minute sample of the multitude of mythological publications. The works that are included here were chosen for their particular applicability to the mythological symbol of the vampire.

Within the past hundred years, there have been a few folkloric works examining the vampire myth directly. One of the earliest compilations of East European vampire mythology was included in a chapter of Montague Summers' 1929 publication *The Vampire in Europe*.¹⁰ The initial publication was intended as a broad overview of the belief in vampires and its historical roots throughout Europe. Within the sections specific to Slavic vampires, Summers combined the mythology of Russia, Romania, and Bulgaria. By delving into the folkloric roots of the vampire myth as it was imagined in multiple cultures, Summers presented a detailed background of the myth; however, the variety of cultural categories and the inexact combination of tales from different geographical sources also caused mild confusion over the culture to which it was referring. Despite this confusion, Summers provided one of the earliest primary sources on vampiric mythology that remains indispensable to any study examining the figure of the vampire.

¹⁰ Montague Summers. *The Vampire in Europe*. Headly Brothers, London, 1929.

A more general overview of vampire folklore was created by Paul Barber in *Vampires, Burial, and Death: Folklore and Reality*.¹¹ Unlike its predecessors, Barber's publication provided a psychological analysis of the vampire theme, addressing the perception of death by preliterate societies. He hinted at the "nexus between vampirism and plague"¹² in various cultures worldwide, examining the exigencies of burial, the perception of death, the relationship between burial rights and vampirism, and the connection between vampiric folk belief and the irregular dissolution of the body.¹³ In detailing the real life antecedents of vampiric mythology, Barber's study shifted the vampire myth into the realm of scientific examination, providing logical explanations for many of the symbolic elements of vampiric folk belief.

The most widely published works specifically written about Slavic vampires were written by Jan Perkowski. In *Vampires of the Slavs*, he compiled some of the earlier sources on Slavic mythology by writers from various fields, including Jan Machal, Aleksandr Afanasiev, and Aleksei Konstantinovich Tolstoi.¹⁴ This led to the Perkowski's second publication on the subject, entitled *The Darkling: A Treatise on Slavic Vampirism*.¹⁵ In *The Darkling*, Perkowski attempted to illustrate the backdrop of the Slavic vampire myth, covering a wide-range of subjects, from comparisons of the societal roles of Dracula to those of Santa Claus to an overview of English literature that corresponded to the myth. Perkowski included some revealing tales from various

¹¹ Paul Barber. *Vampires, Burial, and Death: Folklore and Reality*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988.

¹² Ibid., p. 8.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 1-4.

¹⁴ Jan Perkowski. *Vampires of the Slavs*. Slavica Publishers, Columbus, 1976, pp. 19-75, 160-180, 248-271.

¹⁵ Jan Perkowski. *The Darkling: A Treatise on Slavic Vampirism*. Slavica Publishers, Columbus, 1989.

regions, along with a method of analyzing such stories, developing a framework for the understanding of individual vampire stories. This included analysis of the information source, country and region from which it originates, name given to the vampire, origin of the vampire, method of detection, attributes, activity patterns, precautions, cures, and the implied social/psychological role.¹⁶

In his 2006 publication *Slayers and their Vampires: A Cultural History of Killing the Dead*, Bruce A. McClelland expanded upon Perkowski's vampiric studies, reversing the emphasis of the prior publications onto the figure of the vampire slayer, rather than the vampire itself.¹⁷ By tracing the figure of the vampire slayer from Balkan folk belief to the pop culture hit *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*,¹⁸ McClelland exposed the concept to be a mechanism "for heroizing that which helps a community bury the traces of injustice committed in the name of preserving things as they are."¹⁹

Aside from the analytical works expressly concentrated upon the symbol of the vampire, multiple general sources pertaining to Slavic mythology were written, examining the variant themes of Russian folklore, including brief sections on Slavic vampires. The most extensive were W.R.S. Ralston's *The Songs of the Russian People*, Petr Bogatyrev's *Vampires in the Carpathians: Magical Acts, Rites, and Beliefs in Subcarpathian Rus'*, W.F. Ryan's *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*, and the folkloric study that led them all, Aleksandr Afanasiev's *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature*.

¹⁶ Perkowski, *The Darkling*, pp. 75-78.

¹⁷ Bruce A. McClelland. *Slayers and their Vampires: A Cultural History of Killing the Dead*. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2006.

¹⁸ Joss Whedon, dir. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. 20th Century Fox, 1997-2003.

¹⁹ McClelland, p. 185.

W.R.S. Ralston's *The Songs of the Russian People* addressed the complexity of Slavic folk belief, from the Pagan Pantheon to peasant village traditions. Within his discussion on sorcery and witchcraft, Ralston described the interrelation between magic and post-death vampirism.²⁰ Similarly, Petr Bogatyrev's later study *Vampires in the Carpathians* examined Russian folk culture and various folk rites, including holiday rites, burial practices, and demonic stories. Bogatyrev employed a unique anthropological methodology in his analysis of these practices, creating what he deemed a "synchronic method" of studying existing myths within villages. However, despite the use of the term 'synchronic' in describing his methodology, he avoided any historical study of the significance of such rites, stating that "we may be able to define the present image of one or another being, but it is impossible to determine from that what this image was a century or more ago, let alone in the proto-Slavic or proto-Russian epoch,"²¹ and observed that "hypotheses about the origin of this or that primitive religion, whether it predates the cult of nature, or whether magic existed before animism, have a basis so fragile that it is impossible to adopt any of them."²² He later suggested that in order to understand the significance of a rite, one must understand the context in which it existed, but then claimed that that context cannot be understood because of the influence of the role of interpretation in historical records. Thus, according to Bogatyrev, one can study a rite within its current context, but cannot discover its original meaning.

²⁰ W.R.S. Ralston. *The Songs of the Russian People: An Illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life*. Haskell House Publishers, New York, 1970, pp. 409-415.

²¹ Petr Bogatyrev. *Vampires in the Carpathians: Magical Acts, Rites, and Beliefs in Subcarpathian Rus'*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1998, p. 139.

²² Ibid., p. 12

W.F. Ryan's work *The Bathhouse at Midnight: Magic in Russia*²³ continued that of Ralston and Bogatyrev by composing a comprehensive study of nearly every possible Russian folk belief. He cited many of his predecessors, including the above described folklorists and Afanasiev, while also obtaining sources that are now more easily accessible due to the modern capabilities of information exchange, resulting in an indispensable and extensive source for research into Slavic mythology, covering the history of folk belief, popular magic, witchcraft, divination, omens, dreams, spells, talismans, and many other subjects.

While the works of Bogatyrev, Ralston, and Ryan did delve into the internal significance of much of their material, these works differed from Afanasiev's own study on Slavic folklore, *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature*,²⁴ in which the folklorist attempted to exhume the historical and linguistic derivations of the different mythologies, exposing each as its own separate poetic view on the life of the ancient Slavic villages. While some of his techniques may have been discredited, it has since been considered the foremost work of folkloric analysis, inseparable to subsequent studies of Russian folk belief and mythology.

Aside from his seminal work, Afanasiev also composed further theoretical studies into the nature of the folktale, including *The Origin of Myth: Essays on Folklore, Ethnography, and Mythology*, in which he examined a number of themes connected with the vampire myth, including the Pagan concepts of death and the soul.²⁵

²³ W.F. Ryan. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 1999.

²⁴ Originally published between 1865-1869, then taken off the presses by the censors soon thereafter. This thesis will use the 1970 three volume edition: A. Afanasiev. *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia slavian' na prirodu, Sbranie v trekh tomakh*. Mouton, Paris, 1970.

²⁵ A. Afanasiev. *Proiskhozhdenie mifa: Stat'i po fol'kloru, etnografii i mifologii*. Indrik, Moskva, 1996.

Afanasiev addressed the historical nature of folklore directly in a work entitled *Theory and History of Folklore*, in which he analysed multiple phenomena of folkloric composition, including folklore's distinctive poetics, the shifts in tales during historical developments, and the discipline's disconnect from reality.²⁶

More than a century later, Liudmila Vinogradova expanded upon the study of folklore's historical conceptions, concentrating primarily on demonology and its societal implications in "Slavic folk demonology: problems of comparative study."²⁷ Vinogradova suggested a method of studying demonological themes within the context of folkloric and mythological/ritual traditions. She stressed that demonological themes can be traced to multiple spheres of societal life, not just folkloric and ritual genres, but also a culture's relationship with nature and understanding of basic, yet controversial, concepts such as time. Vinogradova believed that by doing a broader study into the influence of demonology, a researcher can discover a general picture of the values and mythology of the ancient Slavs.

Further studies took a linguistic approach to the word "vampire" itself. In Wilson's "The History of the Word 'Vampire'," the differing etymological theories on the origin of the term "vampire" are compared, concluding with the claim that the most historically accurate supposition of the term's origin is the claim to its origination in Slavic beliefs.²⁸ Oinas extended the linguistic examination of the term "vampire" by

²⁶ Vladimir Propp. *Theory and History of Folklore*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1984, pp. 3-48.

²⁷ Liudmila Vinogradova. "Slavianskaia narodnaia demonologiya: problemy sravnitel'nogo izucheniia," *Ruthenia*, 4 August 2005, <http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/vinogradova.htm>.

²⁸ Katharine M. Wilson. "The History of the Word 'Vampire.'" *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 46, no. 4 (Oct-Dec, 1985), pp. 577-583.

tracing the subsequent deviations in terminology, from the adoption of the mythological figure of the *upyr*’ into the overarching designation *eretik*.²⁹

Unfortunately, while there is a variety of publications on the vampire myth and folklore in general, there are fewer studies addressing Afanasiev’s role in the discipline. Despite the import of his works, few publications have addressed either Afanasiev himself within the context of his contributions to the discipline, or even a biographical assessment of the folklorist’s life aside from brief descriptions of Afanasiev’s biography in general folkloric tomes, such as the Oxford guides to folklore.³⁰ However, there have been a number of studies on *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature* as well as Afanasiev’s ties to the mythological school, such as Perkowski’s studies³¹ and a linguistic commentary to *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature* published by Zhuravlev³² that shed light on Afanasiev’s motivation as a folklorist and the import of his works.

1.3.2 Studies on Gogol

Unlike the limited material written on Aleksandr Afanasiev, the works of Gogol have been studied extensively, including examinations of Gogol’s own worldview as reflected in his literary imageries. It is impossible to cover all the major academic studies addressing Gogol’s works, even when limiting those studies to his collections of tales. For this reason, four studies have been chosen for their applicability to the

²⁹ Felix J. Oinas. “Heretics as Vampires and Demons in Russia.” *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 22, no. 4 (Winter, 1978), pp. 433-441.

³⁰ Jack Zipes, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000.

³¹ Jan Perkowski. *The Darkling: A Treatise on Slavic Vampirism*. Slavica Publishers, Columbus, 1989.

Jan Perkowski. *Vampires of the Slavs*. Slavica Publishers, Inc. Columbus, 1976.

³² A.F. Zhuravlev. *Iazyk i mif: Lingvisticheskii kommentarii k trudu A.N. Afanas’eva “Poeticheskie vozzreniia slavian na prirodu.”* Indrik, Moskva, 2005.

material of this thesis, addressing Gogol's research into Russian folklore for *Evenings on a Farmstead Near Dikan'ka*, his worldview and philosophical inspirations, and one of the few works written about vampiric imagery in Russian literature, Swensen's study of the vampire in the works of Gogol.

In Karpuk's article entitled "Gogol's Research on Ukrainian Customs for the Dikan'ka Tales," the means by which Gogol attained the folkloric basis for his early tales is examined, addressing the sources acquired from his mother through an inspection of the author's personal letters. Karpuk enumerated the arguments regarding the ethnographic validity of the folkloric imagery found in Gogol's tales, and traced much of the source material of the tales to Gogol's personal compilation *The Book of Everything* (*Kniga vsiakoi vsiachiny*).³³

Little and Beliakovskaia both examined Gogol's works as a whole, attempting to ascertain the author's philosophical conceptions and their place within his own worldview. In his chapter on Gogol and Romanticism within Reid's *Problems of Russian Romanticism*, Little described Gogol's interest in the "demonic side of human nature,"³⁴ illuminating a number of interrelated themes regarding the weaknesses of man. Little observed that the heroes of Gogol's stories are confronted with an "alluring evil"³⁵ to which they ultimately succumb, tracing to the unrepentant nature of Gogol's theological background.³⁶

³³ Paul A. Karpuk. "Gogol's Research on Ukrainian Customs for the Dikan'ka Tales." *Russian Review*, vol. 56, no. 2 (Apr., 1997), pp. 209-232.

³⁴ T.E. Little. "Gogol and Romanticism," in Reid, Robert, ed. *Problems of Russian Romanticism*. Gower, Aldershot, England, 1986, p. 101.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

Beliakovskaia encapsulated the ideas found in Little in her dissertation on Gogol, extending the addressed philosophical and theological themes to an investigation of the evolution of Gogol's worldview. In her analysis, Beliakovskaia examined multiple aspects of Gogol's development, including illustrating Gogol's role as a national storyteller and Christian mystic within the philosophical-literary processes of the nineteenth century, both studying Gogol's conception of the progression of history and exposing the philosophical thought as it pertained to Gogol's critiques of civilization, through which Beliakovskaia analyzed Gogol's conception of Orthodox culture and theorized the significance of Gogol's social philosophy and view on the best course for the development of Russian society.³⁷

The first attempt at ascertaining the societal themes of Gogol's vampiric tales is found in Swensen's article "Vampirism in Gogol's Short Stories." In his article, Swensen illustrated the connection of Gogol's works with Romanticism, narrowing the imagery found within the vampiric tales to the art of *Kunstmärchen*, or the adoption of folklore into high literature, and Russian Freneticism.³⁸ Swensen illustrated that in Gogol's tales, the concentration is not on the vampire itself, but on its human prey,³⁹ embodying man's fall to an alluring evil, as was also addressed in Little, creating a reversal of the traditional folkloric structure in which the protagonists ultimately perish in the "tragic victory of evil over good."⁴⁰ Throughout this article, the differing folkloric, historical, philosophical, and societal connotations of the tales were addressed

³⁷ Larisa Nikolaevna Beliakovskaia. *Evoliutsiia filosofskogo mirovozzreniia N.V. Gogolia. Dissertatsiia kand. filos. nauk*. RGB, Moskva, 2005.

³⁸ Andrew Swensen. "Vampirism in Gogol's Short Stories." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 37, no. 4 (Winter, 1993), pp. 491-492.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 490.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 495.

to a certain degree; and the research that was done by Swensen served as a great contribution to the purposes of this thesis.

I.3.3 Studies on Bulgakov

The works of Mikhail Bulgakov have been studied extensively. With the publication of the author's twilight novel *The Master and Margarita* in 1967, numerous academic studies were published, attempting to grasp the significance of this complex novel. Select studies have endeavoured to unearth a unified theory of the novel's internal symbolisms, striving to ascertain the overarching connotations of the novel. For instance, Sona Hoisington examined its fairy-tale elements, concluding with a debatable simplification of Bulgakov's theosophical background:

[...] the final analysis of the function of fairy tale elements in Bulgakov's novel is philosophical. The fairy tale, which permits no moral ambiguity, is a singularly appropriate vehicle for expressing Bulgakov's belief in an absolute morality and in the existence of a just God.⁴¹

However, this directly contradicted Lur'e's assertion that Bulgakov saw God as "withdrawn and indifferent to the sufferings of mankind"⁴² and Haber's examination of Bulgakov's dualism, in which evil and good were ultimately equal.⁴³ These contradictions will be discussed in greater detail in Section 3.3; however, it should be noted that these contradictions reflect the difficulties encountered when attempting to simplify this complex novel into one analytical system.

⁴¹ Sona Hoisington. "Fairy-Tale Elements in Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita*." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Summer, 1981), p. 53.

⁴² Ia. S. Lur'e. "Mikhail Bulgakov between Mark Twain and Lev Tolstoy." *Russian Review*, vol. 50, no. 2, (April, 1991), p. 208.

⁴³ Laura D. Weeks. "Hebraic Antecedents in *The Master and Margarita*: Woland and Company Revisited." *Slavic Review*, vol. 43, no. 2 (Summer, 1984), p. 225.

Similarly Ericson undertook a “coherent” reading of the novel, in his exploration of the themes of Satanic incarnation in *The Master and Margarita*. While Ericson did state that this analysis was an “untangling of just one thread of meaning,” suggesting an awareness of the difficulty in creating a comprehensive understanding of the novel, but his hesitation is reversed by his claim that this thread “suggests something of the pattern of the whole fabric,”⁴⁴ implying that:

[...] while an examination of the Satanic incarnation in *The Master and Margarita* and some of its ramifications does not comprehend the rich complexity of Bulgakov’s novel, it does serve to indicate the way in which it is to be read.⁴⁵

While Ericson’s study shed light upon the complex symbolisms of Satanic parody within the novel, his suggestion that this particular thread is the keystone through which the work should be read denied the complexity of imagery and thematics found in *The Master and Margarita*. Ericson’s motivation reflected the ideology often found within studies of Bulgakov’s twilight novel that only through a unified reading can the novel be truly understood:

One of the pressing tasks of Bulgakov criticism is to explore them fully and organize them into a comprehensive interpretation—one which is sure to reveal the consummate artistry of this masterpiece.⁴⁶

However, by interpreting the novel in this manner, its complexity is neglected. Multiple symbolisms are inevitably overlooked through the process of concentrating on either one artistic progression of the work, or even when considering a few linear literary thematics as a composite whole. What results is what Weeks describes as “another

⁴⁴ Edward E. Ericson. “The Satanic Incarnation: Parody in Bulgakov’s *The Master and Margarita*.” *Russian Review*, vol. 33, no. 1 (Jan., 1974), p. 20.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 35.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 36.

attempt”⁴⁷ at a unified reading, as typified in her examination of the novel through the lens of its Hebraic derivations. The weakness in unified theories lies not in the subject matter discussed—the fairy-tale elements, Satanic symbolisms, and Hebraic antecedents all serve within the intricate world of Bulgakov’s novel. It is in the act of emphasizing one thematic line within the novel as the novel’s unifying purpose that denies the complexity and depth of depiction of the work.

In order to avoid this conundrum, the examination of Bulgakov’s novel within this thesis is not asserted to be a reading of the novel as a whole, but rather an examination of one individual element within Bulgakov’s complex created world, namely the novel’s vampiric elements. In conducting this task, use has been made of the internet addendum to the *Bulgakov Encyclopedia*, which clarified many of the basic characteristics of the character Hella, delving into the roots of the name, her role in the novel, her ties to A.K. Tolstoi’s “Upyr’,” and the enigma of the character’s absence in the final flight that concluded the novel.⁴⁸ Relatively few works have addressed the mysterious vampiric figure and this short article serves as an informative foundation for studying the character.

Perhaps the most directly applicable source for the derivation of Hella and for a number of minor themes encountered in the novel is Bulgakov’s personal copy of *Faust*, which was uncovered by the author of this thesis in the Russian State Library Bulgakov Archive. Within this copy, Bulgakov made meticulous notes, underlining entries in the

⁴⁷ Weeks, p. 225.

⁴⁸ “Gella.” *Bulgakovskaia Entsiklopediia*. <http://www.bulgakov.ru/print.php?ency=gella>, 13 April 2006, p. 1.

appendix of the novel on Lilith,⁴⁹ a Hebraic figure thought to have served as one of the primary sources for the character Hella and notes on the meaning of the quote taken from *Faust* that begins Bulgakov's novel, "That Power I serve which wills forever evil, yet does forever good."⁵⁰

Within the field of discussion of the more theoretical aspects of the novel, a number of academic works have been published addressing the theological and philosophical leanings of Bulgakov. Many of these works concentrated on the role of *Faust*, both in Gounod's operatic version and in the above-mentioned novel by Goethe, in the literary development of the author, including articles written by Lowe⁵¹ and Stenbock-Fermor.⁵² In his PhD thesis, Kim Do Eb engaged with many of the literary and philosophical thematics of the novel, examining the Western literary parallels, the novel's balance of satire, fantasy, and history, the concept of the novel's three worlds, and the philosophical character of the novel.⁵³

I.3.4 Studies on Post-Soviet Literature

Perhaps due to the contemporaneity of its publication or to the stigma encountered within academia of studying works viewed as "mass culture,"

⁴⁹ Gete, V. *Faust: Perevod i comment. A. Sokolovskogo. SPb., 1902. S pometai M.A. Bulgakova. 192+I-IV ll.* Bulgakov Archive, RGB, p. 321.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 40.

(The quote is encountered in Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 7.)

⁵¹ David Lowe. "Gounod's Faust and Bulgakov's the Master and Margarita." *Russian Review*, vol. 55, no. 2 (Apr., 1996), pp. 279-286.

⁵² Elisabeth Stenbock-Fermor. "Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita and Goethe's Faust." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 13, no. 3. (Autumn, 1969), pp. 309-325.

⁵³ Kim Do Eb. *Khudozhestvennye i filosofskie printsipy kompozitsii romana M Bulgakova "Master i Margarita."* Dissertatsiia na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk. MGU, Moskva, 2002.

Lukyanenko's *Dozor Series* had remained unexamined until the conception of this thesis. Most studies of late Soviet and post-Soviet fantastic and vampiric literature addressed the general trends of the publications released at the time, although select authors have occasionally been the subject of academic study.

Amongst these publications Brougher's multiple articles on post-Soviet literature are notable both for their scope and the breadth of her studies. In "The Occult in Russian Literature of the 1990s," Brougher addressed the supernatural symbolisms encountered within recent Russian literature, discerning a number of trends interconnected with the phenomenon, and concluding that the Occultist thematics were:

[...] an attempt to put an end to intellectual and spiritual limitations imposed by Communist ideology and to reconnect on a global scale to human thought and culture through the centuries, to tap into the supernatural, the fantastic, the mystical and the esoteric as a way of exploring the mysteries of human behaviour and existence. The integration of various occultist beliefs and notions into today's literature again shifts the emphasis from faith in human reason to faith in the irrational, the invisible and the unknown as vital components of human life.⁵⁴

Brougher also examined the literary works of a number of Soviet and post-Soviet authors, including an evaluation of Petr Aleshkovsky's *Vladimir Chigrintsev* in which the novel's folkloric and literary derivation was unearthed, tracing its symbolism to Slavic folklore, Pushkin's poetry, surrealist historical images, and other culturally derived sources.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Valentina G. Brougher. "The Occult in Russian Literature of the 1990s." *Russian Review*, vol. 56, no. 1 (Jan. 1997), p. 124.

⁵⁵ Valentina G. Brougher. "Werewolves and Vampires, Historical Questions and Symbolic Answers in Petr Aleshkovsky's *Vladimir Chigrintsev*." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 45, no. 3 (Autumn 2001), pp. 491-505.

In her article “The Demonic in the Short Stories of Grigorii Petrov, Anatolii Kurchatkin, and Oleg Ermakov,” Brougher attributed the literary usage of supernatural thematics as having progressed directly from the publication of Bulgakov’s final novel:

The publication in 1966-67 of Mikhail Bulgakov’s long suppressed novel, *Master i Margarita (The Master and Margarita)*—in which the writer utilized black magic, the demonic and the supernatural to expose human vice and folly—reminded the literary world of the tradition represented by such nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers as Nikolai Gogol’, Fedor Dostoevskii, Andrei Belyi, Fedor Sologub, and Dmitrii Merzhkovskii. Just as these writers and Bulgakov assigned to the demonic a vital significance, so Russian writers in the glasnost/post-glasnost years find the “dark” world to be a rich source of literary devices and metaphors.⁵⁶

Brougher continued to address certain philosophical commonalities between the selected post-Soviet works, noting the latent effect of the significant political change encountered by the country:

The stories discussed in this paper have been published or republished in Russia at a time of great political and social change and a period of deep soul searching. Just as many nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers served as the conscience of the nation, Petrov, Kurchatkin and Ermakov have adopted the roles of teacher, moralist and prophet, judging the world in which they live. The authors consider different aspects of human existence: the nature of reality, the definition of good and evil, and the role of individual choice, will and responsibility. The metaphorical language of the demonic serves as an apt vehicle for exploring the moral dilemmas of the Russian people in a changing world. It speaks with immediacy and relevance to the readers of the 1990s, living in a chaotic world in which communist ideology has been largely discredited but a new moral compass has yet to fully take shape.⁵⁷

Each of these themes, of soul searching, debates upon existence, and attempts to understand life in a chaotic world, are also encountered within Lukyanenko’s works, as well as another author of that period, Sasha Sokolov. In Sokolov’s vampirically themed

⁵⁶ Valentina G. Brougher. “The Demonic in the Short Stories of Grigorii Petrov, Anatolii Kurchatkin, and Oleg Ermakov.” *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. 41, no. 2 (Jun. 1999), Academic Research Library, p. 156.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 156.

novel *Palisandriia*, a subjective world was created, parodying Russian literature and life, themes examined by both Ashcheulova and Matich.⁵⁸

Rougle and Rosenthal also examined the fantastic in late Soviet literature, analyzing the progression from realism to fantastic trends in many of the authors who gained popularity during the transition from Soviet to post-Soviet Russia⁵⁹ and the fantastic's interrelation with the general interest in the Occult.⁶⁰ Oinas expanded upon the examination of the occultist revival by addressing the increase in folkloristics in late Soviet Russia.⁶¹

The most directly applicable source for delving into the societal dialectic of Lukyanenko's *Dozor Series* was found in a uniquely contemporary source—Lukyanenko's public Livejournal.⁶² In his online journal, the author not only discussed his works and informed his readers of pending publications, he also delved into his own personal concerns, including political issues of interest to the author and random thoughts on life in Russia. Through this resource, a unique level of insight into the thoughts of the writer was obtained.

⁵⁸ Ashcheulova, Irina Vladimirovna. *Poetika prozy Sashi Sokolova (izmenenie printsipov mifologizatsii). Dissertatsiia na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk*. RGB OD, Tomsk, 2000.

Matich, Olga. "Sasha Sokolov's *Palisandriia*: History and Myth." *Russian Review*, vol. 45, no. 4 (Oct. 1986), pp. 415-426.

⁵⁹ Charles Rougle. "On the 'Fantastic' Trend in Recent Soviet Prose." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 34, no. 3 (Autumn, 1990), pp. 308-321.

⁶⁰ Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal, ed. *The Occult in Russian and Soviet Culture*. Cornell University Press, London, 1997, p. 29.

⁶¹ Felix J. Oinas. "Folklore and Politics in the Soviet Union." *Slavic Review*, vol. 32, no. 1 (Mar., 1973), pp. 45-48.

⁶² Sergei Lukyanenko. *Sudovoi zhurnal Doktora Livsi*. <http://doctor-livsy.livejournal.com>, 2 May 2007.

Having summarized the extant sources on the vampire myth in Russian literature and folklore, the methodology and structure of this thesis will now be elaborated upon, detailing how this thesis proceeds from these works, both drawing from the prior studies and expanding upon the discipline.

I.4 Methodology

Unlike the above works, in which the researchers primarily concentrated upon an individual Russian author's employment of vampiric imagery, this thesis will ascertain the societal concerns expressed across the breadth of Russian vampiric literature, illustrating both the depth of societal examination within the works of Afanasiev, Gogol, Bulgakov, and Lukyanenko and the utility of the symbolic nature of the myth within these literary creations. While the societal connotations of certain individual author's creative endeavours were noted within select literary studies, such as Swensen's article on Gogol's vampiric tales, none of these academic pursuits illustrated the clear system of societal symbolism encountered through the vampiric, or addressed the vampire's continuation as a lucrative symbol beyond either the individual works or the literature of that isolated era.

In order to expose the vampire's continued applicability to societal commentary in Russian literature, the structure of the thesis will use an adapted form of the "dialectic of ideas" of Berdyaev's "anthropology in motion,"⁶³ while the theoretical basis for the subject matter of the thesis and the means by which it is examined will be dependent on select ideas expressed in Stephen Greenblatt and Catherine Gallagher's new historicism.

⁶³ Nicholas Berdyaev. *Dostoevsky*, trans. Donald Attwater. *Sheed & Ward*. London, 1934, pp. 5-6.

Before addressing the influence of Berdyaev on this thesis's structure, Greenblatt's theoretical ideas on literary criticism that inform this thesis will first be explicated.

In his assessment of the study of literature, Greenblatt emphasizes the integration of history and art, stressing their interconnected nature. He claims that one can discover the diverse social and psychological formations of the author's historical time,⁶⁴ underlining the need to examine the social energies of a culture, stating:

We are intensely interested in tracking the social energies that circulate very broadly through a culture, flowing back and forth between margins and center, passing from zones designated as art to zones apparently indifferent or hostile to art, pressing up from below to transform exalted spheres and down from on high to colonize the low.⁶⁵

By examining the flow of culture, Greenblatt notes that in order to form a fuller picture of a culture, the texts to be studied should not be limited to what is traditionally considered "classical literature," stressing that the concerns of the different historical periods are not only expressed in those works that have maintained a historical continuity within the literary disciplines, but pass "from zones designated as art to zones apparently indifferent or hostile to art."⁶⁶ It is this recognition that motivates the choice of texts explored in this thesis, ranging from the collected folklore of Afanasiev, to the works of the "classical" Russian authors Gogol and Bulgakov, through to the works of Lukyanenko, a writer of popular literature. Despite their variant forms, the societal thematics of the times in which the authors lived as represented by the symbolism of the vampire within their works progresses from one historical period to the next, giving a greater breadth to the societal concerns of the Russian people.

⁶⁴ Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt. *Practicing New Historicism*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2000, pp. 6-7.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Greenblatt's program of new historicism further emphasizes the questions of the text's interrelation with its socio-historical context, the meaning in a text unintentionally included by an author, society and history's roles in the production of meaning, and the cultural matrix of the text. These concepts will be further elaborated upon and their relation to the structure and methodology of this thesis will be explicated. However, it should be noted that Greenblatt never gave a definite theoretical lesson in his description of new historicism:

Each time we approached that moment in the writing when it might have been appropriate to draw the "theoretical" lessons, to scold another school of criticism, or to point the way towards the paths of virtue, we stopped, not because we're shy of controversy, but because we cannot bear to see the long chains of close analysis go up in a puff of abstraction. So we sincerely hope you will not be able to say what it all adds up to; if you could we would have failed.⁶⁷

Therefore each of the theoretical ideas that are to be described are not part of a set structure of new historicism, but rather are cultural theories that are applicable to the study of the socio-historical contexts of the literary works of this thesis.

One of the primary emphases of new historicism is on the relationship between literature and society, stressing that the "relations between textual and other forms of social production are more complex than is dreamt of in formalistic philosophies."⁶⁸ Greenblatt stresses that the author, historian, and even critic, are all products of their historical times, claiming that they are only able to observe the alteration of history and society through the "framework of the present."⁶⁹ He suggests that the "world of the text" is intimately linked with the social structure from which it arose, and from this

⁶⁷ Gallagher, p. 19.

⁶⁸ Jan R. Veenstra. "The New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt: On Poetics of Culture and the Interpretation of Shakespeare." *History and Theory*, vol. 34, no. 3. (Oct., 1995), p. 176.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 181.

relation derives its meaning from both the author and the reader in their interpretation of the work and within its social structure.⁷⁰ Due to this complex web connecting the writer and the reader, the context from which the piece derived allows not only for the examination of the “intentional horizon of the author”, comprised of the issues within the work that were consciously emphasized, but also the inscription of the author’s work with external meaning. Veenstra summarized this idea in her description of Greenblatt’s poetics, stating “the author’s first order reference is so much inferred by the social context that it transcends his intentionality.”⁷¹ Thus the text surpasses the conscious intentions of the author, reflecting an enrichment of the text’s meaning due, according to Greenblatt, to the historical distance of the reader from the author’s work, deriving a depth of depiction from areas that “the authors we study would not have had sufficient distance upon themselves and their own era to grasp.”⁷² When examining the Russian vampiric works, the symbol’s relation both to the ideas intentionally stressed by the authors and those that served as unintentional products of their times will both be noted, showing the balance between the authors’ intentions and the commentary formed from the differing works’ “depth of depiction” within its socio-historical context.

In discovering the means in which this context is interwoven in the text, Greenblatt suggests that rather than studying the primary story line of a work, the “minor features” of the larger cultural context hold a depth of meaning that can cast a work in a new light, causing a “displacement of centers.”⁷³ These minor features, when

⁷⁰ Veenstra, p. 184 and Gallagher, p. 12.

⁷¹ Veenstra, p. 184.

⁷² Gallagher, p. 8.

⁷³ Veenstra, p. 188.

considered together form an “intelligible network of signs,” elucidating the breadth of the cultural matrix from which the work emerged.⁷⁴ In order to assess this network of signs and obtain an understanding of the depth of the cultural roots of the text, one must find “the singular, the specific, and the individual”⁷⁵ through reading and interpretation of the text.⁷⁶ In these works the “minor features” of vampiric symbolism will be examined in detail, attempting to find the depth of what Greenblatt termed the “intelligible network of signs.” By concentrating on the “minor feature” of the vampire myth in these works, the “singular, specific, and individual” of the vampiric symbolism within each work will reveal a cultural matrix, exposing the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal connotations of the vampire, both in its depictive qualities and in its transitioning role within the works. In order to comprehend the cultural matrix of the network of signs, Berdyaev’s Dostoevskian dialectic was employed as a template.

The “dialectical structure” put forward in Berdyaev’s analysis of Dostoevsky’s philosophical conceptions in his work *Dostoevsky*⁷⁷ will be adapted to the subject of this thesis, basing its structural design on Berdyaev’s “dialectic of ideas.” First the origin of the analytical concept will be explained, illustrating Berdyaev’s explanations

⁷⁴ Gallagher, pp. 7-9.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

⁷⁶ Veenstra, p. 184.

⁷⁷ The particular edition referenced in this thesis was translated into English from the French, thus the French spelling of Dostoevsky’s name “Dostoevsky.” This version is used due to the addition to the French edition of modifications of the Russian text that Berdyaev wished to take into account and uses the French transliteration used by Constance Garnett, the translator of the French edition and Donald Attwater, the translator of the French edition into an English version.

(Berdyaev, *Dostoevsky*, p. 5-6.)

of the concept within his studies of Dostoevsky and how this can be applied to the works in question in this thesis.

The term originates in Berdyaev's assessment of Dostoevskian thematics in the analytical work *Dostoevsky*, in which Berdyaev introduces two critical concepts: that of the "dialectic of ideas" and of an "anthropology in motion."⁷⁸ While the dialectical method may have originated from the Aristotelian and Socratic methods, Berdyaev adapted the dialectical method to literary studies, making it less dependent on disproving a concept in comparison with other opposing ideas as with illustrating the interrelation within a concise theoretical framework of seemingly disparate ideas, finding how they relate as a whole. Thus the understanding of a "dialectic" in this thesis diverges from the traditional Socratic conception of the term, following Berdyaev's conception of a dialectic as a structural means of studying a literary work by examining the "ideas" of a work as Berdyaev termed them, and finding their interrelation.

As Copleston notes, Berdyaev considered Dostoevsky to be a great dialectician and in studying his works developed a dialectic of ideas, representing the manifold expressions of human nature.⁷⁹ The issues present in society and human nature are shown to be fluid and changing. He purports that while certain issues may appear static at their core, their position is fluid within the changing nature of society, and shift in their relation to the people of that time. When considered as a concise whole, Berdyaev claims that this conception develops into "an anthropology in motion" as distinct from

⁷⁸ Berdyaev, p. 45.

Also discussed in Frederick C. Copleston. *Philosophy in Russia: From Herzen to Lenin and Berdyaev*. Search Press, University of Notre Dame, 1986, p. 145.

⁷⁹ Copleston, p. 145.

“an abstract, static theory of human nature,”⁸⁰ a concept similar in nature to Greenblatt’s cultural matrix.

Berdyayev asserts that the need for such an examination of humanity arose due to the upheaval of the time in which Dostoevsky lived, claiming:

Dostoevsky appeared at the moment when modern times were coming to an end and a new epoch of history was dawning, and it is likely that his consciousness of the inner division of human nature and its movement towards the ultimate depths of being was closely related to this fact. It was given to him to reveal the struggle in man between Christ and the Antichrist, a conflict unknown to preceding ages when wickedness was seen in only its most elementary and simple forms. To-day the soul of man no longer rests upon secure foundations, everything round him is unsteady and contradictory, he lives in an atmosphere of illusion and falsehood under a ceaseless threat of change.⁸¹

The unsteady atmosphere of the time, characterized as the “ceaseless threat of change,” is said to have affected the mentality of the people, placing emphasis on human nature and man’s adjustment to indefinite atmospheres:

[...] A large number of contemporary people have “divided minds.” They are the sort of folk whom Dostoevsky displayed to us, and it is not the slightest use trying to apply the old moral catechism to them—access to their souls is a far more complicated business. It is the destiny of such people over whom the waves of an apocalyptic environment are breaking that Dostoevsky set himself to study, and the light he shed upon them was truly marvelous. Far-reaching discoveries about human nature in general can be made when mankind is undergoing a spiritual and religious crisis, and it was precisely such a time when Dostoevsky appeared upon the scene; he marks an absolutely new stage in anthropological knowledge.⁸²

It is the inner divisions of human nature expressed above in their relation to the fluid time between the transitioning historical periods that leads to the need to examine the concepts affecting humanity in this dialectical method. With such division and the

⁸⁰ Copleston, p. 145.

⁸¹ Berdyayev, p. 60.

⁸² Ibid., p. 61.

“unsteady and contradictory” nature of such a time, the depths of humanity and human nature are made transparent.

This “ceaseless threat of change” described by Berdyaev for Dostoevsky’s time was also experienced by the authors considered in this thesis. Both Gogol and Afanasiev lived during a similar time to Dostoevsky, while Bulgakov lived during the transitory years of the post-Revolutionary Soviet Union, and Lukyanenko during the indefinite times of post-Soviet Russia, all periods in Russian history that verged on what Berdyaev termed “an apocalyptic environment.” Berdyaev’s conception implies that when man is under crisis, their nature is more apparent, as with the time of Dostoevsky and the corresponding times for the authors discussed in this thesis. The turbulent times in which the authors lived led to a similar desire to examine humanity and the Russian people. However, all the authors in question presented a larger, detailed societal image of the issues and internal turmoil of the Russian people during their respective times, expanding on a simple study of humanity. By examining what Berdyaev termed the characters’ “divided minds,” characterized by the contemplation of the indefinite times in which they found themselves, the authors of the Russian vampiric works considered in this thesis gave the discussion a societal generality, thus looking at humanity and human nature as a concise whole.

However, this was not done by directly illustrating the internal and external conflicts of the people during these times. The employment of mythological symbolisms allowed for the development of commentary on the eccentricities in society, expanding into the oft discussed conceptions of life, such as that of Heaven and right or wrong during troubled times. By addressing these themes through vampiric symbolism, the discussions transcend a more literary and academic round of discourse of the

elements of society, bringing it to a mass cultural level, through the culture's myth, using simple language and images that are widely understood. By employing a common mythos, the issues suggested within the literature are presented indirectly to the readers, hinting at the issues inherent in the stories that, when actively examined, could be exhumed and discussed.

These issues are shown in *Dostoevsky* by Berdyaev, in which the author addressed the "cursed everlasting questions" of Dostoevsky's work, stating that the characters in Dostoevsky are not just fictional creations, but ideas, forming an "ideological dialectic."⁸³ According to Berdyaev:

The hero of the *Letters from the Underworld* is an idea, Raskolnikov is an idea, Stavrogin is an idea, Kirilov, Shatov, Verhovensky, Ivan Karamazov—ideas; all these people are as it were submerged by ideas, drunk with them. They only open their mouths to develop their ideological dialectic; everything revolves around "these cursed everlasting questions."⁸⁴

In addressing these questions, Berdyaev creates a system of ontological categories in which he employs what Richards describes as a combination of "the Christian mystic with the secular insights of the modern existentialist," by taking his foundational three philosophical conceptions of "the God-man relationship, the subject-object relationship, and the nature of freedom" and presenting them in a core of interrelated concepts.⁸⁵ In considering these overarching notions, Berdyaev adapted the ontological categories of Dostoevsky, considering the various interrelated analytical frameworks of Dostoevsky's works in the chapters: Spirit, Man, Freedom, Evil, Love, Revolution/Socialism, Russia, The Grand Inquisitor, and Christ and Antichrist, tying everything together, with a

⁸³ Berdyaev, p. 35.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Edward B. Richards. "The Political Implications of Nicholas Berdyaev's Philosophy." *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 31, no. 1. (Jan.-Mar., 1970), p. 121.

conclusive argument of Dostoevsky's wider meaning to the Russian people in the chapter "Dostoievsky and Us." Berdyaev writes that the purpose of his study was to discover Dostoevsky's overall world view and through examining Dostoevsky's individual ideas within a dialectical structure, Berdyaev was able to both present Dostoevsky's "world-vision" and the importance of the author to the Russian people.

This thesis is concerned with a broader societal discussion of the vampiric works, attempting to understand the socio-historical context represented by the texts' "intelligible network of signs" and will utilize Berdyaev's dialectical method of examining the world of Dostoevsky's ideas in order to illustrate the overarching societal commentary of the vampiric works of Afanasiev, Gogol, Bulgakov, and Lukyanenko. In order to do this, the ideological subdivisions of the mythological, religious, political, and philosophical symbolism of these four Russian authors' works will be analyzed, followed by an examination of the ideological subdivisions⁸⁶ as a concise representation of societal commentary. This will expose an "anthropology in motion" in which the expressions of human nature are juxtaposed as diverse ideas and resolved as a concise whole, i.e. resolved within the context of societal commentary. By first conducting a discussion of the multiplicity of the myth's uses, then representing these uses as a decisive whole, this thesis intends to reflect on the image's significance in the development of Russian literature as an efficacious symbolism and demonstrate its depth.

⁸⁶ The term "ideological subdivision" refers to a category within the dialectic. The use of the word "ideological" is intended to imply the interplay of ideas. For further clarification on terms, please see Appendix 1: Term List.

I.5 Thesis Structure

The theme of the vampire was constant throughout Russian literature from the eighteenth century to post-Soviet fiction, creating a continuous, uninterrupted context to the mythological symbol. In order to elucidate the relevance of this symbolism to literary commentary, four authors have been chosen, representing four distinct periods that proceed from one another.

The first author to be examined is Aleksandr Afanasiev, a folklorist from the mid-nineteenth century attributed with multiple collections and studies of folk belief, including *Russian Folk Tales*.⁸⁷ While his works were published after those of the second author to be examined, Nikolai Gogol, they drew from the teachings of the prior mythological school and served as a representation of the folkloric movement of the Slavophiles, the tenets of which originated before Gogol's literary career. Five of Afanasiev's tales will be examined from the above-named collection, each chosen in order to give a broad sample of the tales collected by Afanasiev, reflecting on the variations in the folklore of the time.

The second author, Nikolai Gogol, was chosen due to the prevalence of the vampiric theme in his works and his influence on the authors that followed him. Gogol wrote three tales with obvious vampiric themes: "A Terrible Vengeance," "Vii," and "Nevskii Prospekt."⁸⁸ He also wrote a fourth tale with a vampiric painting, "Portrait," but this thesis will concentrate on the first three tales due to their more prominent connections to vampiric mythos.

⁸⁷ A.N. Afanasiev. *Narodnye russkie skazki v trekh tomakh*, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, Moskva, 1957.

⁸⁸ N.V. Gogol'. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*. Izdatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva, 1937.

The vampiric themes in Mikhail Bulgakov's early stories and in his twilight novel *The Master and Margarita* will follow the chapter on Gogol, reflecting on Bulgakov's admiration of the author and his unique and prevalent use of vampiric imagery from his earliest short stories to his posthumous novel.

The final author to be examined is Sergei Lukyanenko with his *Dozor* series,⁸⁹ one of the most widely published fantasy series since the fall of the Soviet Union. While these works may be considered popular literature, Lukyanenko's creative take on the vampire myth and the repeated use of his fantasy world to assess life in modern Russia reflect on the concerns of people in Russia today, drawing from the fears and confusion of life after the fall of the Soviet Union.

Having identified the internal dialectic of each author's works, the final chapter will examine the overarching ideological dialectic of the vampiric works as a whole, reflecting on the transition of the religious, political, philosophical, and societal issues through the variant periods. In this examination, the commonalities of the societal dialectic will be explained and the importance and permanence of the vampire as a lucrative form of Russian literary symbolism will be illustrated.

I.5.1 Overview of Chapter 1: The Folkloric Vampire in the Tales of Aleksandr Afanasiev

Despite the publication of Afanasiev's collection of folktales having occurred after that of Gogol's vampiric literary works, the subject matter of his publications and

⁸⁹ Sergei Lukyanenko. *Nochnoi Dozor*. Izdatel'stvo AST, Moskva, 2004.

Sergei Lukyanenko i Vladimir Vasil'ev. *Dnevnoi Dozor*. Izdatel'stvo AST, Moskva, 2006.

Sergei Lukyanenko. *Sumerechnyi Dozor*. Izdatel'stvo AST, Moskva 2006.

Sergei Lukyanenko. *Poslednii Dozor*. Izdatel'stvo AST, Moskva, 2006.

the archival nature of much of his source materials give his collected tales a folkloric reality tracing to a period that predates the Gogolian literary texts. Afanasiev's folkloric work is incomparably diverse and comprehensive, providing a uniquely multifaceted collection of vampiric imagery, encompassing stories of vampiric characters with diverse backgrounds, from those who had been sorcerers during their lifetime to cautionary tales with vampiric figures of indefinite origin. In this chapter, five of Afanasiev's vampiric tales have been chosen: "The Coffin Lid," "The Two Corpses," "The Soldier and the Vampire," "The Dog and the Corpse," and "Upyr'." Through a dissection of the internal symbolisms and imageries encountered within the tales, the internal significance of the basic folkloric connotations will be elucidated, forming a "dialectic of ideas" from the mythological, religious, historical, philosophical, and societal dynamics encountered within the symbolic and structural levels of the tales.

I.5.2 Overview of Chapter 2: The Gogolian Vampire and Man's Internal Corruption

Nikolai Gogol broadened the variant symbolisms encountered within Russian folklore, creating literary vampiric tales dependent on the traditions of Romanticist literary composition, representing the transition from traditional Slavic mythology into the realm of literature, and creating an effective symbolic device. Gogol expanded upon the folkloric themes and literary imagery in his vampiric tales, adapting the trends of the Russian Freneticist movement, through which the use of folkloric elements in high literature was embraced in order to analyze and reflect upon characters' weaknesses. Gogol's utilization of the supernatural was motivated by the Romanticist technique of drawing upon one's native folk culture, imbuing the folkloric images with personalized

commentary, resulting in allusions to the author's own world view, particularly within the societal dialectic of this thesis, displaying the religious, political, philosophical, and societal perceptions of the author and his time period, each of which will be elucidated within this chapter.

I.5.3 Overview of Chapter 3: A Hesitant Vampire in Mikhail Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita*

Mikhail Bulgakov extended the literary tradition of vampiric metaphor, drawing upon the imagery both in his early tales and his final novel. As in the works of the authors who preceded him, Bulgakov utilized both literal manifestations and the stylistic symbolic imagery of the vampire myth. Bulgakov integrated Gogolian mythos with manifold imageries derived from his early research into Gogol's novel and his own personal literary knowledge, including symbolisms of Goethian and Hellenic derivation. Within this chapter the syncretization of variant works found in Bulgakov's novel will be analyzed, elucidating his own unique societal dialectic, addressing the increased complexity of the symbolism in this work as compared to those of Afanasiev and Gogol.

I.5.4 Overview of Chapter 4: The Vampiric Echelon of Sergei Lukyanenko's *Dozor Series*

Russia underwent a series of drastic changes between Bulgakov's Soviet Era and post-Soviet times, both politically and ideologically, resulting in an influx of aesthetically fantastic themes within Russian literature, a trend encountered within the final author of this thesis, Sergei Lukyanenko. In his novels, Lukyanenko created a

diverse world, amalgamating variant mythologies, from Slavic folklore to modern pop culture, addressing the ideological dialectic examined in each of the prior authors' works through the vampiric characters of the novels, all of whom attempt to contend with the indefinite world in which they find themselves. Lukyanenko's characters directly address the different ideological themes through open discussions amongst the characters, forming a complex dialectic from the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal thematics of the series, examined primarily from the points-of-view of the author's creations, his characters.

I.5.5 Chapter 5: Discussion on the Dialectical Nature of the Slavic Vampire Myth

In this chapter, the progression of ideas amongst the works will be considered as a whole, examining the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal conceptions beyond the context of each author. Through addressing the thematic consistencies within each ideological subdivision, the vampire will be shown to be a continuing symbol of societal concerns, further enumerating the themes that can be traced through each author's work. The characteristics of the dialectic found in the Russian vampiric works of this thesis will be addressed, following Berdyaev's conception of the dialectic as exemplified in his analysis of Dostoevsky. Through this comparison, the dialectic nature of the symbol of the vampire itself will be revealed, clarifying the societal dialectic examined within each author's vampiric works in the prior chapters and illustrating the vampire's broad applicability in Russian literature.

Chapter 1: The Folkloric Vampire in the Tales of Aleksandr Afanasiev

When examining the folkloric origins of the vampire myth as it predated modern Russia, collections of folkloric tales serve as the closest representatives of the oral culture, shedding light on the different mythological trends of the time. Due to the nature of the Russian publishing industry having primarily produced theological books up until the eighteenth century, sources taken directly from the earliest periods of Russian folk culture are non-existent. The composition of the first definitive source on Russian folklore and of many of the early works detailing the intricacies of the Russian myth of the *upyr* were undertaken by the Russian folklorist Aleksandr Afanasiev. While the majority of this folklorist's works were published after the literary vampiric tales of the second author of this thesis, Gogol, the subject matter of his publications and the sources Afanasiev referenced from the folkloric archives of the time reflect a folkloric tradition predating the more literary trends of Gogol's works. Due to the tales' embodiment of an older tradition of vampiric folklore, Afanasiev's tales are considered first.

Afanasiev was one of the most influential Russian folklorists of the mythological school. During his career as a folklorist, Afanasiev collected and analyzed a vast number of different tales, examining them for the inner-textual meaning of the vampire, including a detailed examination of the origins of the *upyr* myth, the predecessor of the vampire. This mythological figure was analyzed in Afanasiev's

scientific folkloric study *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature*⁹⁰ and a select sampling of the tales from which Afanasiev deduced his theories on the myth were included within Afanasiev's extensive work *Russian Fairy Tales*,⁹¹ including the five selected folk stories to be examined in this chapter.

Before deliberating upon the tales for the internal semiological significance of the vampire, Afanasiev's motivating ideology that led to his undertaking of these extensive folkloric studies will first be addressed. This is intended to differentiate between the Slavic oral tradition and Afanasiev's works, elucidating the differences that may have arisen in the collected tales as a result of the folklorist's own personal influence.

Afanasiev advocated a historical-linguistic method of studying mythology, stressing that the greater the historical knowledge of the language, the deeper the knowledge of its historical fate.⁹² He emphasized the importance of exploring the general historical occurrences related to the myths in order to understand their historical coloring, and further too comprehend the foundation underlying the myths.⁹³ According to him, through comparative philology and historical analysis, what was once shrouded in uncertainty could become clear, revealing even prehistoric bases for the myth.⁹⁴ He

⁹⁰ A. Afanasiev. *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia slavian' na prirodu, Sobranie v trekh tomakh*. Mouton, Paris, 1970.

⁹¹ The original Russian publication of Afanasiev's collection was a three-volumed work: A.N. Afanasiev *Narodnye russkie skazki v trekh tomakh*, tom. 3, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, Moskva, 1957.

The English Translation by Norbert Guterman was consolidated into one volume. However, in regards to the vampiric tales, all five were in both works: Aleksandr Afanas'ev. *Russian Fairy Tales*, trans. Norbert Guterman. Pantheon Books, New York, 1973.

⁹² Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia*, vol. 1, p. 5.

⁹³ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 14.

⁹⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 15.

often referred to what is now considered an antiquated system of analyzing myths, suggesting that myths such as the vampire have roots in what Perkowski describes as a “series of decayed metaphors, with original reference to the celestial bodies, especially the sun.”⁹⁵ This can be seen in his description of the *upyr*’ as being derived from a creature that would drink the rain and sleep in the clouds, possibly because of his interpretation of the vampire’s association with droughts.⁹⁶ While his historio-linguistic method enumerated within *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature* may have been disproven, the analysis within that work and the comprehensiveness of his earlier compilation, *Russian Fairy Tales*, both served as foundational works of the mythological school and exemplify the diversity of Slavic mythology.

Due to the magnitude of his initial compilations in terms of their breadth, diversity, and comprehensiveness, Afanasiev’s works have been consulted and select tales have been chosen from his compilations to illustrate the imagery and associations of the symbol of the vampire within Russian folklore. The vampiric tales collected by Afanasiev principally consisted of either stories of vampiric characters who had been sorcerers during their lifetime or cautionary tales that concentrated on the protagonist rather than the vampiric figure. For the purpose of this thesis five tales have been chosen as a sample of the vampiric tales: “The Coffin Lid,” “The Two Corpses,” “The Soldier and the Vampire,” “The Dog and the Corpse,” and “Upyr.” Each of the tales will be examined, elucidating the internal significance of the most basic folkloric symbolisms, including the different aspects of the description of the vampire itself, the interplay of vampire and victim, and the apotropaic methods included in each tale. By

⁹⁵ Jan Perkowski. *The Darkling: A Treatise on Slavic Vampirism*. Slavica Publishers, Columbus, 1989, p. 19.

⁹⁶ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzrenia*, vol. 3, p. 563.

considering these “minor features”⁹⁷ of the tales, the underlying ideological connotations will be revealed through which a “dialectic of ideas” will be formed, based on the initial folkloric system of thought and perception. Through this exploration the religious, political, philosophical, and societal dynamics exemplified within the tale at the basic symbolic and structural levels will be exposed. The variations between the elemental details and the documented mythological framework of the folk-beliefs from which they were derived will be scrutinized and the significance of certain thematic recurrences will be discussed.

1.1 The Upyr’ in the Burial Shroud: The Folkloric Vampire’s Mythological Depiction

Afanasiev’s collected tales exemplify the available texts on the traditional Slavic vampire myth, both in the tales’ employment of vampiric imagery and in the basic oral narrative composition. Each of the tales displays a diverse spectrum of mythological symbolisms, many of which trace back to the folk belief structure from which the antagonistic characters originally derived. The variations in the symbolic imagery of the five collected tales will be examined, beginning with the most basic elements of the description of the vampire, including the shifts in terminology utilized in the tales, the means in which it was depicted, the apotropaic methods employed against the vampire, the vampires’ associations with other forms of magical occurrences, and the interrelation with the traditional ambivalence towards death. Through this detailed

⁹⁷ Jan R. Veenstra. “The New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt: On Poetics of Culture and the Interpretation of Shakespeare.” *History and Theory*, vol. 34, no. 3. (Oct., 1995), p. 188.

semiological discussion, the nature of the myth will be exposed. However, before discussing the symbolism within the specific tales, the basic definition of the Slavic vampire will be explained.

The *upyr'*, or vampire was one of the most common types of *zalozhnye*, a designation given to the Pagan concept of the unnatural dead. The original term *upyr'* entailed a form of walking dead who drains the life of those close to them, whether through the ingestion of blood or through the causation of tragedy, encompassing a variety of different images of the “undead.”⁹⁸ While attempts at a general definition of “vampire” or *upyr'* within the realm of Slavic folklore vary in the means by which the myth is depicted, the most consistent description is that given by Aleksandr Afanasiev in *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature*, in which he depicts vampires as:

[...] corpses who during their lifetime had been sorcerers, werewolves [...] suicides, drunkards, heretics, apostates, and those cursed by their parents [...] At the dead of midnight, leaving their graves where they lie as undecayed corpses, the vampires take on various forms. They [...] raise Cain and frighten travelers or they enter the peasants' cottages and suck the blood from those sleeping, who always die from it afterwards [...] The pre-dawn cock's crow compels the vampire to disappear instantaneously or forces him to the ground.⁹⁹

A more brutal description was given by Ralston, describing the Slavic conception of the vampire as a “supernatural man-eater” capable of ingesting all but the bones of a person.¹⁰⁰ However, the vampire originated through a variety of different causes, including tragic occurrences in life and different magical derivations.

⁹⁸ F.A. Brokgauz and I.A. Efron. *Illiustrirovannyi entsiklopedicheskii slovar': Sovremennaiia versia*. Eksmo, Moskva, 2006, p. 165.

⁹⁹ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia*, vol. 3, p. 557. As translated by Jan Perkowski. *Vampires of the Slavs*. Slavica Publishers, Columbus, 1976, p. 19.

¹⁰⁰ W.R.S. Ralston. *The Songs of the Russian People: An Illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life*. Haskell House Publishers, New York, 1970, p. 414.

Sometimes the arrival of a vampire illustrated a cultural taboo or a tragic occurrence, such as the instance of a woman who has died during childbirth emerging from the grave in order to feed her newborn child. The baby would refuse nourishment during the day, but at night the father would hear the sound of it being fed and rocked in its cradle. This would result in the child's death, despite the appearance of good intentions.¹⁰¹

Other appearances would occur when a friend who had sworn to attend the other's wedding "dead or alive" would return for the ceremony, or a groom or bride who died before the wedding would return to claim his or her fiancé. The result of such seemingly positive visits was always tragic. As Warner noted:

[...] even these well motivated dead may seem horribly changed—their eyes gleam threateningly, they grind their teeth—and good rarely follows their intervention: the baby dies, the widow visited by her dead husband withers away, the girl claimed by her lover is found lying dead across his grave."¹⁰²

However, the majority of the recorded folkloric tales fell within Afanasiev's definition, entailing the usage of magic or an association with the tragic nature of the death as will be seen in the subsequent discussion. In the following sections, the traditional labels and descriptions given to vampiric characters will be classified, followed by a discussion of both the nature of the vampire's effect on its victims, and the disposal methods detailed in the tales as they reflect on traditional burial practices.

¹⁰¹ Elizabeth Warner. *Russian Myths*. The British Museum Press, London, 2002, p. 48.

¹⁰² Ibid.

1.1.1 A Corpse By Any Other Name: Transitions in Vampiric Folkloric

Imagery

Each of Afanasiev's tales varies at the basic terminological level, employing different labels for the tales' vampiric antagonists. The change in terminology reflects the transitory nature of the symbol, which will serve as one of the primary themes of this thesis. However, before delving into its significance, the details of this variation at the basic descriptive levels will first be illuminated.

The first tale, "The Coffin Lid," called the vampiric figure a "corpse" (*mertvets*), a designation continued both in "The Dog and the Corpse" and "The Two Corpses," indicating its association with the recently deceased. The conclusion of Afanasiev's second vampiric tale presents the first variant in terminology for the vampire in the protagonist's final exclamation, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord! I am saved from the wizards!"¹⁰³ While the body of the tale stressed the undead nature of the two figures, the shift in terminology indicates the causation of vampirism given in Afanasiev's definition, namely that of "corpses who during their lifetime had been sorcerers."¹⁰⁴ This associative name was continued in the tale "The Soldier and the Vampire" in which the primary designation given to the vampiric figure is that of a "wizard," only denoting the figure's undead status once when the miller informs the soldier that the wizard was recently deceased. The first tale to use the actual folkloric designation of a vampire, i.e. *upyr'*, was the final tale, which took its name from this vampiric term. In the original text, the terms *upyr'* and unclean spirit were used interchangeably,¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, p. 122. As translated by Summers, *The Vampire in Europe*, p. 292.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., vol. 3, p. 19.

¹⁰⁵ Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 121.

suggesting both an association with the vampire myth specifically and an external cause for the vampiric occurrence as suggested by the term “unclean spirit,” the significance of which will be addressed in greater detail in the following section.

As with the consistency of terminology in “The Coffin Lid,” “The Two Corpses,” and “The Dog and the Corpse,” the vampires’ external depictions are also analogous. Described as living corpses, the vampiric figures of these tales are depicted as being clothed in burial shrouds, the traditional habiliments with which the deceased were dressed prior to their burial in Slavic society. This depiction reflects on the traditional representation of the vampire within folk culture where the vampire was typically characterized by a lack of decomposition, a ruddy complexion, and was sometimes said to have been found surrounded by a pool of its victims’ blood when found in its coffin,¹⁰⁶ but, when encountered outside of its resting place, would either be unseen or adorned in the shroud in which it was buried.¹⁰⁷

However, as vampirism and magical prowess became more and more interconnected within Slavic folk belief, the external characteristics also began to shift, reflecting on the differing sources from which the vampire derived. The external qualities of the dead warlock in “The Soldier and the Vampire” were not described in detail, other than the reference to the figure sewing his boots. However, the vampiric warlock’s ability to drink and revel during the wedding festivities suggest that his appearance did not indicate his undead nature, as would the burial shroud in which the aforementioned protagonists were adorned. This could be due to the fact that since he

¹⁰⁶ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzrenia*, vol. 3, p. 558. As translated by Jan Perkowski, *Vampires of the Slavs*, p. 163.

¹⁰⁷ For more details on the appearance of the vampire and individual tales, see Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzrenia*, vol. 3, pp. 557-587.

was also a malevolent warlock in life, he would not have received the traditional burial granted to most upon his death.

The greatest shift in appearance occurred in the final tale “Upry’.” The depiction of the young man, who the protagonist later discovers is a vampire is of “a man with a fine complexion, dressed neatly and richly” who could dance beautifully.¹⁰⁸ This portrayal of the mysterious figure departs from the ruddy corpse-like visage of the folkloric *upyr*,¹⁰⁹ suggesting a more literary nature to the tale, in which the contamination is caused by a tempestuous devil,¹¹⁰ furthering his association with the labelling of the figure as an “unclean spirit.”

Another aspect of the vampire’s initial description is that of the forms in which it was able to transform itself. The association of a vampire with transmogrification is found both in the tale “The Soldier and the Vampire,” in which the dead wizard transforms himself into magpies, crows, and reptiles before his death, and in the tale “Upry’” in which the protagonist, Marusia, is transformed into a flower after having been killed by the vampiric antagonist. In the tales of *upyri*, the ability of shape-shifting and association of the deceased with magic were often intertwined. This connection is further illustrated by the elemental abilities of witches who were attributed with clairvoyance and the ability both to turn themselves into animals and to transform others into various manifestations.¹¹¹ A person thus transformed was termed an *oboroten*’ from

¹⁰⁸ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, p. 124; English translation: Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 117.

¹⁰⁹ Ralston, p. 414.

¹¹⁰ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, p. 114; English translation: Perkowski. *The Darkling*, p. 127.

¹¹¹ W.F. Ryan. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 1999, p. 76.

the verb *oborotit'*, or to turn.¹¹² This ability to shift from one form to another was thought to remain with the wizard after death, along with other magical capabilities. Due to the continuance of this magical gift after death, many of the folktales employ shapeshifting imagery in depicting a deceased wizard as turning into various animal forms, such as that of a magpie or a series of vermin. The extent to which the malefic wizard transformed himself initially appears to be a literary flourishing of the concept of shapeshifting, exceeding the above description in his transformative abilities. However, Afanasiev included this tale's imagery in his description of the need to cremate the malevolent dead in *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature*,¹¹³ suggesting that such an extensive transformation was more common than it initially seems and that a burial pyre may have been prompted from the perceived need to exterminate anything that might arise from the deceased's body.

1.1.2 The Juxtaposition of Vampire and Victim: The Vampire's Effect on Folkloric Protagonists

As with the variance in both description and terminology, the vampire's effect on its victim also shows a number of discrepancies. Of the five tales, only three describe the vampire's means of consumption and effect on their victims. Traditionally, the tragic events associated with the vampire could be caused by different means. In the early recorded tales, the ingestion of the victim's blood by the vampire did occur, but it was employed not as unnatural liquid nourishment; rather, it maintains a more

¹¹² Ralston, p. 403.

¹¹³ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzrenia*, vol. 3, p. 575. As translated by Perkowski, *Vampires of the Slavs*, p. 172.

metaphoric role as an illustration of “life force.”¹¹⁴ Whether physically by drinking the victim’s blood or psychically by draining the person of his vitality, the final outcome of the victim’s tragic demise remained constant. The unnaturally deceased would drain the life of those with whom it was connected before death due to the link of either the deceased or the deceased’s final resting place with the person’s death.

In “The Coffin Lid,” it is implied that the two boys the vampire had killed had been affected psychically, since no mention is made of either the presence of blood, or the lack thereof in the boys’ corpses. However, in “The Soldier and the Vampire” the undead warlock does kill his victims through the removal of their blood; however, it was in a non-conventional manner, namely, the withdrawal into vials of the wedded couple’s blood, suggesting the purpose of the removal to be magically motivated, rather than as an ingestion of the victim’s vitality.

The final tale, “Upyr’,” illustrates two techniques of ingestion of a vampire’s human victims. The first occurs towards the beginning of the tale when, at her grandmother’s suggestion, Marusia ties a ball of yarn to the mysterious foreigner in order to detect where he went at night, discovering his true nature when she observes him consuming a corpse at the cemetery. The ball of yarn reflects on a traditional detective measure for vampires, which employed the use of flour. As with her grandmother’s yarn, flour or salt was left in the corner of a house that was thought to have been visited by a vampire, so that the dead would leave tracks back to the tomb.¹¹⁵ After tracing the mysterious stranger to the cemetery, Marusia witnesses his eating a corpse. The ingestion of dead bodies is indicative of the aforementioned definition

¹¹⁴ Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 124.

¹¹⁵ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia*, vol. 3, p. 558. As translated by Perkowski, *Vampires of the Slavs*, p. 161.

given by Ralston, in which it was stated that the vampire was capable of ingesting his entire victim.

However, in the remainder of the story, the vampiric antagonist affects his victims in a different manner. With the mysterious deaths of Marusia's family members, it is suggested that, much as in "The Coffin Lid," the mysterious foreigner fed off the figures' life force psychically rather than physically, causing premature death without an apparent cause. Both the literal physical draining through the removal of blood and the psychic draining of the characters' life-force are found within the realm of folk-belief and both manifestations of the vampire's effect on its victim embody the traditional ambivalence towards death.¹¹⁶

1.1.3 Life, Death, and Beyond: The Folkloric Ambivalence Towards Death

With each of the victims in the above-mentioned tale, the death-like state in which they entered was only temporary, allowing for different magical means to bring the deceased back to life. In the repeated reversal of the victims' deaths, these tales emulate the traditional ambivalent view of death associated with Slavic mythology. In "The Coffin Lid," the victims of the vampire are returned to life by the smoke of the vampire's burial shroud.

The ambivalent view of death is replicated in "The Soldier and the Vampire," although the method of extracting blood into vials both to induce the death-state and to use them for restorative properties is unique. A more traditional folkloric means of returning the dead to life is presented in "Upyr'," in which Marusia uses the "water of life" to restore her husband and son's lives, an evident parallel to the folktales of men

¹¹⁶ The traditional ambivalence towards death is described in detail in Appendix 4: Death and the Undead in Slavic Folklore.

being returned from the Netherworld by the “water of life,” the use of which is common in Indo-European mythology and is attributed with healing words, restoring strength, and even bringing a person back to life. According to Afanasiev, it is also called both hero water and strong water.¹¹⁷

Whether through the smoke of the vampire’s burial shroud, the return of a blood vial, or the ingestion of the water of life, each may have reflected a differing degree of traditional mythological accuracy; however, each still maintained the ambivalence towards death traditionally encountered within much of Slavic folklore, suggesting that despite the more literary shifts in the tales, the basic thematic elements of the conception of death remained consistent.

1.1.4 At the Crossroads: Preventative Measures Against Vampirism

The transitory nature of the terminological and descriptive elements of Afanasiev’s folkloric vampires is also apparent in the preventative measures employed in the tales to distract the undead antagonists. In the folktales, certain actions were thought to deter vampiric occurrences, or to act as defensive measures when confronted with a vampire. One method against these folkloric vampires that was nearly universal was the sensitivity to the cock’s crow. In each of the tales, the protagonist was assisted by this susceptibility, allowing them to escape from the vampiric beings, with the exception of the more literary tale “Upyr’.” The significance of the effectiveness of the cock’s crow in averting the undead was documented in the *Volkhovnik*, or *Book of the Wizard* under the section on dangerous omens. In the *Volkhovnik*, the occurrence of the cock’s crow is described as having a broader significance, classifying it as a banisher of

¹¹⁷ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia*, vol. 1, pp. 364-365.

most devils and revenants.¹¹⁸ In the tale “The Soldier and the Vampire,” the protagonist used his knowledge of the efficaciousness of the approach of the cock’s crow, distracting the wizard by making repeated inquiries into his dealings at the wedding and into the means in which the wizard could be destroyed, gaining the knowledge needed to later return the vampire’s victims to life and dispose of the antagonist. The soldier’s means of distraction reflect on another folkloric belief that one could ask an *upyr*’ questions as an effective way of distracting the being until the cock’s crow. However, this event is a reversal of the original distractive method. According to Afanasiev, a vampire would ask questions and, in order to live, the pursued would need to answer the questions until the cock’s crow, when the vampire would be rendered motionless.¹¹⁹

The inhibitive method of questioning a vampire in order to escape indicates a larger tradition of non-lethal preventative measures against vampirism and other forms of negative intrusion. The most frequently encountered inhibitive method exploited the vampire’s obsession with counting. Since the vampire was believed to be a compulsive counter, all one needed to do was drop a handful of millet seeds or grains and the creature would be compelled to count them.¹²⁰ However, despite the purported frequency of this method, it is absent from the selected tales.

The dualistic counterpart of the water of life is also present in this tale, with the employment of holy water to turn the vampire into dust, serving within the folkloric beliefs in living and dead water, but with the additional quality of death being granted to

¹¹⁸ Warner, p. 46.

¹¹⁹ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzrenia*, vol. 2, p. 138-139.

¹²⁰ Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 124.

one who was already dead.¹²¹ While this particular usage may be particularly mythological in nature, the most frequently encountered apotropaic method found in the tales was the use of aspen as can be seen both in “The Coffin Lid” and “The Soldier and the Vampire.” In “The Coffin Lid,” aspen is utilized in the form of an aspen stake, while in “The Soldier and the Vampire,” the manner of using aspen in destroying the undead sorcerer is more distinctive in its combination of the preventative measures of aspen and incense, with a further tie to the burial pyre used in some Pagan Slavic groups.

In Slavic folk belief, the methods of disinterring the dead did vary; however, as in the above tales, all of them incorporated the use of aspen, a type of wood thought to be an efficacious material in combating vampires, spirits, witches, and sorcerers.¹²² In Bogatyrev’s account, the vampire was disinterred, the tomb lined with aspen shavings, and the corpse nailed in the foot with briars, beheaded, and turned upside-down.¹²³ In Afanasiev’s *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature*, the folklorist listed both of the above represented methods, stressing the belief that the primary disposal methods of vampires were for it to either be nailed through the heart with an aspen stake or burnt in a funeral pyre of aspen wood.¹²⁴ Many other folklorists included this description. Ralston stated that the actual staking of the vampire had to be performed in one swift stroke, since a

¹²¹ The Orthodox connotations of this apotropaic method will be discussed in Section 1.2 The Revenant Amongst Us: Religious Commentary in Slavic Vampiric Folklore.

¹²² See:

- Valentina G. Brougher. “The Demonic in the Short Stories of Grigorii Petrov, Anatolii Kurchatkin, and Oleg Ermakov.” *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. 41, no. 2 (Jun. 1999), Academic Research Library, p. 149;
- Valentina G. Brougher. “Werewolves and Vampires, Historical Questions and Symbolic Answers in Petr Aleshkovsky’s *Vladimir Chigrintsev*.” *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 45, no. 3 (Autumn 2001), p. 494.
- Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzrenia*, vol. 2, pp. 306-307.

¹²³ Petr Bogatyrev. *Vampires in the Carpathians: Magical Acts, Rites, and Beliefs in Subcarpathian Rus’*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1998, pp. 119-120.

¹²⁴ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia*, vol. 2, p. 307.

second blow would only reanimate it,¹²⁵ while W.F. Ryan listed a more brutal treatment of the suspected corpse that had been recorded in Sub Carpathian Rus' in which the vampire was disinterred, his head cut off and placed between his legs, and then the body dissected into little pieces.¹²⁶ By finally disposing of the vampire, it was believed that the calamities set about by it would finish, the epidemic would cease to spread, or the drought would end.

Intimately coupled with the disposal methods exercised against vampires were the burial practices conducted within the Slavic villages, in which there was an interplay of those allowed a proper burial and the burial at the crossroads given to those who died by suicide or some other culturally-deemed unnatural cause. In both "The Coffin Lid" and "The Two Corpses," the traditional cemetery structure is alluded to, detailing the centrality of the church within its structure and the close relation of the religious institution with the burial site, much as in the traditional European village church structure. In "The Coffin Lid," the revenant corpse resided in the cemetery, placing the lid to his own coffin against the church wall before entering and assaulting the local village. It should be noted that when the vampire returned to his resting place and was delayed by the potter, he was unable to cover his coffin completely, resulting in an exposed corner, suggesting that, as in the tradition of family-made tombs, graves at the time when this tale was taken were still often quite shallow. According to Barber, a shallow grave was traditionally associated with allowing a revenant to escape its burial place, claiming, "shallow burial causes, deep burial discourages vampirism, presumably

¹²⁵ Ralston, p. 413.

¹²⁶ W.F. Ryan, p. 73.

because bodies buried deep tend to stay put and not be noticed.”¹²⁷ In “The Two Corpses,” one of the undead was encountered within the cemetery, while the second was recently deceased, still laid out in the church with surrounding candlelight, thus presenting both the mourning period and the eventual burial, suggesting that both periods in the funereal rites are subject to possible contamination.¹²⁸

However, greater detail is given to the interrelation of vampires and the crossroads. As was addressed in Afanasiev’s definition of the vampire, one of the causes of vampiric activity was that of suicide. Traditionally suicide victims were buried at the crossroads, or at the place where the act was performed. During the burial, stones were thrown at the tomb as punishment for killing oneself.¹²⁹ Perhaps due to the mysterious events surrounding her death, Marusia was also removed through the door and buried at the crossroads at her grandmother’s bequest. However, apart from their association with suicide victims, the crossroads were also considered to be a place where evil spirits gathered and was often used for divination, suggesting that it was the ideal place for Marusia’s revivification, allowing for her to remain in an area associated with both spirits and the undead long enough to be discovered by the boyar’s son.

In the descriptions of the differing burial practices, a number of preventative measures against the unnatural dead were absent from the selected tales, including that of keeping the deceased occupied within its coffin and planting apotropaic plants, such

¹²⁷ Paul Barber. *Vampires, Burial, and Death: Folklore and Reality*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, p. 169.

¹²⁸ In order to properly honour the dead and avoid a malevolent return, a set system of burial rites was strictly maintained. Following these rights was believed to directly affect the level of vampiric activity, since by properly honouring the dead, it would make any future visitations from the dead more likely to be beneficial, such as with the *roditeli*. However, any divergence from these practices could cause a person who otherwise died naturally to return, causing tragic repercussions

¹²⁹ Bogatyrev, p. 112.

as stinging nettles around the burial site to prevent the return of the deceased to their former abodes. During the burial, aspen shavings would be left in the tomb both to make the coffin softer for the deceased and so that the aspen would prevent the dead from rising, along with coals to write with to keep the undead gainfully employed,¹³⁰ presenting a funereal correlate to the other non-violent preventative measures for actual encounters with vampires, namely, the obsession with counting and the compulsion towards questions. In the cemetery itself, either thorn-bushes or stinging nettles were planted along the river bank to discourage vampires and other malicious spirits from returning to the land of the living.¹³¹

Due to the vampire's association with the rationalization of tragedies and the embodiment of the inescapable tribulations affecting the livelihood of the people within a harsh environment, it maintained its relevance through shifts in the belief system and due to its dualistic nature of representing the natural death of a pure life as compared to the unnatural death of one contaminated by magic or other means. This duality allowed it to make a transition from the context of *roditeli* and *zalozhnye* to that of spirits and demons. The perception of death under the new Orthodox system and from the three-staged Pagan system to an Orthodox theology caused the balance between good and bad death to adopt a greater association with the Christian concepts of sin, corruption, and the demonic.

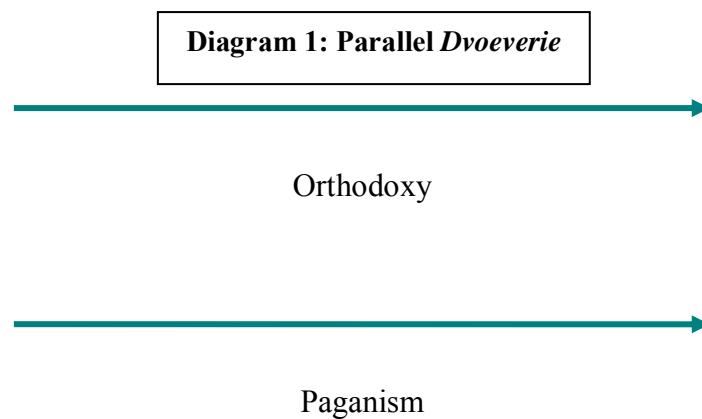
¹³⁰ Bogatyrev, pp. 119-120.

¹³¹ Warner, p. 51.

1.2 The Revenant Amongst Us: Religious Commentary in Slavic Vampiric Folklore

The symbolic themes of the vampire myth addressed in the last section were primarily formed within the Pagan belief structure. However, further details within the tales reflect that each tale was collected long after the adoption of Orthodoxy within Russia. Each of the tales employed symbolic images and concepts formed from a conglomeration of both Pagan and Orthodox imagery. The combination of variant symbolisms is expressed in the Russian theological concept of *dvoeverie*.

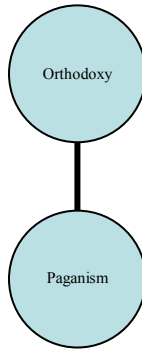
Dvoeverie, or double belief, can exist in three different incarnations, described by W.F. Ryan as the coexistence of two separate belief systems, the simultaneous acceptance of Christianity and Paganism, syncretism.¹³² In this thesis, these forms of *dvoeverie* will be referred to as “parallel *dvoeverie*”, “dualistic *dvoeverie*”, and “syncretic *dvoeverie*.”



Parallel *dvoeverie* exists when two separate belief systems, such as Christianity and Paganism, coincide within the same community (see diagram 1). They remain separate entities, but inhabit the same physical proximity.

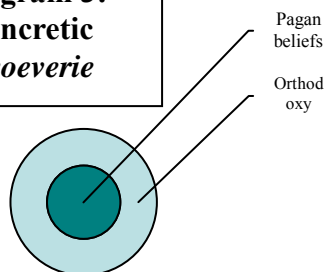
¹³² W.F. Ryan, p. 14.

**Diagram 2: Dualistic
*Dvoeverie***



Dualistic *dvoeverie* occurs when two separate beliefs systems are simultaneously accepted within one community, as opposed to simply one physical area (see diagram 2). This implies a dualistic stream of thought in which two separate systems of belief are drawn upon in distinctive situations, but does not necessarily imply any overt contradiction between the disparate systems.

**Diagram 3:
Syncretic
*Dvoeverie***



The final form of *dvoeverie*, the syncretic, is marked by the combination of different forms of beliefs into one system (see diagram 3). This is denoted by the

incorporation of Pagan beliefs into Orthodoxy, such as that of St. Elijah's borrowing of Perun's attributes.¹³³

Within vampire mythology, syncretic *dvoeverie* accounts for the majority of the combinative instances of the belief. The syncretism of both Pagan and Orthodox elements within the mythos is seen not just at the descriptive level, but even within the basic choice of label granted to the concept. In the myth's incorporation of Orthodox symbolism, most additions correspond to the alteration of the perception of witches and wizards, connecting them with demons, the Devil, and heresy. This is represented by the addition to Afanasiev's definition of an *upyr'* to include "people excommunicated by the church, such as suicides, drunkards, heretics, apostates, and those cursed by their parents."¹³⁴ The discernment of who was condemned by the church, and thus likely to exhibit vampiric tendencies, was expanded to include anyone who could fit the broad classification of a "sinner", such as the prior listing of alcoholics.¹³⁵ Thus the myth was transformed from merely connoting an unnatural death to serving as a representation of sin, allowing for tales to take on moral outlooks. In this shift, the myth took two polar representations of the Christian concept of sin, namely, of the sense of a man's internal corruption and of the external contamination by demonic forces considered foreign that could cause the occurrence of different tragic events, both of which were reflected in Afanasiev's tales.

In the essays referred to above, Oinas suggested that the association of the vampire with the Devil even went so far as to have the terms *upyr'* and *koldun* become

¹³³ Ralston, pp. 91-92. Perun and other figures of the Slavic Pantheon are discussed in Appendix 3: The Slavic Pantheon.

¹³⁴ Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 19.

¹³⁵ Paul Barber, pp. 29-30.

nearly synonymous with *eretik*, or heretic.¹³⁶ One such example of this heterogeneous utilization of the term heretic is recounted by Efimenko in Oinas's "Heretics as Vampires and Demons in Russia":

There were such people, who roamed around at night in villages, captured people and ate them. The *eretiki* were not alive, but dead. Therefore, if they really got on the nerves of people, the people gathered at the grave of the one who was known as a sorcerer during his lifetime, opened it up with stakes, took out the *eretik* who was lying with his face downwards, and burned him in a bonfire or pierced his back with an aspen stick... The person—magician (*kudesnik*), wizard (*znaxar'*) [sic.] or harmer (*porčelnik*) [sic.]—who was called a "sorcerer" (*koldun*) in his lifetime, would become an *eretik* after his death, if he walks around at night and begins to eat people, as it has been going on for centuries.¹³⁷

This reflects the connection between the *koldun* and the *upyr'*, which coalesced into one homogenous myth of a live or dead *eretik*. The possibility of a *koldun* becoming an *upyr'* was always present in Russian folklore, but with this adaptation to the attributes of a heretic, the *koldun*'s power became more associated with the demonic and the Devil, and his heretical life and death became perceived as threats to the religious life and moral existence of the village population as with the undead wizard in "The Soldier and the Vampire."

This belief in the effect of a dead heretic was taken further in a variant given by Rybnikov:

Evil sorcerers do not give peace to Christians even after their deaths and become *erestuny* (or *xloptuny*, *kloxtuny*, *soptuny*) [sic.]; they seize the moment when a neighbor is near his death and, as soon as the soul has left the body, they enter the deceased. After that, unpleasant things happen to the family. There are *erestuny* who "transform

¹³⁶ Felix J. Oinas. "Heretics as Vampires and Demons in Russia." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 22, no. 4 (Winter, 1978), p. 437.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

Translated from P.S. Efimenko. *Materialy po etnografii russkogo naseleniia Arkhangel'skoi gubernii*, Moscow, 1877, pp. 186-187.

themselves,” i.e., acquire another person’s face and endeavour to sneak into their own or into another family. Such an *erestun* lives, it seems, as is fitting for a good peasant, but soon people in the family or in the village begin to disappear one after another; the *erestun* devours them. In order to destroy the transformed sorcerer, it is necessary to take the whip used for a heavily loaded horse and give him a thorough thrashing. Then he will fall down and give up his ghost. In order to prevent him from coming to life in the grave, it is necessary to drive an aspen stake into his back between the shoulders.¹³⁸

This presents an alternative to the original stipulation that the *upyr*’ would return home to its relatives because of its connection during life. Rather than attributing the tragic occurrences after the family member’s death due to the nature of the unnatural death, such events are the result of an external force—the *eretik*. The responsibility of the vampiric activity is thus transferred from being entirely the result of a person’s unnatural death or internal corruption, to being associated more with demonic possession.

In either example, the correlation between the myth of the *upyr*’ and that of the *eretik* is apparent. Oinas asserts that this transference of the attributes of the *upyr*’ to the term *eretik* may be the reason for the shift in the labelling of the myth to *eretik* and the later need to employ the Western term “vampire.”¹³⁹ Oinas suggests that the historical reason for this shift is due to the historical campaigns against heretics in the religious sense of the term. While the severity of the witch hunts conducted in Russia as compared to those carried out by the Church in Western Europe is contested,¹⁴⁰ campaigns were conducted regularly against those deemed heretical:

¹³⁸ Oinas, “Heretics,” p. 434.

Translated from P.N. Rybnikov. *Pesni, sobrannye P.N. Rybnikovym*. Sotrudnik skol, Moscow, 1910, vol. 3, pp. 189-190.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 437.

¹⁴⁰ Russell Zguta. “Witchcraft Trials in Seventeenth-Century Russia,” *The American Historical Review*. vol. 82, no. 5 (Dec., 1977), pp. 1187.

The transfer of the notion of vampires [*upyr*i] to heretics is connected with the extreme cruelty with which the heretics were persecuted in Russia. [...] Since the “heresy theology” (*Ketzertheologie*) was discussed and disputed in the inner circles of the church, the common people were not aware of the theoretical basis of the struggle of Orthodoxy against heresy. They could only witness the hysterical campaign waged against the heretics, their brutal imprisonments and executions. The joining of the ecclesiastical and worldly powers, including the grand princes (later czars), into this drive and the fanfare with which it was done, must have led the people to believe in the extreme danger constituted by the heretics. This danger could have been no less than the greatest sins imaginable—killing of Christians, drinking their blood and eating their flesh—just as the vampires were believed to do.¹⁴¹

This implies that the shift from *upyr*’ to *eretik*, while maintaining the nature of the myth itself, shifted in its meaning to the point that when a classification for the specific image of the vampire was needed, it was closer in meaning to the Western term “vampire” than that of the mythological *upyr*’. By adopting the Orthodox concepts of sin, heresy, and the demonic, the *upyr*’ ceased to be merely a conception of the duality of death and became associated both with internal sin and external corruption. This is closer to the representation given in the Russian literary stories with each author’s depiction of the vampire using period versions of post-*eretik* vampiric symbolism. Thus in this thesis the term “vampire” will be predominantly used rather than the Slavic term *upyr*’.

1.2.1 Heretics and Revenants: Orthodox Elements in the Description of Vampires

The syncretic adoption of Orthodox elements into the existing Pagan mythology is seen in the preventative measures found in the tales. The cock’s crow was in all the stories, although some of the stories which had a higher level of Orthodox elements may

¹⁴¹ Oinas, “Heretics,” p. 437.

also have incorporated the implied relationship of the cock's crow with the Devil.¹⁴² However, a greater syncretization can be found in the use of aspen in "The Soldier and the Vampire" in which the wood was used to combat the malevolent dead wizard, or *eretik*. After the adoption of Orthodoxy, aspen began to be known as an effective means of fighting the "unclean spirit."¹⁴³ This was taken further to include a Biblical reference to aspen, which became known as "the Devil's tree", in a folk interpretation of it as being the "wood on which Christ was crucified and the tree on which Judas hanged himself."¹⁴⁴ In *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature*, Afanasiev described that after Judas hanged himself, the leaves of each aspen tree would shake for eternity.¹⁴⁵ During the early period of Christianity in Russia, Judas was not only associated with the Biblical story, his name was used to denote the Devil and other demonological creatures.¹⁴⁶ Further correlations with Judas were formed associating him with a serpent,¹⁴⁷ an animal often associated with the demonic. This symbolism is seen in preventative amulets called *zmeeviki*, which displayed a dualistic representation of a Christian symbol on one side and a Pagan serpent on the other.¹⁴⁸

Along with the redefined use of aspen, some uniquely Christian apotropaic methods emerged, including the use of magic prayers, crosses, religious relics, holy

¹⁴³ Brougher, "Werewolves," p. 494.

¹⁴⁴ Brougher, "The Demonic," p. 149.

¹⁴⁵ Afanasiev. *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia*, vol. 2, p. 307.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 216.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 307.

¹⁴⁸ W.F. Ryan, p. 229.

water, incense, and the speaking of Church Slavonic.¹⁴⁹ This comes from the belief that the Devil fears magic circles (such as demonifuges and talismans), crosses, blessings, incense, the name of God, and the cock's crow.¹⁵⁰

The use of holy water in "Upyr'," while also indicative of the folkloric concept of the waters of life and death, embodied the adoption of the above methods, illustrating the dependability of the apotropaic holy water against the demonically-derived mysterious foreign entity within the post-Orthodox tale.

1.2.2 The Revenant in the Chapel: The Interplay of the Vampire and the Orthodox Church

While the apotropaic methods against vampirism encountered within folk-belief were diverse, the majority of the above-mentioned preventative measures either were absent from Afanasiev's published folk tales or, when mentioned, were proven to be ineffective. For example, the anti-demonological properties of the cross in warding off vampires are suggested to be futile by the multiple instances of vampires invading the church, as in "The Coffin Lid," "The Two Corpses," and "Upyr'." This presents a deviation from the traditional belief surrounding the symbol of the cross.

The association with using the cross to combat the demonic was found soon after Orthodoxy's initial introduction. W.F. Ryan describes the traditional use of the cross within a Russian socio-historical context:

The belief in the power of the cross to disconcert demons goes back to the early centuries of Christianity and was widespread in Western Europe. It is remarked very early in Russian literature: in the entry for 1068 in *The Russian Primary Chronicle*

¹⁴⁹ W.F. Ryan, p. 43.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 45-46

there is a digression on the power of the cross, its importance in the swearing of oaths, its value as a vexillum, and: 'if a man be importuned by devils, a sign of the cross on the face drives them away.' (Excerpt from *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, p. 149) In 1071, in the same chronicle, a man of Novgorod visits a Chud magician to have his fortune told, but the magician is unable to summon up his devils because the man is wearing a Cross. The sixteenth-century *Radziwiłł Chronicle* contains two miniatures which show the Devil being repulsed by a cross or Sign of the Cross. In Old Believer tracts the power of the cross to drive out demons is accorded only to the three-barred cross, the single-barred cross being seen as either Roman and heretical, or a sign of the Antichrist, or both. In more modern times a popular name for the cross is *chortogon* ('devil-chaser').¹⁵¹

Thus the cross was deemed to have apotropaic efficacy against any sort of demonic activity, whether it be that of a maleficent *koldun*, or of a demon, or of a vampire.

The disparity between the purported efficacy ascribed to the cross by W.F. Ryan and the lack of success within the folktales suggest that there has been a literary transmogrification from the traditional belief structure as presented in these tales. Whether in Afanasiev's editing of the tales, or in the construction of the folkloric framework created by the original orator, the efficacy of this Orthodox element is questioned.

The lack of effectiveness presented by the cross is a microcosm of the overarching question of the efficacy of the church itself. As has been noted, there were multiple instances in the tales where the vampiric antagonists were able to acquire a certain level of influence over the church buildings. Whether in "The Coffin Lid," with the vampire's placing the coffin lid by the door of the church, the two vampires within the church building in "The Two Vampires," or the vampire's power over Marusia in the church building in "Upyr'," the church serves no effect in staving off the vampiric threats presented in these tales. In this deviation from the traditional folk-belief, the

¹⁵¹ W.F. Ryan, p. 230.

literary device of textual criticism is first introduced into the tales, allowing for further discussion of the historical and political contexts that could be efficaciously represented by vampiric symbolism.

1.3 No Longer a Blank Sheet: The Folkloric Vampire and Attempts at Recapturing the Russian Village

The historical nature of Afanasiev's vampiric folktales is characterized both by the political situation in which he collected them and the palpable manifestations of the times in which the tales were told. First the historical backdrop in which Afanasiev undertook his collections will be addressed, noting how the political atmosphere may have influenced his work. This will be followed by an analysis of the specific historical imagery employed in the individual tales, followed by a discussion of the common themes that have been discerned from the vampiric tales.

The act of gathering the tales is indicative of the growing development of the mythological school, a movement that proceeded from the Slavophile movement, in which writers and philosophers attempted to capture Russia's deep cultural history. This movement initially began as a reaction to the Westernization of Peter the Great¹⁵² and eventually led to the development of a national historiography. With the combined impetus of Slavophilism and the works of Gogol, the "historical-literary" and "folkloric-ethnographic" works of the mythological school arose, including those of the folklorists

¹⁵² Frederick C. Copleston. *Philosophy in Russia: From Herzen to Lenin and Berdyaev*. Search Press, University of Notre Dame, 1986, p. 46.

Buslaev and Afanasiev.¹⁵³ These two folklorists are credited with the development of the comparative historical method of examining folk mythology, attempting to understand its role in the development of poetic works.¹⁵⁴ Due to this method, the vampiric tales collected by Afanasiev were representative of different historical times and use competing imageries. Afanasiev saw the effects of historic events on mythology as providing the colouring of the ages, allowing the mythological roots to develop more deeply.¹⁵⁵

However, this is not to suggest that the growing mythological school necessarily implied an acceptance of folk literature at this time. Despite the growing trend of supernatural and folkloric thematics in literature, Afanasiev's tales were deemed "blasphemous and obscene" by the church censors due both to the nature of the material having been collected from the peasantry and to the tales' incorporation of both Orthodox and Pagan idiosyncrasies in what were often satirical tales.¹⁵⁶ As James Riordan notes:

[...] many in authority inclined to the view that the folktales tended to corrupt by their coarseness, their satire (particularly against the clergy and nobility) and their peasant wit.¹⁵⁷

Such a harsh review of Afanasiev's tales largely stems from the political upheaval of the time preceding the composition of the tales, during which a series of peasant uprisings and social upheavals amongst the population eventually led to the reluctant granting of

¹⁵³ Larisa Nikolaevna Beliakovskaia. *Evoliutsiia filosofskogo mirovozzreniia N.V. Gogolia. Dissertatsiia kand. filos. nauk.* RGB, Moskva, 2005, p. 22.

¹⁵⁴ Beliakovskaia, p. 22.

¹⁵⁵ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia*, vol. 1, p. 12.

¹⁵⁶ Jack Zipes, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, p. 5.

¹⁵⁷ James Riordan. "Russian Fairy Tales and Their Collectors" in Hilda Ellis Davidson and Anna Chaudhri, ed. *A Companion to the Fairy Tale*. D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 2003, p. 223.

freedom to the serfs in 1861.¹⁵⁸ Thus the satirical themes of the tales and their origin in the lower classes resulted in a negative reception of Afanasiev's collections. The censors were especially strict with his work resulting in the burning of the second volume of Afanasiev's collection, his eventual dismissal from his job, and the denial of his livelihood.¹⁵⁹ Even the first volume of tales, in which Afanasiev's primary vampiric tales were included, was banned quickly after its first publication, a situation that Haney describes:

All of Afanas'ev's folkloric works were subject to censorship, which in the middle of the nineteenth century was powerful enough to prohibit publication but arbitrary in what it chose to ban. Individual censors had taste and conscience and were not always willing to follow the policies announced from above. Thus Afanas'ev's Russian legends were banned by the censors in 1860—after they had been published and the entire stock had sold out! The responsible censor was eventually fired, but the book enjoyed considerable success, spurred on by the belated efforts to stifle its publication.¹⁶⁰

While the initial censor may have recognized the value of this collection and subsequently suffered the consequences for it, the indebtedness of the literary community to Afanasiev's concise collection was not recognized until around the time of his death,¹⁶¹ during which time he was posthumously recognized as one of the key figures in the school of Russian folklore. Ironically, either despite this recognition or possibly due to this veneration, little research has been done on Afanasiev himself. Only a few works have analyzed Afanasiev's analytical methods elucidated upon in *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature* and no works have been written on the historical nature of the tales themselves, with only a few briefly mentioning the significance of Afanasiev's

¹⁵⁸ Riordan, p. 223.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 223-224.

¹⁶⁰ Jack V. Haney. *An Introduction to the Russian Folktale*. M.E. Sharpe, London, 1999, p. 30.

¹⁶¹ Riordan, p. 224.

solarist school of mythological analysis.¹⁶² However, the absence of such works does not pose a hindrance as the periods of his collected tales stand external to the folklorist himself, relating back to the regions and times in which they were told.

This is not to imply that the tales were transcribed with rote accuracy. Afanasiev obtained the tales for his collection from multiple varying sources, with one third obtained from the Russian Geographical Society and subsequent tales largely obtained from either various collaborations with “amateur collectors” or Petr Kireevski’s extensive collection.¹⁶³ Only ten of the tales were collected by Afanasiev himself. While it may be argued that Afanasiev adopted Buslaev’s stance that “the tales ought to be preserved precisely as they were told, without editing of any sort,” Afanasiev did edit his material.¹⁶⁴ Unfortunately, due to the limited resources on Afanasiev’s early works and the difficulty of obtaining the original texts, it is impossible to ascertain what his editing entailed. This issue is made more difficult by the tales having neither a specific time nor narrator attributed to them, due to Afanasiev’s belief that the identity of the exact storyteller had no value and that the tales themselves were inviolable.¹⁶⁵ However, certain metaphoric symbolisms regarding the time and political situation in which they were collected can be ascertained. By closely examining both the imagery and the language employed in the tales, a rudimentary conception of the tales’ historical and political background can be discerned. According to Petr Kireevskii, the collector from whom Afanasiev obtained many of his tales, there was “a common historical experience

¹⁶² Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 19.

¹⁶³ Haney, p. 31.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁶⁵ Riordan, p. 222.

in the Russian character” that could be seen in these tales, a phenomenon that he felt identified “the Russian spirit” with the peasantry rather than the ruling classes.¹⁶⁶

The perception of this historical experience within the collected folklore served as an image of what Propp describes as the current historical development of peoples, where “the fact of the changeability of folklore compared with the stability of literature” allows the tales to adopt the concerns of the people at the time.¹⁶⁷

Propp describes the relation of folktales to historical reality as being threefold:

1. Folklore is engendered by reality but does not contain any direct traces of the concrete reality or epoch that has engendered it.
2. The second type of relation of folklore to reality presupposes a fictitious plot that contains obvious traces of peoples’ lives. Reality finds reflection even though such reflection was not the performer’s aesthetic aim.
3. In the third case the performer intends to describe reality. Such are soldiers’ songs about the draft, the hardships of service, raids, battles, and death in battle.¹⁶⁸

In regards to Afanasiev’s tales examined in this thesis, the secondary category of historical reality is the primary means of representation found in the tales. Rather than intending to describe actual events, all the tales contain an element of the fantastic while maintaining traces of daily life, presenting the Russian peasant reality of the times in which they were collected, including reflections on their lives, social constructs, and the difficulties one could encounter.

As Worobec puts it, these tales “conveyed their fears, expectations, and worldview,” providing a means to express their feelings and reactions towards their daily circumstances and giving them “some control over their lives.”¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Haney, p. 28.

¹⁶⁷ Vladimir Propp. *Theory and History of Folklore*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1984, p. 8.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

The subjects' "fears, expectations, and worldview" are most apparent in the tale "Upry'." In this tale, the vampire is presented as being a rich foreign merchant's clerk who woos the unsuspecting heroine of the piece.¹⁷⁰ He first appears during the celebrations of the holiday of St. Andrew, enticing the youth with his dancing and presents of "wine, nuts, and gingerbread," thus presenting himself in Marusia's eyes as being "a fine young man, handsome, with plenty of money."¹⁷¹

His power over women and control over Marusia reflects on the Gothic influence on the historic mythology, straying from the more traditional images of malevolent dead sorcerers and corpses in burial shrouds that are found in the majority of tales. Instead the antagonist is portrayed as a seductive, wealthy foreign gentleman, an image that at that time had been popularized by English works of writers like Bram Stoker¹⁷² and Sheridan Le Fanu¹⁷³ that had taken the core of the tale and shaped it into a more Western mythos. This historical amalgamation of literary and folkloric mythos resulted in Afanasiev's conclusion in his analytical work *Poetical Views of the Slavs on Nature* that the term *upyr'* now equates to vampire.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ Christine D. Worobec. "Chapter 5: Victims or Actors? Russian Peasant Women and Patriarchy," in Esther Kingston-Mann and Timothy Mixter. *Peasant Economy, Culture, and Politics of European Russia, 1800-1921*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1991, p. 182.

¹⁷⁰ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia*, vol. 2, pp. 498-499.

¹⁷¹ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, p. 124; English translation: Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 117.

¹⁷² Bram Stoker. *Dracula: A Norton Critical Edition (with Stoker's own working papers)*. W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 1997.

¹⁷³ Sheridan Le Fanu. *Carmilla*, in Leslie Shephard. *The Dracula Book of Classic Vampire Stories*. Citadel Press, London, 1993, pp. 15-88.

¹⁷⁴ A.F. Zhuravlev. *Iazyk i mif: Lingvisticheskii kommentarii k trudu A.N. Afanas'eva "Poeticheskie vozzreniia slavian na prirodu."* Indrik, Moskva, 2005, p. 862.

This subject is further analyzed in Zhuravlev's linguistic study of *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature* in which he traces the shifts in the names, noting that even the Gothic name "vampire" is of Slavic origin.

After the vampire took his first victim, Marusia's father, he grieved amongst Marusia's friends "just as though it were not his work."¹⁷⁵ This seductive power in successfully immersing himself in the village dynamic hints at the antipathy towards foreign influences. However, due to the tale's concentration primarily on his victim, Marusia, rather than the vampire himself, the tale presents another deeper level of historical connotation. The vampire first appeared on St. Andrew's Day, a day that was thought to be particularly efficacious for marriage divination in Slavic folk belief.¹⁷⁶ After the mysterious stranger proposed to her during the celebrations and Marusia had announced to her mother that an affluent gentleman had offered to make her his wife, the mother expressed apprehension towards the betrothal, suggesting the yarn technique that led to Marusia's initial discovery of the mysterious gentleman's true nature.

After unveiling that the man was, in fact, a vampire, Marusia continued to attend her social circle each day, with the following scene preceding each fateful conversation with the vampire:

At the end of the evening, the evil spirit said: "Marusia, will you walk a few steps with me?" She refused to go, she was afraid. All the girls pressed her: "What is the matter with you? Are you timid? Go and say farewell to the fine young man." She had no choice but to go, putting her hope in God.¹⁷⁷

Aside from the aforementioned commentary on foreign entities in village life, Marusia's friends' reactions to her hesitancy and her eventual submission, "putting her hope in God" signifies the fear inherent in the marriage process for Russian peasant women of Imperial Russia. According to Worobec, Russian peasant women "both coveted and

¹⁷⁵ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, p. 125; English translation: Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 118.

¹⁷⁶ W.F. Ryan, p. 98.

¹⁷⁷ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, p. 125; English translation: Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 118.

feared marriage, two diametrically opposed reactions which reveal the complexities of Russian peasant society and the patriarchy that shaped that society.” Worobec rationalizes that this phenomenon is due to marriage’s nature as a “great upheaval” in a woman’s life, further claiming:

With patrilocal residence the norm, marriage celebrations constituted a rite of passage during which a bride made the transition from the security of her natural family to the insecurity of her new husband’s family. It is little wonder that as an intruder into the established rhythms of a tightly knit family household, a girl was anxious about her new life. She bemoaned her unenviable situation in ritual songs. Akin to funeral laments, these songs mourned the sacrifice of maidenhood in exchange for all the burdens of a married woman. No longer could a woman count on the understanding of a loving father and mother. Instead she had to cultivate potentially hostile in-laws who might harass her verbally, physically, and sexually. Bonds would be created very slowly through labor, obedience, and most importantly, bearing and raising children.¹⁷⁸

The result of a traditional marriage in tying one solely to one’s patriarchal family and, in effect, losing the “understanding of a loving father and mother” is symbolically represented through Marusia’s fiancé’s murdering of her father and mother. Marusia’s eventual death from the vampire with whom she was betrothed symbolically indicates the practice of funereal marriage laments, where she ended her former life in exchange for her new married life.

Before she dies, Marusia recalls that she had a grandmother “who was very, very old and had been blind for many years” with whom she consults before her death.¹⁷⁹

The image of the grandmother presents two correlations with Imperial peasant life, reflecting on both the valuing of one’s elders and, in all likelihood unintentionally, on the high rates of blindness at the time.¹⁸⁰ The methods suggested by the grandmother

¹⁷⁸ Worobec, “Victims or Actors?” p. 178.

¹⁷⁹ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, p. 126; English translation: Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 119.

¹⁸⁰ “Blindness in Russia.” *Science*, vol. 7, no. 164. (Mar. 26, 1886), pp. 291-292.

result in Marusia emerging from her death-like state into the marriage-bed, although with a different man.

Marusia marries the son of a boyar on the condition that after the marriage, they would not attend church for four years,¹⁸¹ to which the man was in agreement until a visitor suggested that his wife was an infidel, prompting him to insist that she attend church. The sudden reconsideration of his agreement due to the slight of his guest echoes the boyar sense of “honor”:

The boyars valued their own and their families’ “honor” and “just position” extremely highly, all the more so because any occasional downgrading would be added to the permanent record.¹⁸²

However, the tale seems to indirectly suggest that this sense of honor was false, since it is the man’s insistence that they attend church that leads to his and his son’s deaths at the hands of Marusia’s vampire. At the conclusion of the story it is the grandmother, the symbol of the family’s elders, that finds the solution to ridding Marusia of the vampire and returning her husband and child to life.

As was discussed in Section 1.1, the other vampiric tales by Afanasiev display a more traditional image of the vampire, with each depicting either a corpse in a shroud or a malevolent deceased wizard. However, as in “Upyr” the interplay of the vampire and its victim places greater emphasis on the men confronted by the undead.

In the tale “The Coffin Lid,” the protagonist is described as a peasant driving a cart full of pots who proves himself to be a brave man.¹⁸³ When confronted with the vampire, the potter takes the corpse’s coffin lid and, ignoring the vampire’s threat of

¹⁸¹ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, pp. 126-127; English translation: Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 120.

¹⁸² Nicholas V. Riasanovsky. *A History of Russia*. Oxford University Press, New York, 1963, p. 208.

¹⁸³ Chelovek smelyi.
Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, tom. 3, p. 113.

dismemberment, he draws his axe and intimidates the corpse into giving him the information needed to save those whom the corpse had killed.

In direct opposition to the potter's confident and brave retorts, the vampire becomes more and more desperate, leading to his plea to the potter for the return of his coffin lid, "Do give it back to me, good man!"¹⁸⁴ The vampire's cowardice is shown to be in diametric opposition to the potter's bravery, epitomizing the peasant as the brave and cunning hero.

Afanasiev's second tale with a peasant as its protagonist presents a distinctive image when juxtaposed with the brave hero of the prior tale, showing the protagonist to be the antithetical image of the aforementioned hero. In "The Dog and the Corpse," a peasant man is out in pursuit of game, an initial activity that is indicative more of the formula of Russian *byliny* than general folklore. Oinas purports that hunting and fighting were two common themes in most Russian *byliny* with hunting "regularly followed by a battle or a duel."¹⁸⁵ The formula is employed in this tale, but with a satirical twist. The protagonist had completed a hunting trip with his faithful dog, but when confronted by the vampire—the duel that is to follow the hunting trip in such a tale—the image of the stalwart hero is reversed, replaced by the cowardice of a man who abandons his dog to the floating corpse, thus turning a tale that follows the basic *bylina* framework into a morality tale. This shift suggests the tale may have been of a more literary origin, which suggests the tale could have been one of the more edited tales of the collection diverging from a more traditional folkloric form.

¹⁸⁴ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, p. 113; English translation: Summers, *The Vampire in Europe*, p. 291.

¹⁸⁵ Felix J. Oinas. "Hunting in Russian Byliny Revisited." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 31, no. 3. (Autumn, 1987), p. 420.

The final two vampiric tales, “The Two Corpses” and “The Soldier and the Vampire,” both contain two similar protagonists, each a soldier returning home on furlough.¹⁸⁶ Aside from the religious commentary addressed in the prior section, “The Two Corpses” does not give significant insight into the historical time in which it was written, aside from the presence of soldiers in Russian rural culture and the ambivalence towards the church as has already been discussed.

However, “The Soldier and the Vampire” reflects upon multiple areas of Imperial Russian peasant life, from marriage ceremony practices to the council of elders. When the soldier first encounters the dead warlock, he is taken by the wizard to a local wedding, where the antagonist proceeds to kill the bride and groom. The tragic circumstances of the wizard’s presence reflect on the folk belief that a wizard’s attendance at a wedding would ensure that other more malevolent influences would be hindered. Ramer comments further that:

The stereotype that one gave witches and sorcerers a prominent place at the wedding and fed them well was rooted in peasant reality: the consequences for failing to do so were seen as severe, ranging from impotence or infertility to the married partners’ physical disgust for each other.¹⁸⁷

After the malevolent sorcerer attacked the wedding party and the soldier coaxed the means of defeating the wizard out of him, the man returned to town, restored the couple to life, and then consulted the *starosta* to rally the village together to gather the loads of aspen wood needed to destroy the sorcerer, reflecting on the role of *stariki* in village life of that time:

¹⁸⁶ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, pp. 114-116, 120; English translation: Summers, *The Vampire in Europe*, pp. 292-293.

¹⁸⁷ Samuel C. Ramer. “Traditional Healers and Peasant Culture in Russia, 1861-1917,” in Kingston-Mann, p. 214.

The real “leaders” in the commune were the older peasants, the *stariki*, representatives of the older generation whose children were already adults. Ordinarily the peasant gave up his land allotment at the age of sixty, and the tax duties were removed from him; but he often remained fit for labor and did not cease to work. The older peasants preserved a clear mind, possessed much experience in life, and enjoyed a reputation of “right thinking” (honest and just); together they constituted a group and sometimes formed an informal “council of elders” (*sovet starikov*). They enjoyed considerable influence in the commune and they embodied its traditions, norms, and values. Every important matter in the commune was discussed first with the *stariki*, and in most cases their opinion was decisive: the village assembly made its decision only with the consent of the *stariki*.¹⁸⁸

While this tale may have included a single *starosta*, it was his accession to rally the villagers that led to the eventual defeat of the vampiric wizard.

Each of the above tales are thematically connected by their emphasis on the vampire’s victim rather than on the figure of the vampire itself, serving to present the attributes valued by the peasant population of the time in which they were collected, ranging from selfless bravery in the tales “The Coffin Lid” and “The Soldier and the Vampire” to denouncing cowardice in “The Dog and the Corpse.” However, it is the smaller symbolic elements of the tales that reflected on the lives of those who told the tale, using the image of the vampire to allude to one’s fears encountered in life, such as a wedding for a young peasant woman, to the tragic events that would bring a community together as in “The Soldier and the Vampire.”

¹⁸⁸ Boris Mironiv. “The Russian Peasant Commune after the Reforms of the 1860s,” in Ben Eklof and Stephen P. Frank, ed. *The World of the Russian Peasant: Post-Emancipation Culture and Society*. Unwin Hyman, Boston, 1990, p. 15.

1.4 A Reflection Upon Oneself: The Vampire and Its Role in Capturing Peasant Moralistic Philosophies

The philosophical basis of Afanasiev's collections is complicated by the interplay of Afanasiev's own personal philosophy and those of the original storytellers as implicated in the tales. While the folktales were collected and edited by Afanasiev, they originated from a multitude of sources. The origin of these tales at first implies an absence of Afanasiev's personal philosophical discourse. However, the mere collection of the tales and the choice of tales to be included in the collection reflect on the philosophical views of that time. In order to examine this relationship, the philosophical basis of Afanasiev's impetus to collect the tales will first be discussed, followed by a discussion of the basic peasant philosophies reflected in the tales themselves.

Afanasiev's multiple collections of Slavic folklore were indicative of the Slavophile movement's desire to return to an understanding of what it means to be Slavic and how Slavic thought differs from that of a Western person's.¹⁸⁹ According to Kireevskii, Russian thought developed under the influence of the Holy Fathers, developing the Evangelical teachings, with the main influence coming from monasteries, not universities.¹⁹⁰ Slavophilism is associated with the formation of the myth of Holy Russia which developed into the national historiographical movement, studying Russia's cultural past and distinguishing Russians from the West through the concept of *sobornost'*. *Sobornost'*, or "wholeness," has the root meaning of "gather,"

¹⁸⁹ Zamaleev, p. 8.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

“conciliarity,” “catholicity,” and “cathedral.”¹⁹¹ It indicates the “wholeness” obtained from being a part of a community, of a people and indicates a Russian person’s deep ties with his or her roots. This concept was both integrated into the conception of the Orthodox Church and into the reactionary response to the influx of Western influences beginning with Peter the Great. As Copleston describes:

It was not so much a question of western science and technology as of the penetration of western beliefs, ways of thought, values and social ideals, a penetration which seemed to some to mean contamination of Russia by an alien spirit and to constitute a threat to the traditions and values of their country. [...] There was therefore a choice between maintaining that Russia’s salvation and future lay in an ever greater assimilation to the West and maintaining that she should pursue a path of her own. It was incumbent on those who adopted the second position to show that Russia had the potential to pursue a path of her own, that the idea of a specifically Russian cultural and social development was not meaningless. To put the matter in a different way, it had to be shown that Chaadaev’s picture of Russia was unjustified, that she was not simply a blank sheet of paper on which Peter the Great had written ‘The West.’¹⁹²

In order to illustrate that Russia was not just this “blank sheet of paper,” historical and folkloric studies were undertaken to collect Russia’s vibrant cultural history and, through historiological and mythological theory, illustrate the historical depth of this culture.

In his folkloric works, Afanasiev attempted to capture the folkloric roots of Russian culture, attempting to capture a depth to Russia’s history that had been overlooked. His collection *Russian Folktales*, served as one of the most extensive collections of Slavic folklore, while his *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature* entailed a study of the underlying symbolism of the stories. In *Poetic Views of the Slavs on*

¹⁹¹ Paul Valliere. “Russian Orthodoxy and Human Rights,” in Irene Bloom, J. Paul Martin, and Wayne L. Proudfoot, ed. *Religious Diversity and Human Rights*, Columbia University Press, New York, p. 281.

¹⁹² Frederick C. Copleston. *Philosophy in Russia: From Herzen to Lenin and Berdyaev*. Search Press, University of Notre Dame, p. 45.

Nature, he suggested that *upyri* were a derivative form of the prior Slavic Pagan Solarist beliefs, asserting that:

Originally our ancestors must have understood by the name vampire a terrible demon who sucks storm clouds and drinks up all the moisture in them, because in the ancient myths, rain was like blood flowing in the veins of cloud spirits and animals [...] The winter cold which freezes rain-clouds plunges the creative forces of nature into sleep, death, damnation. The thunder god and lightning spirits are equated to suckers of rain who hide in cloud caves and fall asleep in cloud-graves.¹⁹³

Although this description utilizes what Jan Perkowski terms “F. Max Muller’s discredited solarist school of mythology and Adalbert Kuhn’s derivative meteorological school,” it illustrates the attempts made by the Slavophil-inspired folklorists to find deeper roots to Slavic beliefs and folklore in order to illustrate the depth of the myths and hence its age.¹⁹⁴ Afanasiev claims that the “poetic idea” behind the myth of the *upyr*’ is one and the same as the higher beings that would imbue the rain, reflecting on the powers of nature and death.

However, despite his postulation on the possible prior derivations of the myth, relating it to the ancient Pagan relationship with nature, Afanasiev expressed the need to see myths as having their own significance. In *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature*, he stated:

[...] Myths have their own meanings; while one system changed for another and each new philosophical teaching gave birth to new interpretations of ancient tales and systems [of understanding], all these interpretations disappeared as quickly as they arose, free and varying as the poetic views of the people on earth, just as free and varied as the creation of fantasies that paint life’s nature in its daily and yearly transformations.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia*, vol. 3, p.563. As translated by Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 22.

¹⁹⁴ Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 22.

¹⁹⁵ [...] Mify—kazhdyi po svoemu lichnomu razumeniiu; odna sistema smeniala druguiu, kazhdoe novoe filosofskoe uchenie rozhdalo i novoe tolkovanie starinnykh skazanii, i vse eti sistemy, vse eti tolkovaniia takzhe bistro padali, kak i voznikali. Mif est’ drevneishaia poeziia, i kak svobodny i raznoobrazny mogut

In his recognition of the transformations of mythology through the passage of time, Afanasiev distinguishes what Adon'eva describes as the utility of folklore as a social tool. She claims that one of the primary aspects of folklore is the ability of folkloric symbols in measuring and representing social tone, suggesting that folklore serves as a means of depicting cultural reality through a symbolic projection of the world.¹⁹⁶ By examining the semiotics of the tale's symbolism, she states, one can discover a pictorial understanding of social thought.¹⁹⁷

With the vampiric tales, this semiotic representation of reality presents a basic system of ethical thought, forming an ethics of social representation through the descriptions of the protagonists' encounter with the vampires. As Singer suggested in his compilation *The Moral of the Story: An Anthology of Ethics through Literature*, "long before the rise of systematic philosophical thought [...] people have been making up stories in order to convey what they think about how we ought to live."¹⁹⁸ The tales collected by Afanasiev represent a non-formal variety of expressing the issues of the philosophical study of ethics in their depictions of morals and morality. Each tale reflects two key areas of the philosophy of ethics as underlined by Wiggins:

- It concerns the question of the substance or content of morality, its nature, and its extent.

byt' poeticheskiiia vozzreniia naroda na mir, takzhe svobodny i raznoobrazny i sozdaniia ego fantasii, zhivopisuiushchei zhizn' prirody v ee ezhednevnykh i godichnykh prevrashcheniakh.

(Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiiia vozzreniia*, vol. 1, pp. 11-12.)

¹⁹⁶ Svetlana Adon'eva. *Pragmatika fol'klora*. Izdatel'stvo Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta, Sankt-Peterburg, 2004, p. 278.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 277.

¹⁹⁸ Peter Singer and Renata Singer, ed. *The Moral of the Story: An Anthology of Ethics through Literature*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2005, p. x.

- It concerns the question of the reasons there may be—and the reasons agents may make their own—to participate, persevere, and persist in morality.¹⁹⁹

By having the protagonists of the tales face the vampiric figures, the tales expose the base natures of the characters. In “The Coffin Lid” and “The Soldier and the Vampire,” the heroes are shown to display bravery when confronted with the death-like symbol of the vampire with the image of the brave peasant epitomizing the brave and cunning hero, and in contrast with the antagonist embodying a denouncement of cowardice, as was noted in the prior section. The latter tale illustrates, through the figure of the cunning soldier, the value of intelligence and wit.

The denouncement of cowardice is continued in the tale “The Dog and the Corpse,” in which the protagonist abandons his faithful dog, leaving the canine to fight an *upyr*’ at the crossroads rather than stay and defend himself. The dog attacks the man for having deserted him. When the man’s wise grandmother discovers the reason for the dog’s sudden violent turn, she states, “The dog was disgusted at your not helping it. There it was fighting with the corpse—and you deserted it, and thought only of saving yourself! Now it will owe you a grudge for ever so long.”²⁰⁰ Through the grandmother’s exclamation, the tale presents a direct moral, extending the tale from a simple description of the cowardice of the protagonist to giving a definitive moral judgment of his actions, creating a full denouncement of this cowardice and expressing one’s duty to defend those who are close to you in a time of need.

The tale “Upyr,” whose themes were described in detail in the previous section, serves as a moral polemic, illustrating the effect felt by a community when one engages

¹⁹⁹ David Wiggins. *Ethics: Twelve Lectures on the Philosophy of Morality*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2006, p. 9.

²⁰⁰ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, p. 120; English translation: Summers, *The Vampire in Europe*, p. 293.

in lying and displays of false pride. In the tale, it is Marusia's constant denial of the truth to the vampire that allows him to penetrate her family, resulting in the deaths of her family. Once she has died and been reborn herself, her boyar husband reacts to the gossip of his acquaintances with false pride, allowing the malevolent creature to perform his final malefic acts. In contrast to the reflection on these weaknesses, the wisdom of one's elders is displayed in the figure of Marusia's grandmother. As noted earlier, the wise, yet blind grandmother provided the means to defeat the mysterious vampiric stranger, emphasizing the need to value one's predecessors.

Thus, while the tales themselves illustrated the issues of the field of ethics, stressing the value of both bravery and wit and recognizing the wisdom of one's ancestors that has been achieved with age, the nature of the compilation itself reflected the movement of the mythological school, emphasizing the depth of Russian culture as seen in Afanasiev's attempts to find early mythological predecessors to the *upyr*' myth. When considered together, it is the nature of the folktale as a social tool that allows for its efficacy both in presenting the Slavophil argument against Russia as a "blank sheet" and the folk culture's philosophy of ethics. The concern with community ethics and cultural history is communal in nature, attempting to reflect upon that which is valued by a larger culture.

1.5 The Village Vampires: Representing Societal Instability Through Vampiric Mythology

The works of Afanasiev subtly present the concerns of Russian society of the time, depicting within the tales' thematics and symbolism the structural basis for

Russian peasant society, the values held within the community, and the issues relevant to the society of the time. As has been discussed, Afanasiev's compilations of folklore and mythology were principally motivated by the desire of the mythological school in developing a comparative historical method of examining folk mythology in order to understand what it means to be Slavic and how Slavic thought differs from that of a Western person. In order to discover this identity, Afanasiev attempted to find the deepest historical roots possible for the tales he collected through its Solarist roots.

However, Afanasiev's attempts, while showing the values of the author, provide less information about the society from which the tales were derived than the recorded tales themselves. Within the description of each of the tales, the minor symbols and themes reflect greatly on the post-Emancipation Russian villages from which they were collected. The tales, while fantastic in nature, reflected on the lives of those described, the social constructs on which their lives were based, and the difficulties one faced in life. Through tales that in their composition ranged from those of a purely folkloric style to a more literary composition, including tales that verge towards "morality" tales as with "The Dog and the Corpse," the narration goes beyond the shrouded corpses and mysterious foreign vampires of the texts, concentrating on the protagonists' encounters with the undead and, as a result, portrays the protagonists' societal origins. In this section, the structure of village life as described within Afanasiev's tales will first be elucidated, followed by an analysis of the values conveyed within these works.

The tales "Upyr'," "The Coffin Lid," "The Dog and the Corpse," and "The Soldier and the Vampire" each reflect a minute element of the structure of peasant society of the time. The protagonists each came from a different social substrata, depicting the different roles found within village life. In "The Coffin Lid," the

protagonist is a brave potter, representing the role of tradesmen in the village, while the more common traveling occupation of the soldier is presented in the tales “The Two Corpses” and “The Soldier and the Vampire.” These figures represent the few traveling occupations that did not elicit the mistrust of the foreign visitor, as compared to the tale “Upyr’,” where the alluring foreign nobleman is suspected by the grandmother of possessing a corrupt nature and is discovered to be an influential vampire, able to penetrate the protagonist, Marusia’s, inner circle of friends.

Afanasiev’s tales alluded to the roles of many different subgroups of Russian society, including those of the boyars, elders, and, as would be expected, average men and women. The boyar husband of “Upyr’” is ascribed with contrasting traits. He is accredited with saving Marusia from her transitory post-death state, the brave son of a boyar rescuing the unfortunate heroine. Conversely in his insistence that his wife attend church after a slight received from a friend, his boyar pride is suggested to be a false sense of honour, as has been noted. This disparate nature suggests that the rural aristocracy, while valued, is not without fault. Rising to a higher social level through marriage or some other means, while illustrated as freeing one from a stagnant existence, does not exempt one from the same weaknesses found within the other social subgroups of the village.

The elders of the community however are presented as possessing both immense wisdom and societal worth, with no negative character associations described. The grandmother of “Upyr’” serves as the source of reason and resolution for Marusia, assisting the heroine in both preserving her life and eventually overcoming the power of the vampiric antagonist. The starosta of “The Soldier and the Vampire,” representing the role of *stariki*, or representatives of the older generation, who were reputed to be the

possessors of “right thinking” in Imperial peasant communities, took the knowledge given by the soldier about his encounter with the undead wizard and gathered the village together to successfully defeat the vampire. This suggests that within Russian village society, one’s elders served the highest and most respected role, valued above even the elite as shown by the difference in depiction between that of the elders and the boyar. In the tales, the elders were presented as being immune to the corruption of the vampiric antagonists, while the elite were shown to be susceptible to the vampiric figures’ influence.

Many of the villagers in the tales were depicted as being equally as susceptible to the effects of the vampire as the protagonists of the pieces. In “Upyr” the girls in Marusia’s circle of friends were enthralled by the mysterious vampiric stranger. Marusia only discovered his real being through the wisdom of her grandmother, while the other members of the community remained convinced by his charm, and as a result were vulnerable to his corruption, resulting in the deaths of certain members of the community, namely Marusia’s father and mother. However, as was noted in the prior sections it was Marusia’s lying that allowed these events to gain power and corrupt her family.

Marusia’s role in bringing these events to pass suggests that the actions of one person, whether a foreign entity or an integral member of the community, directly effects the community at large. Through the existence of the vampire and the actions of Marusia, the members of the community were taken in by the vampire and through Marusia’s missteps in dealing with the malevolent figure, tragedy struck the community as a whole, especially within her family.

In regards to the interplay of the more heroic protagonists within the community at large, it is the community's reaction to the figures that shows both the societal dynamic and the weaknesses found within it. In "The Coffin Lid," the brave potter returned the boys that had been murdered by the revenant dead to life, but after his benevolent act, the relatives of the boys seized him, accusing him of being the one who killed the boys in order to swindle them. Only when he fully explained the circumstances and led the villagers to the cemetery to slay the shrouded corpse was his legitimacy confirmed. The inverse of this reaction is expressed within the tale "The Soldier and the Vampire" in which the soldier's revival of the vampire's victims was greeted with "happiness and rejoicing," and resulted in him being received with both hospitality and reward for his efforts.²⁰¹ The inhospitable reception of the former protagonist reveals the way in which thievery and witchcraft were often met with harsh reactions and occasionally mob violence.²⁰² This type of harsh punishment for crime, especially that of theft, was due to the belief that, "A thief steals, but the community suffers."²⁰³

The final area of societal structure indicated in the multiple tales was the act of marriage. Marriage rites and their historical context were discussed earlier, but the general role of the marriage act as represented in both "Upyr'" and "The Soldier and the Vampire" within the peasant society will now be explicated. Aside from the fear inherent in the marriage process for women in tying oneself solely to one's patriarchal

²⁰¹ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, p. 116; English translation: Summers, *The Vampire in Europe*, p. 296.

²⁰² Christine D. Worobec. "Witchcraft Beliefs and Practices in Prerevolutionary Russian and Ukrainian Villages," *Russian Review*, vol. 54, no. 2 (Apr., 1995), p. 178.

²⁰³ Christine D. Worobec. "Horse Thieves and Peasant Justice in Post-Emancipation Imperial Russia." *Journal of Social History*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Winter, 1987), p. 284.

family, the marriage act itself understandably played a key role within the structure of peasant society both in continuing generations and maintaining farmlands. Due to the importance of the act it was considered to be especially prone to witchcraft as was seen in Afanasiev's tales. While the ceremonies and symbolic elements detailed in "Upyr" have already been described, the vampire's presence during the wedding celebrations in "The Soldier and the Vampire" has a further societal significance. In the tale the ceremony is interrupted by a malevolent dead wizard, who interrupts the wedding celebrations and murders both the bride and groom. When the soldier revives the couple, he is greeted with rejoicing from many of the villagers and when he confronts the *starosta* as described above, the entire village rallies behind him to assist in defeating the malevolent dead wizard.

While the descriptions of the marriage ceremony may suggest the tale is set in early post-Emancipation Russia, the multiple descriptions of the vulnerabilities of the marriage ceremonies symbolically intimate the growing marriage crisis of the nineteenth century during which the Orthodox Church, the institution that held jurisdiction over the institution of marriage, was faced with the growing issues of social change described by Freeze as consisting of "transforming family structures, spouse relationships, and sexual mores."²⁰⁴ Freeze stated that this period was also referred to as the "crisis of Orthodoxy," a period demarcated by the "widely discerned erosion of ecclesiastical authority and explosion of dissent,"²⁰⁵ which is possibly not only a motive behind the representation of the vulnerability of the wedding ceremony, but also the

²⁰⁴ Gregory L. Freeze. "Bringing Order to the Russian Family: Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia, 1760-1860." *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 62, no. 4. (Dec., 1990), pp. 709-710.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 710.

portrayal of the role of the church and religion within the tales as they relate to the societies described.

As was noted in the previous two sections, the portrayal of the church in these tales was ambivalent. In “The Two Corpses” the vampires had taken over the church and attacked the soldier within it. In “Upyr” the mysterious undead foreigner is first discovered to be a vampire in the churchyard, eating a corpse, and at the end of the tale, the act of entering the church causes Marusia to become susceptible to the vampire’s power again after her own revivification. “The Coffin Lid” saw the shrouded corpse choose to place his coffin lid at the church, suggesting the church’s absence of power over him.

Each of these tales seems to question the power of the church in village life; however, this is not to suggest that religion was not an integral part of Russian peasant society. In each tale, the protagonists make at least one reference to belief in God, but those references are expressed as a “fear of God.” In “The Coffin Lid,” the brave potter appeals to the peasants to believe that he was not behind the vampire deaths by pleading, “What are you thinking about, true believers! Have the fear of God before your eyes!”²⁰⁶ In “The Soldier and the Vampire,” the soldier stopped to visit a local miller, with whom he had once been acquainted. When the miller explains the tragedy that had struck the village, he begins by stating, “God is punishing us!”²⁰⁷ Worobec notes that the idea of an avenging God was common within Russian folk belief, stating:

²⁰⁶ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, p. 114; English translation: Summers, *The Vampire in Europe*, p. 291.

²⁰⁷ Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, vol. 3, p. 115; English translation: Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 294.

Mixing the sacred with the profane, they comprehended misfortune as either God's wrath or the machinations of unclean spirits who dispensed harm through human intermediaries.²⁰⁸

Since the church was ineffectual in warding off the vampiric figures and the tragic events were seen more as punishment in most of the tales rather than a purely external evil, the tales that dispensed of the source of the vampirism at the end each resorted to different folk methods rather than religious dogmatic practice. The demonstrated the syncretic nature of the belief structure, in which belief in God was important within the realm of Orthodox belief, but the issues encountered within village life were dealt with through folk magic.

In the tales the usage of magic allowed for the interplay of the vampire and the society's reaction to it to illustrate the pragmatic nature of folklore, the folkloric signs being employed as a measure of the social time, creating in the archetypal images the values of the Imperial peasant society. This imagery and the folk beliefs that it signified provided "safeguards against adversity,"²⁰⁹ allowing for those who told the tales at that time to offset the misfortunes felt by the community. Through this interplay, the values of bravery and cunning and the vices of cowardice, dishonesty, and false pride were depicted for their worth within the societal dynamic. The presence of certain values or of certain vices directly affected the outcome of the tales, such as the aforementioned interplay of cowardice in "The Dog and the Corpse," in which the protagonist abandons his dog, forcing the canine to fight the revenant corpse, resulting in the dog turning on him, marking one of the few tragic endings to Afanasiev's vampiric folktales, as compared to "The Coffin Lid" in which the cowardice is embodied in the shrouded corpse, while the protagonist, the brave potter, acts as a counterbalance to the villain,

²⁰⁸ Worobec, "Witchcraft Beliefs," pp. 165-166.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 165.

selflessly reversing the malevolent actions of the antagonist, resulting in a positive ending.

However, the way in which the conclusions of the tales were constructed suggests that the positive or negative results were not purely centered around the tales' protagonists. Aside from those that took a more literary form, such as the pseudo-*bylina* structure of "The Dog and the Corpse," the tales underscored the effect that the outcome played on the community, addressing the return of the figures struck by tragedy to the village dynamic and the uniting of the community and the protagonist. Such an interplay minimizes the emphasis on the protagonists, showing them to be more the embodiment of societally valued character traits, and accentuates the individual's role in the community as it affects the society as an organic whole.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the dialectic of ideas exemplified within Afanasiev's folkloric works was revealed, addressing both the mythological origin of the vampire and the religious, political, philosophical, and societal concerns exhumed through the symbolic analysis of the texts. Through this analysis, the mythological structure's compositional elements were first addressed, elaborating on the terminology utilized in the tales and the historical progression of the label. This was followed by a description of the means in which the vampire was depicted, and the interrelated folkloric concepts of apotropaic methods, forms of magical occurrences, and the traditional ambivalence towards death.

After the initial mythological discussion, the symbolic analysis of Afanasiev's tales delved deeper into the religious connotations of the myth, addressing the

syncretism found in the depiction of the vampire and the presentation of the absence of the apotropaic power of the church, hinting at the theme of the lack of efficacy of religious institutions that will continue into the works of the other authors analyzed in this thesis.

The discussion was continued by the illustration of Afanasiev and Kireevskii's concept of the "common historical experience in the Russian character," illustrating the Russian peasant reality through the changeability of folklore seen in Afanasiev's tales. The clarification of the historical context developed into the philosophical contexts of Russian peasant thought through the ability of the tales to convey the "fears, expectations, and worldview"²¹⁰ as shown in their reactions towards life circumstances. This discussion concluded with the village social structure and the field of ethics that informed the Russian peasant reality. Afanasiev's tales contained a few explicit suppositions about the characteristics of humanity, creating a tool of both criticism and discussion of humanity that engages the reader in a discussion of problems inherent within the basic societal dialectic. As is suggested by the aforementioned concept of changeability of the vampire myth, the symbolism presented in Afanasiev's tales, shifting even within those folkloric works, presented a fluidity of symbolism that would develop further in later literary works.

²¹⁰ Kingston-Mann, p. 182.

Chapter 2: *The Gogolian Vampire and Man's Internal Corruption*

Nikolai Gogol composed multiple vampiric tales, furthering the fluidity of the symbolism shown in Afanasiev's tales with the traditions of Romantic literary composition. As was shown in the tales of Afanasiev, the folkloric depictions of both internal and external corruption created a syncretic conglomeration of images, possessing an ability to transition not only with the changing religious beliefs, but with the shifts in perception of what constituted "corruption." This allowed the symbol to adapt to the socio-historical milieu by adopting into its depiction the shifting cultural concepts. The adaptability of the vampire as a symbol resulted in another transition: that of its transference from traditional Slavic mythology into the realm of literature, as seen in a slow amalgamation of literary devices within the tales of Afanasiev, leading to the creation of an effective device in what is now deemed classical Russian literature.

The authors of the Golden Age of Russian literature, including Nikolai Gogol, increasingly employed supernatural and folkloric imagery, drawing from the literary manifestations of the Romantic movement.²¹¹ Authors such as Gogol and Pushkin included amongst their other supernaturally themed works a number of vampirically themed tales. The malleable nature of the folkloric vampiric symbolism can be seen

²¹¹ The role of Romanticism will be described in Section 2.4 The Monsterization of Man: Gogol's Vampires and the Dark Side of Human Nature.

within these nineteenth century works, with adaptations from the vampire's mythological roots serving within the writers' creative works.

Aleksandr Pushkin, one of Gogol's literary idols, wrote many folklorically and demonologically themed works, ranging from the fairy tale imagery of "The Tale of the Dead Tsarevna and the Seven Bogatyrs"²¹² to poems rooted in folk belief, such as "Domovomu"²¹³ and "Rusalka."²¹⁴ In many of his folklorically themed works, the ambivalence towards death seen in Afanasiev's tales was expressed, such as in *The Stone Guest*, in which the protagonist Don Juan murdered a man, abandoning him at the traditional burial ground for suicide victims, the crossroads. The victim, Don Carlos, returned as a statue and, after a magnanimous invitation by Don Juan to be his guest, exacted his revenge on his murderer.²¹⁵ Similarly, in Pushkin's drama *The Queen of the Spades*²¹⁶ the protagonist Hermann, described as a man who "had little true faith, but many superstitious beliefs," feared that the Countess he inadvertently killed in an attempt to obtain her secret three cards would have an "injurious influence on his life."²¹⁷ His superstition proved true when the deceased woman rose from her grave and came to him, granting him the secret, but changing the final card in order to gain revenge, resulting in the man losing both his fortune and his mind. The deceased also rose from the grave in another of Pushkin's prose tales, "The Undertaker," in which an

²¹² A.S. Pushkin. *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii v desiaty tomakh*. Izdatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva, 1963, tom. 4, pp. 467-483.

²¹³ Ibid., tom. 1, p. 362.

²¹⁴ Ibid., tom. 1, p. 363.

²¹⁵ Ibid., tom. 5, pp. 369-410.

²¹⁶ Alexander Pushkin. *Selected Works in Two Volumes*. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, vol. 2, pp. 75-105.

²¹⁷ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 99.

undertaker, incensed with the treatment he had received during a dinner party with his neighbours, said that the only people who would be invited to his housewarming would be those who were already dead. As in the folk belief that wishing the dead were living would cause them to return, the undertaker's exclamation was heard by those he once buried and they came to his house. The tale ends with the twist that the entire occurrence was imagined by the man in a drunken sleep.

Pushkin also published two poems with definite vampiric themes, namely "Besy" and "Vurdalak." In "Besy," or "Demons," a coach is caught in a storm, overtaken by wind and snow. A demon leads them astray, luring the gentleman in the coach into the midst of a group of demonic creatures.²¹⁸ In "Vurdalak," a man named Vania is walking home through the cemetery when he spies a creature he calls both a "red gummed vurdalak" and an *upyr*, who he thought would "eat him completely." He then realizes that it was a figment of his imagination and that it was merely a dog on the tomb, gnawing away at a bone.²¹⁹ Each of Pushkin's vampiric works resembled Afanasiev's tale "The Two Vampires" in their composition, with each story's structure depicting the journey of the protagonist and his encounter with a vampiric entity. However, "Vurdalak" artistically transcends the folkloric structure, reversing the traditional conclusion of the collapse of the vampire at the cock's crow by the thematic twist of the fearsome image in the tale being revealed to be a figment of the man's imagination, introducing the dream-like imagery of nineteenth century literature to the folkloric structure, as in the drunken dream in "The Undertaker," creating a uniquely Russian folkloric form of literature.

²¹⁸ Pushkin, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii*, tom. 3, pp. 176-177.

²¹⁹ Ibid., tom. 3, pp. 308-309.

Gogol further employed folkloric themes and literary imagery in his vampiric tales, continuing a trend that traces its development to the Russian Freneticist movement, embracing the use of folkloric elements in high literature in order to analyze and reflect upon characters' weaknesses. While the motivation behind this movement will be addressed during the discussion of the philosophical underpinnings of these tales, it should be noted that Gogol's choice of imagery and utilization of the supernatural was principally motivated by the Romantic trend of borrowing from one's native folk culture. Gogol imbued the folkloric images with personalized commentary, allowing for the allusion to the author's own world view, including those areas addressed in the societal dialectic that serves as the basis of this thesis, namely, the religious, political, philosophical, and societal perceptions of the author and his time period.

2.1 An Alluring Beauty: The Mythology of a Literary Vampire

In his early publications, Gogol claimed that his tales were derived from the Ukrainian folk beliefs told in his ancestral town and that tales like *Vii* were products of the imagination of "the common people."²²⁰ Gogol adopted the imagery of the Ukrainian folktales of the village of his youth. Despite this tie to his native culture, the historical and ethnographic validity of Gogol's *Dikan'ka* tales has been debated since its

²²⁰ N.V. Gogol'. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*. Izdatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva, 1937, vol. 2, p. 175.

original publication in 1831.²²¹ Karpuk argues that in Gogol's more mature Dikan'ka tales, including *A Terrible Vengeance*, the author:

[...] showed progressively greater knowledge of the archaeological particulars of Ukrainian culture, as well as a growing tendency to creatively use factual material rather than simply disregard it when it got in the way; but his overriding consideration, from start to finish was the quality of storytelling rather than ethnographic accuracy.²²²

Gogol's concern with "the quality of storytelling" over the tale's ethnographic accuracy reflects on the literary trend of the time marked by the end of the Post-Classical Epoch, in which mythological themes were reimagined by "rewriting" and "redrawing" them into the poetical tones of Romanticism.²²³ Due to the imbalance between "ethnographic accuracy" and Gogol's strivings as a storyteller, his three vampiric tales vary in their level of similarity to the Afanasiev tales examined in the prior chapter.

In *A Terrible Vengeance*, the sorcerer that tortured Katerina until her untimely demise displayed multiple characteristics of the Ukrainian folkloric vampire, including the mere fact that he is a sorcerer. The character's magical prowess alluded to the belief that magical powers, while occasionally beneficial to the community, were obtained through aberrant means and would cause the person involved to die unnaturally if they did not properly atone for their magical use.²²⁴ As with the wizard in Afanasiev's *The Soldier and the Vampire*, Gogol's sorcerer displayed the attributes of a shape-shifter; however, the means in which he was able to manipulate his appearance differed as in

²²¹ Paul A Karpuk. "Gogol's Research on Ukrainian Customs for the Dikan'ka Tales." *Russian Review*, vol. 56, no. 2 (Apr., 1997), p. 209.

²²² Ibid., p. 232.

²²³ V.M. Akatkin, "Uroki mifologicheskoi shkoly," in T.F. Pukhova, red. *Nasledie A.N. Afanas'eva i problemy ego izucheniia: Materialy mezhvuzovskoi nauchnoi konferentsii*. Izdatel'skii Dom Aleinikovykh, Voronezh, 2003, p. 93.

²²⁴ W.F. Ryan. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 1999, p. 73.

the transformation at the wedding feast, suggesting that his transmogrific capabilities were used to mask his actual appearance, rather than to assume the attributes of an animal.

The folkloric correlations continue with the sorcerer's specific targeting of his daughter, embodying the belief that the *upyr*' and other revenant dead would target family members, bringing the initial destruction onto those with whom they were close in life. As in the tale "Upry'," a foreign figure with familial ties to the protagonist is able to infiltrate the character's inner circle, namely Marusia's future spouse in "Upry'" and Katerina's absentee father in *A Terrible Vengeance*. As in many of the collected folktales, the corruption is found embedded in the family dynamic with the malevolent wizard as Katerina's father, but the tale simultaneously incorporated elements of an external influence with the vampire's association with the Turks. This duality is akin to that of Afanasiev's tale "Upry'" where the antagonist attacked Marusia's family, although he was not formally related to them.

The extent to which Katerina's father is able to gain control over her, however, reflects a folkloric concept absent from the five selected Afanasiev tales. In the tale, his facility in conjuring her soul during her sleep alludes to the belief that one's soul would leave one's body during sleep to wander where it chose, resulting in the concept which Danilo expressed as "you don't know half as much as your soul."²²⁵ In Russian folklore, it was commonly thought that the unconscious state was similar to death, causing a "near-death" state in which a person could wander in their spiritual form, separated from their bodies, and travel as far as the Underworld. These journeys would only be

²²⁵ N.V. Gogol'. "Strashnaia mest'," *Vechera na khutore bliz Dikan'ki*. AST Izdatel'stvo, Moskva, 2000, p. 195.; English translation: Nikolai Gogol. *The Complete Tales of Nikolai Gogol*, trans. Leonard J. Kent. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1985, vol. 1, p. 150.

partially remembered upon awaking,²²⁶ much as Danilo's wife only remembered a small portion of her nightly visits to her father in her dreams.

While the theme of the interconnection of sleep with the traveling of the soul does not continue into his second tale, the antagonist's association with unnatural magical prowess is maintained. In the tale, the villagers inform Khoma Brut of the deceased's abuse of witchcraft within the village during her lifetime, claiming that she had driven up to a man's door in the form of a haystack, had stolen another's hat and pipe, had cut off the braids of village girls, and had drunk several buckets of blood from others.²²⁷ Much as with the behavior of the wizard in "The Soldier and the Vampire," the deceased Cossack's daughter acted as a disruptive influence within the community performing "evil spells" with demonic assistance, sometimes just for "the hell of it," both in life and in death.²²⁸ However, unlike Afanasiev's tales, both the causality of the woman's pact with the Devil with her unnatural demise and the eventual appearance of the demonic earthen Vii allude to the belief that upon the *koldun* or *ved'ma*'s death, a devil or demon would overtake the dead body,²²⁹ creating a magical association with its future vampirism.

When confronted with the vampiric figure during his three nights of prayer for the deceased woman, Khoma Brut attempted to protect himself through the utilization of different apotropaic measures, drawing a magical circle around himself and reciting both prayers and a spell against unclean spirits. However, all of these attempts, both

²²⁶ Elizabeth Warner. *Russian Myths*. The British Museum Press, London, 2002, p. 45.

²²⁷ N.V. Gogol'. *Vii: Povesti*. Tranzitkniga, Moskva, 2006, p. 384; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, vol. 1, p. 205.

²²⁸ W.F. Ryan, p. 72.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

those of Pagan and of Orthodox derivation proved inefficacious, slowing the vampiric corpse in her attacks, but still proving to be unable to prevent the man's death. The only apotropaic method to retain its effect over the deceased Cossack's daughter was the cock's crow, returning the corpse to its slumber after three crows and eventually causing the demonic beings summoned by the undead witch to become entrapped within the church walls.

Aside from the deceased's association with magical prowess and her immunity to traditional apotropaic methods, the description of the vampiric antagonist in this tale as being female deviates from the more frequently encountered masculine depiction of the *upyr*' in Afanasiev's tales. However, this is not to suggest that there was not folkloric precedent for a female vampire. As was discussed in the previous chapter, many of the causations of vampirism related to cultural taboos were associated with significant events of a woman's life, such as a woman who died in childbirth,²³⁰ or a friend who had sworn to appear at the other's wedding "dead or alive."²³¹ The inability of a magically inclined person to pass on his or her abilities before death as a causation of vampirism occurred not only with the male wizard, or *koldun*, but also with witches, or *ved'my*, suggesting an equal presence of vampiric causations amongst women due to these taboos. However, within a literary context, the recorded folktales primarily featured male antagonists.

Gogol reversed this image in his second tale, not due to the female vampiric figure's equal presence in Slavic folk-belief however, but to ensure a preferential balance with the aforementioned concern for what the author perceived to be the quality

²³⁰ W.F. Ryan, p. 73.

²³¹ Warner, p. 48.

of his storytelling.²³² Gogol felt that the seductive imagery of a female antagonist would allow for his own conceptions of alluring beauty, a concept that would continue into the tale *Nevskii Prospekt*.

In *Nevskii Prospekt*, the protagonist is lured into a dream-like world by a mysterious brunette. The elusive feminine beauty that served as the subject of the man's desires in the tale is described by Swensen as exhibiting the attributes of a lamia, much like Vii, in her possession of "extraordinary beauty, which instantly enchants and captures the artist."²³³ She lures him into an obsessive fantasy, draining him of his energy until his untimely demise at his own hands. Her mysterious ethereal beauty and indefinable sensuality mark the effect of alluring beauty on man, while her ability to drink his will to live reflects on a level of psychic vampirism seen in Gothic literature of the time, such as in the works of Lord Byron, John Polidori, Sheridan Le Fanu, and James Malcolm Rymer.²³⁴ While the extent to which these popular Western European vampiric works were published within the Russian literary market is unclear, the divergence in the author's vampiric imagery suggests that Gogol did not attain his imagery only from traditional folklore and his own storytelling methods.

However, despite the abundance of Gothic literary themes, the original mythology is still apparent, especially in the means in which the protagonist is buried. His internment without religious rites possesses the folkloric quality of the burial of suicide victims at the crossroads and the single person in attendance, a drunken soldier is indicative of the traditional elderly woman "with nothing better to do" described by

²³² Karpuk, p. 232.

²³³ Anton Swensen. "Vampirism in Gogol's Short Stories." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 37, no. 4 (Winter, 1993), p. 501.

²³⁴ Alan Ryan. *The Penguin Book of Vampire Stories*. Penguin Books Ltd, Ringwood, 1987, pp. 2-35.

Gogol on the next page, reflecting on the wailing rituals of the traditional Slavic funereal etiquette.

In each of these tales the protagonist fails when confronted with the vampiric embodiment of the aforementioned “deadly evil,” serving as an external influence in *A Terrible Vengeance* and a seductive corrupting beauty in both *Vii* and *Nevskii Prospekt*. The antagonists of each of these tales, while embodying certain folkloric symbolisms, serve as literary figures, creating a uniquely Gogolian means of vampiric storytelling. However, these shifts were not created purely for the artistry of his tales, but to address certain constant themes plaguing humanity, many reminiscent of Gogol’s own religious upbringing.

2.2 The Revenant Within: Gogol’s Vampires and Man’s Internal Corruption

As was demonstrated in Afanasiev’s tales, the vampire was able to maintain its applicability within Russian folk belief through its ability to adapt to the shifts in religious thought, merging the Pagan system of beliefs with the intricacies of the Orthodox faith into one system—*dvoeverie*. The symbol’s morphological properties did not end with this initial syncretization. As different religious movements were introduced in Russia, elements of those beliefs began to interweave into this already syncretized symbolism, including the typology of Satan and the notion of what Leatherbarrow described as a “highly developed system of belief based on a

philosophical understanding of the devil's role,"²³⁵ which did not appear until well into the nineteenth century. Leatherbarrow further asserted:

Russian popular demonography (if one may coin such a term to describe *how* the devil has been represented rather than *what* he represents) has always favoured the image of the 'petty demon' (*melkii bes*). The emergence of the devil as a figure in the 'unclean force' (*nechistaia sila*) of Russian folk belief was in itself a form of contamination, a consequence of the Christianization of Russia, and it represented, as Simon Franklin puts it, 'a kind of colonization of paganism by Christian discourse.' The devil in Russian folklore was, therefore, essentially a Christianized cuckoo in a pagan nest inhabited by a multitude of other malign spirits, and he came to lack the prominence, the proud individuality, the majesty, and the philosophical significance of the ironic fallen angel at odds with the divine order associated with the post-Miltonic Western European typology of Satan.²³⁶

While Gogol's vampires and those of Russian folkloric derivation may be aligned primarily with Leatherbarrow's concept of the "petty demon," the correlation of the further concepts found in the Western European works of Satan's ability to "ensnare souls" will be shown to also exist within the vampiric tales, as will be discussed in greater detail shortly.

The syncretization of those concepts associated with the Devil and the folklorically derived demonological figures of the vampire is reflective of the religious influences on Gogol's own life. Gogol was a deeply spiritual man from his early life when his mother would regularly take him as a sickly child to the local church. His mother's teaching led to his musing on the concept of evil's power over the individual man, a concept that was slowly developed throughout his career in the stories *A Terrible Vengeance*, *Vii*, and *Nevskii Prospekt*. In each of these tales, Gogol gives a literary variant of the old mythology, and by doing so, as Swensen purports, "His vampires

²³⁵ W.J. Leatherbarrow. "Pechorin's Demons: Representations of the Demonic in Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time*." *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 99, no. 4 (Oct., 2004), p. 1000.

²³⁶ Ibid.

form a literary motif of the demonic and thus express a distinct theme with their inherent symbolism.”²³⁷ Swensen hints that the tales fit into the aforementioned context of internal and external corruption that had become associated with the vampire myth after its shift from *upyr*’ to *eretik* to vampire, with his statement that “the relationship between vampire and victim focuses on the presence of alluring, deadly evil in the world and the individual’s confrontation with it.”²³⁸ What follows is an analysis of the representation of Gogol’s vampiric personages as they relate to the folkloric concepts of contamination and corruption within his own religious and ideological progression. First, the origins of his belief will be addressed, followed by the means in which his religious conceptions were represented in the individual tales.

The ideological structure of Gogol’s tales can largely be traced to the religious influences of his childhood. Gogol was raised in a household that was devoutly religious. His father Vasily claimed to have been given divine guidance in choosing his wife, an event which was described by his wife Maria in a letter to Sergey Aksakov. Vasily believed he was approached by the Mother of God through the altar gates of the church at the age of fourteen. The Mother of God pointed to an infant and told the young Vasily that the child would become his wife. Once the child came of age, he married her.²³⁹ Nikolai Gogol was born after his mother had endured two stillbirths. She appealed to God and promised to name him Nikolai after “a wonder-working image” of the saint in the village Dikanka.²⁴⁰ Gogol was of a sickly disposition as a child and was

²³⁷ Swensen, p. 490.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Vsevolod Setchkarev. *Gogol: His Life and Works*. Peter Owen, London, 1965, p. 5.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

constantly taken to church by his mother to help him develop spiritually, but, as Gogol professes, it was a matter of time before he grew spiritually from it:

I looked at everything with passionless eyes; I went to church because I was ordered or because I was carried there; but when I stood in church, I perceived nothing but the vestments, the parish priest and the repulsive bellowing of the deacons. I crossed myself because I saw that everyone else was crossing himself. But once (I remember this occasion very vividly) I asked you to tell me about the Last Judgment, and you told me, a mere child, so well, so clearly, so touchingly of that bliss which men hope to attain for a virtuous life, and you described to me the eternal torments of sinners in such a striking and terrifying manner that it staggered and awakened all my sensibilities, it planted and later developed the loftiest thoughts in me.²⁴¹

This initial description of the Last Judgment continued to plague Gogol throughout his life and maintained a thematic permanence in his works. Due in part to his upbringing and the fearful images presented by his mother to him, Gogol developed a fervent belief, sometimes described as “naïve” in which, according to Setchkarev, “he never doubted the existence of God, nor the truth of church doctrines.”²⁴² It was this belief that shaped the moralistic and religious commentary in his written works, presenting unique moralistic themes in each of his stories.

These influences can be seen in the collections *Evenings on a Farmstead near Dikanka* and *Mirgorod*, two collections of folktales, which relied on the sudden popularity of the Ukrainian folk tradition. Each collection reversed the mythos of old folklore, representing peoples’ weaknesses and failings rather than lauding community values and morals. T.E. Little describes this as Gogol’s interest in the “demonic side of human nature,” citing specifically the themes of necromancy and incest in *Vii* and *A*

²⁴¹ Setchkarev, p. 9. (Excerpt from a letter to his mother 1833)

²⁴² Ibid., p. 13.

Terrible Vengeance.²⁴³ Gogol's vampires transcended the original representation into literary commentary, presenting the vampires themselves as an externalized influence and placing emphasis on the protagonist's demise in each of the tales. By giving precedence to the tragic heroes of his stories, Gogol was able to depict "the presence of alluring, deadly evil in the world and the individual's confrontation with it."²⁴⁴ Gogol used the Ukrainian myths of his grandmother in order to depict what he saw as the failings of humanity, emphasizing that all men are susceptible to the influence of external evil, relying not on the Christian teachings themselves in this concentration, but his own fear of "Death, the devil, and hell."²⁴⁵ Gogol's fixation on the conception of evil resulted in what Desnitskii deemed a fearful hatred of what the author saw as baseness or evil,²⁴⁶ a constant moralistic thematic in Gogol's work, described by Woodward:

In reality, almost every work of fiction written by Gogol' is essentially a representation of the same human tragedy—of the devil's triumph over God in the battle for possession of the human soul. It is true that the more spectacular demonological elements disappear from his art after the completion of *Viy* and that in later works the nouns 'God' (*Bog*) and 'devil' (*chort*) are almost invariably relegated to exclamatory or abusive contexts, but neither development signifies the diminished presence of the metaphysical combatants; the difference is simply that it is less overt.²⁴⁷

²⁴³ T.E. Little. "Gogol and Romanticism," in Robert Reid, ed. *Problems of Russian Romanticism*. Gower, Aldershot, England, 1986, p. 101.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ V.A. Desnitskii. "Zadacha izucheniia zhizni i tvorchestva gogolia" in V.V. Gippius, ed. *N.V. Gogol': Materialy i issledovaniia*. Izdatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva, 1936, vol. 2, p. 7.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 7.

²⁴⁷ James B. Woodward. "Allegory and Symbol in Gogol's second Idyll." *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 73, no. 2 (Apr. 1978), p. 352.

Gogol's supernatural figures, including witches, demons, and vampires, embody "real and concrete" human vices²⁴⁸ in the tragic victory of the demonic over man, creating vices that remained thematically tied to his works in less metaphorical contexts as his career developed. However, in the case of the stories to be considered in this thesis, *A Terrible Vengeance*, *Vii*, and *Nevskii Prospekt*, the antagonists all possess the demonological qualities of embodying those moral issues faced by man. In presenting the powers of temptation that these beings possess, Gogol reversed what Swensen terms "the element of tragic resolution,"²⁴⁹ in that Gogol's heroes all ultimately give in and "perish in a tragic victory of evil over good."²⁵⁰

The tragic result of heretical influence is perceptible in the tale *A Terrible Vengeance*. As was described in the prior section, the father of Danilo's wife illustrated both the attributes of an allusive foreign influence and the characteristics of a corrupt *znakhar'*. In the tale, a sorcerer has plagued the village. Danilo suspects his father-in-law of nefarious activity, investigates, and discovers that Katerina's father was the sorcerer and had been conjuring her soul in her sleep. Danilo informs Katerina of this and Katerina disowns her father for being an "antichrist,"²⁵¹ suggesting a heretical causation for the father's behavior. This suggestion of the wizard's heretical qualities is mirrored by the ineffectiveness of religious relics in this tale. Driessen recapitulates this argument in the following summation of the religious imagery of the tale:

Again and again a holy person or something holy functions as a counterpart to this sinner. His first crime, the murder of the hermit, is the climax in a struggle of evil with

²⁴⁸ A.I. Reviakin. *Istoriia russkoi literatury XIX vekam pervaiia polovina*. Prosveshcheniia, Moskva, 1977, p. 322.

²⁴⁹ Swensen, p. 495.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Gogol', "Strashnaia mest'," p. 196; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, vol. 1, p. 151.

what is holy. Gogol calls the victim holy a few times in succession, the crime is committed at a holy place, the “holy book,” the “holy letters” are indeed pregnant with holiness, they have a magic power.²⁵²

Thus due to his unnatural perusal of magic and association with a culture that was at the time considered adversarial, Katerina’s father was labeled as being involved in heretical activities, to the point where he was considered to be an “antichrist.” The correlation of the sorcerer with the attributes of an antichristian entity is further heightened by his Turkish assimilation, reflecting on the heretical nature of any deviation from the religious and cultural practices of the Orthodox village. This sorcerer retains a unique position—he both reflects the association of the post-Orthodox heretical vampire as being an external demonic influence foreign to the community and the internal influence of a family member upon his relatives, suggesting that the corruption of man can be caused multifariously, and is inevitable due to its evasive nature.

Such corruption and sin is revealed to possess a prolonged longevity in this tale, portraying multiple generations who were forced to suffer for the sin of a past ancestor,²⁵³ rendering a conception of sin without an auxiliary concept of forgiveness and suggesting that man must suffer both for his sins and for those of his ancestors. Such an unrepentant and unforgiving representation, according to Little is “at a variance with the Christian doctrine of the Orthodox church,”²⁵⁴ and is related to Gogol’s unique perception, stemming both from his exposure to the schools of Protestantism and

²⁵² F.C. Driessen. *Gogol as a Short-Story Writer: A Study of his Technique and Composition*. Mouton & Co. London, 1965, p. 101.

²⁵³ Little, p. 115.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

Catholicism,²⁵⁵ but primarily due to his mother's exposing him to the image of an unforgiving afterlife from a very early age. As Malik notes, the lasting impression of his mother's account of the Last Judgment on Gogol was not counterbalanced by a positive equivalent and so his fear and terror of divine retribution came "to represent in Gogol's work the term of the religious/secular dichotomy,"²⁵⁶ an imbalance in his religious perception that not only was present in these vampiric tales, but was prevalent in his works up until his premature death. Such harsh retribution is shown in *A Terrible Vengeance*, marking a punishment that not only cannot be ended by a merciful act, but that lasted through the entire span of generations of one family line, transcending the traditional familial effect seen in "Uпыr'" in associating the vampiric with an evil that cannot be exterminated, no matter how many generations are forced to experience the consequences of its initial transgression.

The theme of harsh retribution continues in the tale *Vii*. The seminarian Khoma Brut, after having killed a witch, is forced to look over her revenant corpse for three days, enduring the vampiric apparition, the summoning of demons, and the rise of a giant earthen monster called Vii.²⁵⁷ The girl is said to have had dealings with the Devil, thus increasing the irony and significance that she was in the end triumphant over the seminarian Khoma Brut, extending the Gogolian theme that man, inevitably, will fall sway to the influence of the demonic.

²⁵⁵ Little, p. 116.

²⁵⁶ Madhu Malik. "Vertep and the Sacred/Profane Dichotomy in Gogol's Dikan'ka Stories." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 34, no. 3. (Autumn, 1990), p. 338.

²⁵⁷ Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 2, pp. 216-217.

Before commencing the story of the protagonist's encounter with the witch, Gogol first detailed the lives of seminary students, describing their gluttonous tendencies. The seminarian philosophers were described as follows:

[...] they had nothing in their pockets except strong tobacco leaves. They didn't stash anything away and ate everything they came across: the scent of pipes and vodka was sometimes so strong around them that a passing artisan would stop and sniff the air like a hound.²⁵⁸

This was true of the protagonist, who is described as loving to smoke his pipe, hire dancers when he drank, and reacting to the punishment from his superiors of a whipping with "big peas" with "philosophical indifference."²⁵⁹ When approached by the deceased's father about the dying witch's appellation, Khoma Brut pleads that he is not particularly qualified and despite his life in a seminary, he "called upon the baker's wife on Holy Thursday itself,"²⁶⁰ suggesting the initial weakness that the deceased witch was able to exploit.²⁶¹

The undead woman's debasement of the church and her ultimate ruination of Khoma Brut not only represents the corruption of an individual man and his eventual seduction by the powers of evil, but also the collapse of the Orthodox Church and fall of the Orthodox faith,²⁶² a concept seen within the structural design of the tale. The first half of *Vii* is diametrically opposed to the second, scrupulously presenting the

²⁵⁸ [...] v karmanakh ikh, krome krepkikh tabachnykh koreshkov, nichego ne bylo. Zapasov oni ne delali nikakikh i vse, chto popadalos', s'edali togda zhe; ot nikh slyshalas' trubka i gorelka, inogda tak daleko, chto prokhodivshii mimo remeslennik dolgo eshche, o stanovivshis', niukhal, kak gonchaia sobaka, vozdukh.

(Gogol' *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 2, pp. 177-178.)

²⁵⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 181.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 197.

²⁶² Larisa Nikolaevna Beliakovskaia. *Evoliutsiia filosofskogo mirovozzreniia N.V. Gogolia. Dissertatsiia kand. filos. nauk*. RGB, Moskva, 2005, p. 70.

gluttonous life that Khoma Brut led in the seminary. The shift from the life Khoma Brut had known and the duty forced upon him is separated by the dream-like sequence in which he encounters the witch, eventuating in her death and leading to his task in the second half of the tale. During his encounters with the undead witch, the tale appears to insinuate that the intention was to focus purely on Khoma Brut, suggesting that his own actions in life led to his fateful end. However, the stories told by the villagers of the witch's liaisons, the eventual destruction of the church in which she was housed, and the mere fact that the daughter of a Cossack had questioned the purity of her soul before death all suggest that it was not just Khoma who was susceptible, but the Cossack village as well, confirming Beliakovskaia's statement that "the sacrilege of the world leads to the church ceasing to be a reliable defense from the forces of the enemies of God."²⁶³ Beliakovskaia further substantiates this, stating:

The dilapidated fence of the church which at one time served a large village could not hold out unclean spirits from an invasion of the church itself, turning God's sacred place into a debasement. The sacrilege of the world leads to the church ceasing to be a reliable defense from the forces of the enemies of God.²⁶⁴

Reviakin suggests that it was with the figure of the "mysterious evil power" in *A Terrible Vengeance* that Gogol's views on religion in Russia were shown in literary form, illustrating metaphorically the moralistic and spiritual problems observed by the author.²⁶⁵ In both the depiction of the witch and the risen earthen creature Vii with its demonic abilities present even within the confines of the church, the effectiveness of the

²⁶³ Beliakovskaia, p. 70.

²⁶⁴ Vetkhaia ograda tserkvi kogda-to bol'shogo selen'ia ne mogla uderzhat' "nechistuiu silu" ot vtorzheniia v sam khram, prevrashchaiushchuiu "Bozh'iu sviatyniu" v merzost' zapusteniia." Desakralizatsiia mira privodit k tomu, chto "sama tserkov' uzhe perestaet byt' nadezhnoi zashchitoi ot natiska vrazhdebnykh Bogu sil.

(Beliakovskaia, p. 70.)

²⁶⁵ Reviakin, p. 382.

church is doubted, alluding to a thematic of doubt over the efficacy of the Orthodox Church in general, lamenting not only the corruption of man in daily life through the failings of the tales' protagonists, but the institution itself by the vampire's ability to penetrate it. While Afanasiev's tales may have alluded to the inability of the church to ward off the problems encountered in village life, the eventual triumph over the vampires of the tale by characters like the soldier in "The Soldier and the Vampire" and the potter in "The Coffin Lid" suggested that this shortcoming would be overcome through the efforts of the noble protagonists. The ultimately positive resolution differs from characters like Khoma Brut, a man who, despite spending his life in a seminary was not only faulted, but incapable of defeating the undead witch, even within the Orthodox House of God.

Nevskii Prospekt presents a less folkloric depiction of Gogol's belief in the tragic nature of humanity. In this tale, the vampiric figure is presented as an alluring beauty who leads the protagonist to his eventual suicide. However, in his depiction of her as living in a brothel, he insinuates an immoral origin of her alluring evil. The magnetism of a beautiful woman and the association of sexual promiscuity with the demonic traces back to post-Orthodox Russian folk belief in which societally deemed sexual misconduct was believed to be caused by a variety of demonic apparitions, most frequently acquiring the image of a "young and licentious woman."²⁶⁶ Levin describes the phenomenon that led to this association:

Another omen of future sexual temptation was beauty in a woman. Didactic texts warned that female beauty was the source of (male) fall into sin: "Avert your eyes from a beautiful woman; do not look upon another's fairness; in female fairness many have been lost." Prostitutes were frequently described as having a "beautiful face." Physical

²⁶⁶ Eve Levin. "Sexual Vocabulary in Medieval Russia," in Jane T. Costlow, Stephanie Sandler, Judith Vowles, ed. *Sexuality and the Body in Russian Culture*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1993, p. 49.

descriptions rarely exceeded generalities in strictly ecclesiastical literature, although they became more common in historical writings of the seventeenth century. This omission reinforced the ecclesiastical opinion that external, bodily matters were at best unimportant and at worst a source of temptation.²⁶⁷

However, Levin suggests that the clerical authors who detailed the interconnection between beauty and temptation did not intend to suggest that feminine beauty or women in general were by nature “evil,” but were concerned more with the prevention of what they deemed sexual sin.²⁶⁸

Gogol’s description of his female antagonists differs from these ecumenical depictions, presenting the alluring beauty shown in both *Vii* and *Nevskii Prospekt* in absolute terms. The extent of the alluring beauty’s magnetism and her ability to overpower the tragic hero in his sleep transcends the mere sexual desire denoted by the above associations, making him crave the nightly visits so intensely that he resorts to purchasing opium in order to induce a sleep-like state.²⁶⁹ Hence, in this tale, Gogol presents the vices of drugs, prostitution and the ultimate allures of life in their ability to entice a seemingly moral man to a tragic demise.

In these tales Gogol continued the moralistic commentary begun as early as the *Inspector General* in exposing to his audience “its own vices and defects,” reflecting on the Gogolian emphasis on man’s internal corruption as it represents the overarching concept of sin.²⁷⁰ This portrayal is suggested to extend even further by Desnitskii, who stated that Gogolian demonological, and hence, vampiric imagery does not just symbolize the immortal weakness of man, but the “historical, state, and societal

²⁶⁷ Levin, p. 50.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 51.

²⁶⁹ N.V. Gogol’. *Mirgorod*. Izdatel’stvo Khudozhestvennaia literature, Moskva, 1965, p. 224.

²⁷⁰ Marianne Shapiro. “Gogol and Dante.” *Modern Language Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2, (Spring, 1987), p. 37.

existence of an all-encompassing evil,”²⁷¹ creating from the combination of Gogol’s conception of religion and his folkloric imagery and methods of storytelling a symmetry of concepts that would not only address the moral transgressions, which Gogol saw as plaguing mankind, but the transcendence of these issues into both historical and societal contexts.

2.3 Of Cossacks and Socialites: The Historical Periods of Gogol’s Tales

As with Afanasiev, the historical time in which Gogol completed his works is directly relevant to the understanding of the historical contexts of his stories.

While Gogol and Afanasiev both lived during the same historical period, each experienced the period dissimilarly due to their differing professional circles. While many of the political concerns encountered by each author were analogous, the differences between the literary and folkloric communities created a contrast in each author’s perception of that time. In order to ascertain the reasons behind the variance in these authors’ works, an examination into Gogol’s era will first be considered, noting the differences in theme with the prior author. This will be followed by a symbolic analysis of the specific historical and political contexts of the tales, ending with an examination of the comprehensive meaning of these symbolisms.

The period of the nineteenth century in which Gogol wrote the majority of his folklorically based stories was a time marked by an increased interest in Ukraine by the educated Russian populace. The Ukraine’s customs, folklore, literature, and day-to-day

²⁷¹ Desnitskii, p. 23.

life became the subject of a large number of literary works, striving to understand Slavic culture during a time of increased Westernization.²⁷² Influenced by the German Romantic movement, especially the works of the author Hoffmann,²⁷³ Gogol adopted the imagery of the Ukrainian village folk tales of his youth.²⁷⁴ Gogol's first collection of Ukrainian tales, *Evenings on a Farmstead Near Dikan'ka*, used the author's ethnographic knowledge and the supernatural imagery common in the literature of the time, then further added the additional dramatic elements of the "Ukrainian puppet theatre, the Ukrainian folk-anecdote, and the folksong."²⁷⁵ According to Reviakin, Gogol's primary purpose in writing his early collections was to embody the "beauty of the spiritual essence of the people, and its dreams of a free and happy life,"²⁷⁶ representing the ways of the Ukrainian peasantry and thus its uniqueness.²⁷⁷ While the trend of using folkloric imagery in the works of the Golden Age of Russian literature coincided with Afanasiev's mythological school, the perception of tales that originated in peasant oral culture was different. The trend gained enormous popularity within literary circles and through his collections of tales, Gogol cemented his career as a writer, unlike Afanasiev's work, which was subject to derision from the academic

²⁷² Reviakin, p. 381.

²⁷³ Little, p. 100.

²⁷⁴ Gogol's use of Ukrainian folklore is addressed in Section 2.1 An Alluring Beauty: The Mythology of a Literary Vampire.

²⁷⁵ Setchkarev, p. 95.

²⁷⁶ Glavnaia tsel' Gogolia—voplotit' krasotu dukhovnoi sushchnosti naroda, ego mechty o volnoi i schastlivoi zhizni.

(Reviakin, p. 383.)

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

circles of the time, questioning the efficacy of such collections and resulting in the destruction of his career.²⁷⁸

While Gogol also encountered censorship within his literary career, it did not affect his work to the same level as Afanasiev, although it may have forced Gogol to concentrate on the subject matter of his works and make changes accordingly. In both the literary and academic communities, it was a time of “vigilant censorship,” hindering the authors of the time in publishing their works in the form originally intended. However, Russian literature of the period still thrived.²⁷⁹ Unlike what occurred with the reception of Afanasiev’s works during his lifetime when his tales, by their nature as representations of folk belief, were accused of being obscene and vulgar, the imagery of Slavic folklore in Russian literature served as a means of circumventing censors, presenting the mythological imagery as elements of Romanticism, rather than folk belief. Due to the limitations set upon authors by Tsar Nicholas, authors began to employ the style of the German Romantics, finding a literary technique and mode of supernatural imagery that could both glorify old Russian culture and serve symbolically as a means of expressing indirectly ideas which otherwise would be edited. The most extensive alteration to Gogol’s vampiric works requested by the literary editors was for the tale *Vii*. However, the comments made by the editor were concerned purely with stylistics and the quality of storytelling. In the original text, Gogol detailed each of the demons summoned by the undead witch, including gnomes that spoke to Khoma.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ See Section 1.3 No Longer a Blank Sheet: The Folkloric Vampire and Attempts at Recapturing the Russian Village.

²⁷⁹ Sergei Pushkarev. *The Emergence of Modern Russia*. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, New York, 1963, p. 84.

²⁸⁰ Gogol’, *Polnoe sobranie*, pp. 582-586.

According to Belinskii, Gogol's editor Shevyrev reacted to the original demonic imagery of the tale negatively, stating that "horror should not be detailed: a ghost is only scary when there is something unexpected."²⁸¹ Belinskii states that Gogol agreed with the editor's assertions, resulting in the published version of *Vii*.

While the authors' experiences of literary trends and censorship differed, the historical settings of Afanasiev's tales and Gogol's first two tales are comparable. Gogol sets his tales in the recent past, illustrating the Ukraine before the introduction of serfdom when its national practices and beliefs were less controlled,²⁸² such as in his tale *A Terrible Vengeance*. In this tale the Cossack Danilo Burul'bash and his wife Katerina's father are presented as completely disparate figures, building on Danilo's strength as a good Cossack man and, in comparison with Danilo's Cossack attributes, displaying the corrupt nature of Katerina's father. The figure of the father exemplified the characteristics of the Turkish opposition in his anti-Cossack activities, alluding to Katerina's father's secondary identity, that of the malevolent wizard who had been plaguing the small village.

Danilo is presented as the traditional hero of the Russian bylina. He was the adopted brother of the captain of the Cossacks²⁸³ and describes himself as a Cossack who "fears neither devil nor Catholic priest."²⁸⁴ Unlike the Cossacks in Afanasiev's tales, Gogol details the historical conflicts encountered by the Cossacks primarily through Danilo's expression of Cossack pride. Danilo esteemed the attributes of a

²⁸¹ V. G. Belinskii. *Klassiki russkoi literatury: stat'i o Gogole: o russkoi povesti i povestiakh g. Gogolia*. Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, Moskva, 1923, pp. 75-76.

²⁸² Reviakin, p. 382.

²⁸³ Gogol, "Strashnaia mest'," p. 176; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 135.

²⁸⁴ Gogol, "Strashnaia mest'," p. 180; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 139.

strong Cossack man, to the point of encouraging his newly born son to fight well against the Turks and serve as a true Cossack, stating:

Why, Ivan, you are not afraid of sorcerers are you? Say: No, Daddy, I'm a Cossack!
Stop crying! Soon we shall be home! Then Mother will give you your porridge, put you to bed in your cradle, and sing:

Lullaby, my little son,
Lullaby to sleep!
Play about and grow a man!
To the glory of the Cossacks
And destruction of our foe.²⁸⁵

While such early encouragement of warrior-like tendencies in a newborn seems premature, it reflects the historically turbulent time in which the Cossacks of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries found themselves defending the freedom of the Cossack people from assimilation by the Tatars, Turks, and Poles. As Strakhovsky notes, Gogol himself was descended from the Cossacks and in his studies of the Ukraine was fascinated by them, as can be seen in his earlier work, *Taras Bulba* in which he depicted the struggle of the Cossacks during the sixteenth century against the Polish “oppressors.”²⁸⁶ The author was captivated by the “independent spirit of these outlaws who fought Tatar, Turk and Pole,” both for the personal freedom of the people and for “the preservation of their Eastern Christian religion.”²⁸⁷ This is reflected in Danilo’s possession of weapons “taken from Tartars, Turks, and Poles,”²⁸⁸ and his repeated slights of Catholics. In the tale the Cossacks celebrated by singing of “the Polish priests who go about the Ukraine forcing the Cossack people to turn Catholic, or of the two day

²⁸⁵ Gogol, “Strashnaia mest’,” p. 182; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 140.

²⁸⁶ Pushkarev, p. 87.

²⁸⁷ Leonid I. Strakhovsky. “The Historicism of Gogol.” *American Slavic and East European Review*, vol. 12, no. 3. (Oct., 1953), p. 366.

²⁸⁸ Gogol, “Strashnaia mest’,” pp. 182-183; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 141.

fight with the Tartars at the Salt Lake.”²⁸⁹ Danilo further mentions the Uniates when describing his having fought for both Orthodoxy and his fatherland,²⁹⁰ reflecting on the historic Union of Brest that resulted in a war beginning in 1596 between the Cossacks and Poland, largely due to Poland’s desire to have the Orthodox join the Uniate church.²⁹¹ During this period Polish relations with the Cossacks fluctuated between support of the Cossacks and attacks against them,²⁹² resulting in the Cossacks’ relationship with the Poles repeatedly shifting. This instability is reflected in Danilo’s description of a Catholic priest who informed him of the antichrist, a piece of information that would later assist in ascertaining Katerina’s father’s true visage:

Only last year when I was getting ready to go with the Poles against the Crimean Tartars (I was still allied with that faithless people then), the Father Superior of the Bratsky Ministry (He is a holy man, wife) told me that the antichrist has the power to conjure up everyman’s soul.²⁹³

In Danilo’s embodiment of the Cossack spirit, even to the point of its fluctuations in its relation with the Poles, he serves as a mirror image of the novel’s vampiric character, Katerina’s father, the malevolent wizard. Here the interplay of vampire and victim allows the Cossack political perceptions to be understood and clarifies the significance of the wizard’s anti-Cossack attributes.

Katerina’s father, the antithesis to the idyllic hero Danilo, is first suspected by Danilo of possessing attributes contrary to those valued by a Cossack after their having met:

²⁸⁹ Gogol’, “Strashnaia mest’,” pp. 178-179; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 138.

²⁹⁰ Gogol’, “Strashnaia mest’,” p. 184; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 142.

²⁹¹ Oswald P. Backus III. “The Problem of Unity in the Polish-Lithuanian State.” *Slavic Review*, vol. 22, no. 3. (Sept., 1963), p. 427.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Gogol’, “Strashnaia mest’,” p. 196; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 151.

Listen, Katerina! It seems that your father will not live at peace with us. He was sullen, gloomy, as though angry, when he came...If he doesn't like it, why come? He would not drink to Cossack freedom! He has never fondled the child! At first I would have trusted him with all that lay in my heart, but I could not do it; the words stuck in my throat. No he has not a Cossack heart! When Cossack hearts meet, they almost leap out of the breast to greet each other!²⁹⁴

Danilo's suspicions of Katerina's father's decidedly un-Cossack heart are augmented by the man's dietary habits. He would not eat dumplings or pork and abstained from drinking mead or vodka, prompting Danilo to comment that the father's eating habits mirrored those of the Turks.²⁹⁵ These associations themselves implied that the father is a heretic, since at the time the Turks were considered heretical to the Russian Orthodox,²⁹⁶ an association that was illustrated when, upon discovering the wizard's having conjured Katerina's soul, Danilo saw that he was wearing wide Turkish trousers with pistols and a "strange cap embroidered all over with letters that were neither Russian nor Polish."²⁹⁷

However, it was not Katerina's father's associations with the Turks, with malefic wizardry, or even with the incestuous luring of Katerina's soul that resulted in the wizard's having been imprisoned, but his political associations with the Poles. Danilo first discussed this towards the beginning of the story when he stated:

"It is not that he is a sorcerer that is the cause for fear," he said, "but that he is here for some evil. What whim has brought him here? I have heard it said that the Poles mean to build a fort to cut off our way to the Dnieper Cossacks. That may be true...I will scatter that devil's nest if any rumor reaches me that he harbors our foes there."²⁹⁸

²⁹⁴ Gogol', "Strashnaia mest'," p. 182; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, pp. 140-141.

²⁹⁵ Gogol', "Strashnaia mest'," p. 189-190; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 145.

²⁹⁶ Swensen, p. 496.

²⁹⁷ Gogol', "Strashnaia mest'," p. 193; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 149.

²⁹⁸ Gogol', "Strashnaia mest'," p. 180; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 138.

When the wizard is in fact shown to be supporting the approaching Poles, the reason for his imprisonment is for “secret treachery [...], for plotting with the foes of Orthodox Russia to sell to the Catholics the Ukrainian people and burn Christian churches.”²⁹⁹

Despite Katerina’s father’s betrayal of the Cossacks and eventual physical slaying of the hero Danilo, it is not through the acts of the wizard that Danilo loses the vigor of the Cossack spirit, resulting in defeat in battle, but in his loss of faith in his own people. Before embarking on his last battle, Danilo laments:

[...] One would think I am not old and I am strong in body, yet the sword drops out of my hand, I live doing nothing and know not what I live for. There is no order in the Ukraine: the colonels and the captains quarrel like dogs: there is no chief over them all. Our gentry imitate Polish fashions and have copied their sly ways...they have sold their souls, accepting the Uniat faith.³⁰⁰

Thus, as with the spiritual loss of faith of Gogol’s protagonists, Danilo renounces the political structure of his fellow Ukrainians, denouncing the people for which he had formerly been so willing to fight and repudiating the very nature of the Cossacks of which he had so warmly spoken towards the beginning of the tale. Through the rendering of the weaknesses of the Ukrainian people and his eventual submission to the faults encountered by him, Danilo was ultimately destroyed by the vampiric wizard.

The Cossack imagery is further illustrated in Gogol’s tale *Vii*; however, as was noted in the first section, the figure of the Cossack in this tale is reversed, with a vampiric figure who was in life the daughter of a Cossack captain. As in *A Terrible Vengeance*, *Vii* was also set in a historical Ukraine, with the language employed and the “atmosphere” suggesting that it was intended to be set in the seventeenth or eighteenth

²⁹⁹ Gogol, “Strashnaia mest’,” p. 197; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 152.

³⁰⁰ Gogol, “Strashnaia mest’,” p. 204; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 157.

century, according to Setchkarev's linguistic analysis.³⁰¹ However, the setting serves less as a historical representation than as a time distantly enough removed to serve as a fantastic backdrop for the tale at hand.

While the historical significance of *A Terrible Vengeance* was in its description of the Cossack culture of the vampire's victims, *Vii* goes into greater detail about the seminarian background of the story's protagonist Khoma Brut than of the Cossack genealogy of the undead witch, delving into the gluttonous tendencies of the seminarians. Aside from the religious connotations of Khoma Brut's weaknesses, they further reflect on the state of seminaries, noting the possibility for corruptive influences even within the religious educational institutions of the time, making way for the conclusive corruption and eventual death via the story's vampiric antagonist.

Unlike *A Terrible Vengeance* and *Vii*, Gogol sets his third vampiric tale in contemporary St. Petersburg. In *Nevskii Prospekt*, the author not only explores the theme of alluring and deadly beauty, but describes the deceptive vampiric nature of the city itself. Towards the beginning of the tale, when, having discovered that the mysterious beauty to which he had become attached lived in a brothel, a gorgeous livery appeared at his door and whisked him off to a party at the woman's apartment, now replacing the brothel with more aristocratic accommodation. Gogol first hints at the deceptive nature of St. Petersburg society when describing the newly transformed quarters:

The extraordinary brightness and variety of the scene completely staggered him; it seemed to him as though some demon had crumbled the whole world into bits and mixed all these bits indiscriminately together. The gleaming shoulders of the ladies and the black tailcoats, the chandeliers, the lamps, the ethereal floating gauze, the filmy

³⁰¹ Setchkarev, p. 134.

ribbons, and the fat bass looking out from behind the railing of the orchestra—
everything was dazzling.³⁰²

In this depiction of the incongruous beauty of Russian aristocracy in a place that had hours before been a dilapidated brothel, Gogol is first able, through the “contradictory and opposing” images to “expose the spiritual decay of St. Petersburg and its elite social class,” a theme that would continue into his final work *Dead Souls*.³⁰³

As in the spiritual commentary of the allures of beauty addressed in the prior section, Gogol places especial emphasis on the corrupt nature of the ladies of St. Petersburg. Towards the end of the tale when the protagonist Piskarev resolves to propose to the mysterious woman, he suggests that they will work and live together happily, which results in the lady scorning his addresses, claiming that she is not “a washerwoman or a seamstress”³⁰⁴ who needs to work, reflecting on what Gogol describes as “the life of the true followers of vice, full of emptiness and idleness.”³⁰⁵ As is suggested by the above discussion, Gogol’s conceptions of the nature of women and the city of St. Petersburg found in his own historical time are intrinsically connected to his broader criticism of society, a subject that will be addressed in the following sections.

The political and historical settings of all three tales present a level of weakness to their structures, ranging from the renouncement of the lack of order in the Ukraine in *A Terrible Vengeance* to immorality within the seminary structure in *Vii* to the

³⁰² N.V. Gogol’, “Nevskii Prospekt,” *Vechera na khutore bliz Dikan’ki, Povesti*. AST Izdatel’svo, Moskva, p. 286; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 219.

³⁰³ Danielle Jones. “Multifaceted Metaphor: Gogol’s Portrayal of St. Petersburg in ‘Dead Souls.’ ” *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature*, vol. 56, no. 2 (2002), p. 10.

³⁰⁴ Gogol’, “Nevskii prospekt,” p. 296; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 227.

³⁰⁵ Gogol’, “Nevskii prospekt,” p. 296; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 227.

deception of St. Petersburg in *Nevskii Prospekt*. As with the tragic resolution given to the religious aspects of these stories, Gogol critiques each period of Russian and Ukrainian society, exposing each time's inherent weaknesses, but without giving a resolution to the problems addressed in the tales.

2.4 The Monsterization of Man: Gogol's Vampires and the Dark Side of Human Nature

In his employment of vampiric mythos Gogol emphasizes the corruptibility of man, examining the pitfalls to which each of his tragic heroes succumbs. Gogol dwells on what he felt was “the dark-side of human nature,”³⁰⁶ presenting his fatalistic view of man's quest in life and depicting man's attempts at bettering himself as being fruitless when confronted with the world around him. In order to understand the origin of Gogol's pessimistic philosophy of man's nature, his exposure to the Romantic movement of the Post-Classical Epic of Russian literature will first be addressed, specifying his philosophical influences. After addressing Gogol's exposure to the philosophical movements of his time, the role of the Romantic theme of one's personal fate within Gogol's vampiric tales will be analyzed, followed by a detailed analysis of his tragic worldview.

Gogol's philosophy is evident in the vampiric stories *Vii*, *A Terrible Vengeance*, and *Nevskii Prospekt*. The use of vampiric imagery and of the supernatural is a romantic trait, dating to the rise of Romanticism during the Golden Era of Russian literature, a

³⁰⁶ Swensen, p. 492.

time when many authors were introduced to the works of Hoffmann and other German Romantics.³⁰⁷ Gogol's reliance on the old mythos was due in part to the early influence of the Freneticist and Kunstmarchen movements on Gogol's early literary development. Freneticism engaged in the practice of monsterizing characters, taking their internal corruption and presenting it externally.³⁰⁸ This was a common literary trend during the nineteenth century of Russian literature, especially during the time when Gogol published his collection of short stories *Evenings on a Farmstead Near Dikan'ki*.³⁰⁹ Many Russian writers, such as Pushkin and Lermontov, adapted the style of the German Romantics and created a unique Russian Romantic movement. According to Gogol's own musings on Romanticism, the emphasis on understanding and representing folk belief in literature was a further development of the works of the Slavophiles, taking the cultural sources collected and assessed by the folklorists and adapting them to modern literary trends.³¹⁰

As was noted in the previous section of this thesis, the adaptation of folklore to literature came at a time when new interest in the study of mythology became evident, both in collecting folklore and taking mythological themes and "rewriting" and "redrawing" them into the poetical tones of the Romantic movement.³¹¹ This was seen as an attempt to "come closer to Russian society" through returning to local literature after a long period of attempts at "imitative" literature.³¹² By borrowing the imagery of

³⁰⁷ Little, p. 100.

³⁰⁸ Swensen, p. 492.

³⁰⁹ Reviakin, p. 381.

³¹⁰ Beliakovskaia, p. 8.

³¹¹ Pukhova, p. 93.

³¹² Little, p. 96.

the folktales that were quickly gaining popularity during this time, the authors were able to use imagery specifically collected to show the depths of Russian culture that was already imbued with elements of folk philosophy. These authors were able to extend the images' usage to commenting on the people of Russia during their respective times. Since the symbol was already formed in the people's consciousness, the Romantic authors of the Golden Age were able to shift it to a more general discussion of the nature of man.

Gogol noted that Romanticism took the ideology of the Era of Enlightenment,³¹³ which operated on the philosophical understanding of society and societal interaction. This can be seen in Gogol's early works, in which a person's fate is formed by the balance between the strivings of one's personal soul and the larger world of human life. Each of Gogol's tales examined in this thesis follows the personal path of one character, both examining the affect of the vampiric character on his or her livelihood and reflecting on the community around them as it influences their fates.

Much as with the folkloric figures in the Freneticist tradition, Gogol's vampires transcend the original representation into literary commentary. As Swensen observed, "these fictive, grotesque, anthropomorphic characters exist as a personification of a diabolical evil ever present in society."³¹⁴ Gogol used the Ukrainian myths of his grandmother in order to depict what he saw as the failings of humanity. He incorporated the basis of the *Kunstmarchen* style, involving the adaptation of folkloric motifs to high literature, creating a "juxtaposition of a subjective world of reality and an imaginative world of supernatural fantasy," allowing for allusion to the concepts of the author's own

³¹³ Beliakovskaia, p. 7.

³¹⁴ Swensen, p. 490.

beliefs.³¹⁵ Gogol took this religious outlook and through Romantic concepts encountered by the author during his early career was able to present what he felt were the spiritual pitfalls of humanity. The practices of Russian Romanticism and Hoffmanism were manifested in his works,³¹⁶ allowing a deep engagement in the practice of monsterizing characters.³¹⁷ This was further augmented by the imagery of *Kunstmärchen* in expressing the “lively belief in the existence of the supernatural in the midst of reality.”³¹⁸ However, Gogol’s conceptions of philosophy did not begin with the works of Hoffmann.

According to Beliakovskaia, Gogol’s philosophical evolution began with his introduction to Romanticism.³¹⁹ In a paper written by Gogol in 1832, the young author notes that he considered August Ludwig von Schlözer and Johann Gottfried von Herder great thinkers. The author stresses Herder’s belief that one person is representative of all of humanity, that his thoughts are lofty, deep, and all-encompassing.³²⁰ While during his school days Gogol may have preferred Plato, Aristotle, and Petrarch, it was with the German Romantics that his philosophical outlook began to form. His conception of Romantic philosophy further developed after the rise of a uniquely Russian Romantic movement, marked by a desire to return to the literary study of one’s own nation. Through a similar desire Gogol first began incorporating literary imagery and

³¹⁵ Swensen, p. 491.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid., p. 492.

³¹⁸ Ibid., p. 491.

³¹⁹ Beliakovskaia, p. 16.

³²⁰ Ibid.

philosophical thematics.³²¹ As T.E. Little purports, Gogol's folkloric imagery in his works is "entirely in accord with the enthusiasm of Russian Romantics for local or ethnic colour"³²² and incorporates the philosophical esthetics of the Romantic movement, analyzing the darker nature of man and his personal fate within a supernatural context. Considering Gogol's denouncement of Romanticism as a literary trend, the existence of Romantic aesthetics in his early works is likely due to his emulation of the writer Pushkin and his early exposure to the movement, rather than a conscious attempt at creating a work within the realm of Romanticism.

Gogol expressed in his personal notes that Pushkin was a great Romantic who had wished to understand the "soul" of the people.³²³ Gogol greatly admired Pushkin, and his adoption of the writer's Romanticism reflects his admiration. Both authors employed both supernatural and vampiric imagery in their works, indicating the desire of the time to understand both the roots of Russian culture and the internal nature of man. These two authors both drew from the folklore of their ancestors, Pushkin in his fairytales and Gogol in his collection *Evenings on a Farmstead Near Dikanka*. In the specific demonic works each author observed the reactions of the protagonists, examining how man would react when placed in a precarious situation. Pushkin observed the trek of a traveler who encountered a group of mysterious demons in his poem "Besy"³²⁴ and a man who, out of fear, had a hallucination of a vampire in

³²¹ Beliakovskaia, p. 5.

³²² Little, p. 101.

³²³ Beliakovskaia, p. 22.

³²⁴ A.S. Pushkin. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v desiaty tomakh*, vol. 3. Izd. Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva, 1963, p. 176.

“Vurdalak.”³²⁵ The theme of man’s confrontation with an embodiment of the demonic is continued in Gogol’s tales *A Terrible Vengeance*, *Vii*, and *Nevskii Prospekt*, although with significantly different conclusions that will be discussed shortly.

Whether in Pushkin’s supernatural poems or Gogol’s vampiric tales, the authors’ works explored man’s interaction with the unknown, employing myth to address the issue of man’s internal nature when confronted with out-of-the-ordinary events. The man-centered philosophical nature of Russian literature is described by Masaryk:

Russian thought further displays its tendency towards myth [...] that down to to-day in Russia far more than in Europe, poets are the true educators of the people. Puškin, Gogol, Turgenev, Dostoevskii, Tolstoi, Čehov, Gor’kii—these are the thinkers of Russia. It is the thinker as poet, not the thinker as man of science, to whom Russia listens. Now the poet stands nearer to myth than does the philosopher.³²⁶

Thus in Russia philosophical discourse had an inherent mythology to it, especially in the works of Pushkin and Gogol and the discussion of “man-centered” philosophies.

However, this is not to say that there was not a growing Romantic movement in non-literary circles. Pushkin was not Gogol’s only Romantic influence. A further basis for Gogol’s philosophical development came from his fellow Ukrainian folkloric authors, Maximovich who had recently published a collection of Ukrainian folk songs and Somov who had written a number of short stories based on folk legends, including the tale “Rusalka.”³²⁷ These authors, whom he met during his stay in St. Petersburg, inspired Gogol to collect materials from his mother and grandmother, which he later used for *Evenings on a Farmstead near Dikanka*, drawing on the folktales of his native

³²⁵ Pushkin, *Polnoe sobranie*, vol. 3, p. 308.

³²⁶ Thomas Garrigue Masaryk. *The Spirit of Russia: Studies in History, Literature, and Philosophy*,. Macmillan, London, 1955, vol. 2, p. 470.

³²⁷ William Edward Brown. *A History of Russian Literature of the Romantic Period*, vol. 4, Ardis, Ann Arbor, 1989, p. 268.

village and re-envisioning them to reflect on his concerns for the world around him. As Chernyshevskii claimed, “Gogol [...] in his analysis of Russian life gives expression to the most definite ethical aspiration.”³²⁸

In Gogol’s tale *A Terrible Vengeance*, Katerina’s father, the evil magician, possesses attributes of a Turk, reflecting on the political turmoil between the Turks and the Cossacks of the time, as was described in the prior section. However, this imagery also connects Gogol’s story with the Romantic Hoffmann, who used similar symbolic forms in his tale *Ignaz Denner*. In Hoffman’s novel the antagonist dresses in Spanish-style garments.³²⁹ The allusion to Hoffman’s story marks this tale’s first criticism of the nature of man: by using Hoffmanesque imagery of a foreign influence interconnected with a deep national history of conflict, Gogol suggested not only an aversion to foreign influence, but the inevitable fatal result of such a connection. Katerina’s father, while maligned by her husband, was still able to become interconnected with the family and, eventually, was able to cause the deaths of Katerina, her husband, and their child. This suggests the unavoidable nature of what Gogol saw as a foreign intrusion in Imperial Russia, reflecting on the inability to preserve what he had before deemed the depths of the Russian soul, but also noting its affect on individual people. Through Danilo’s early aversion to Katerina’s father, the circumstance of his death despite his reservations gives a sense of the futility of the man’s attempts to maintain himself as an honorable man and good Cossack.

The tale as a whole reflects on a deeper philosophical meaning. As William Edward Brown asserts:

³²⁸ As described in Masaryk, p. 19.

³²⁹ Little, p. 102.

[...] in “A Terrible Vengeance” the theme of evil encroaching upon life becomes so overpowering that neither human innocence nor bravery are of any avail, and only another supernatural power is able at long last to destroy the portentous sorcerer in whom this evil is embodied. Whether Ukrainian folk belief actually justifies this pessimistic outlook on life is immaterial: this is the fashion in which Gogol interprets it—and the same outlook extends to much later tales [...] Evil in most of the Dikanka tales is an external, quasi-human bearer of supernatural power—a witch, a sorcerer, a demon; but evidently Gogol began quite early to identify the evil principle in human lives with the loathsome vulgarity and vacuity which constitute the opposite of ideal beauty and worth.³³⁰

Gogol dwelled upon the theme of “vulgarity and vacuity” throughout his literary career, obsessing over its relation to the principle of evil in the corruption of man. While his later works, including *Dead Souls*, express his concern in more literal terms, Gogol’s internal debate over the nature of man within the context of an imperfect world began in these early Dikanka stories, especially in *A Terrible Vengeance*. The author used the supernatural imagery to reflect upon his ideas of the corruption of man, illustrating the internal turmoil and darkness that, in his view, dwell in the human soul, and, by ending the story tragically, suggest that it will forever be present.

This cynical reflection on the man-centered concepts of corruption continues in his tale *Vii*. In *Vii* Khoma Brut is punished for his confrontation with the mysterious witch, a seductive beauty who reveals her true nature when transformed into the old haggard witch towards the beginning of the story. Unlike the hideously misshapen sorcerer of *A Terrible Vengeance*, the vampiric figure of this tale exudes an unnatural attractiveness. Swensen relates the figure’s nature to that of a lamia, claiming that she embodies temptation:

The lamia cannot seize her victory, but rather the victim, Xoma [sic.], must yield to her in yielding to temptation within her lair and domain. The death, or rather, yielding of life begins with her plea for his vigil, and as in the case of Katerina, the sapping of

³³⁰ Brown, p. 269.

Xoma's life spans a period of time as he performs the vigil, repulsed and attracted by the sorceress' terrible beauty. As the lamia rages and storms through the church, Xoma perseveres, and although taxed by the vampire's assaults, he manages to survive for as long as he resists temptation. As his will to resist the vampire wanes, he grows grey and his unnatural aging symbolizes the life flowing from him. Finally, Xoma fights the temptation to look as the Vij [sic.] enters, but desire overcomes him. In his looking he has violated the sanctuary provided by his magic circle, and as Stilman writes, he has lost "his chance for salvation." In so doing, "Everyman" relinquishes his life to the vampiric seductress.³³¹

Thus, according to Swensen, the tale symbolizes the "Everyman's" slow temptation and eventual downfall, possibly even damnation, as implied by the statement of his loss of salvation. While Khoma Brut's representation of the "Everyman" may seem incongruous with his gluttonous tendencies while living in the seminary, it is his weaknesses that lower him from being a religious man to being a normal, faulted person, suggesting that he makes the same poor decisions in his daily life as any man would. By presenting him as an average, faulted figure, he becomes less of an iconic literary figure, and more a literary metaphor for each member of humanity, illustrating that anyone can, and, as Gogol suggests, will fall sway to the alluring nature of evil.

Nevskii Prospekt continues the theme of an average man slowly destroyed by an alluring and malignant beauty, but unlike the prior two tales, the folkloric basis of the vampire is obscured, presenting the alluring beauty within the context of the imagery of "dream and hallucination."³³² The mysterious woman lures the young man through a dream-like state, slowly draining him of his life. While the dream-like imagery of the protagonist's induced state reflects on the mysterious powers of the world and their affect on man, modernizing the means of corruption of the protagonist and contextualizing it within the world of late 1800s St. Petersburg, the primary theme of

³³¹ Swensen, p. 499.

³³² Little, p. 117.

the piece remains the same as that of *Vii*, reflecting on the professed inevitability of mankind's retrogression, regardless of historical time, or societal setting.

As is illustrated by these tales, the concepts of repentance and forgiveness are not present in these works, further claiming that Gogol's personal worldview involves an "avenging God bringing down wrath upon the innocent."³³³ Through Gogol's representation of man's corruption in these tales, a constant philosophy of the nature of mankind is formed, illustrating a pessimistic world view that man is, by nature, faulted and will inevitably fall sway to the allures of the world around him. Through Romantic imagery, Gogol's works reflected upon his perceptions of his fellow man and his sorrow over what he saw as their inevitable downfall.

2.5 "Everything Breathes Deception"³³⁴: The Gogolian Vampire and the Failings of Society

Gogol's philosophy of the nature of mankind transcends his perception of the faults of individual man, projecting his thoughts on man's downfall onto society in general. His pessimistic views on man differ significantly from Afanasiev's tales. In Afanasiev's collected tales the societal concerns addressed by the peasant communities from which the tales were derived were intertwined with the literary twists appended in Afanasiev's editing process, forming a picture of the society's concerns as a whole rather than the outlook of an individual person. Gogol on the other hand took the folkloric mythos found within these tales and personalized it, presenting his own

³³³ Little, p. 116.

³³⁴ Gogol, "Nevskii prospekt," p. 311; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 238.

perception on the state of Russian society, imbuing the tales with an individual estimation of what he viewed as the pitfalls encountered within the social order of the time. Andrew noted that the works of Gogol, like those of Dostoevsky, comprised “a revolutionary critique of contemporary society.”³³⁵

In this critique, Gogol employs vampiric imagery in creating what Swensen describes as the “personification of a diabolic evil ever present in society,”³³⁶ criticizing the effects of society on individual man. This imagery combined with Gogol’s deep religiosity instilled in him from an early age allowed for Gogol to express his musings on evil’s power over the individual man. The internal discussion encountered within his vampiric works not only focused on the effect of one man’s internal corruption, but on the evil he saw as being inherent in society. Gogol took his conception of man’s internal corruption and externalized it, playing on the faults of the world and culture surrounding oneself and the means in which external elements can lead to internal abasement. However, in his emphasis on corruption, both of society and man, he accentuates the nature of man as an individual and the means in which he is made susceptible to adverse elements. Swensen observes that “the vampire is a *daemon*, both material and supernatural, and this fact symbolizes the permanent place occupied by corrupting evil within the actual world.”³³⁷

The emphasis on man’s subversion and the concept of a larger corrupting evil at the societal level stems from Gogol’s deep religiosity. As was discussed in Section 2.3 The Revenant Within: Gogol’s Vampires and Man’s Internal Corruption, Gogol never

³³⁵ Joe Andrew. *Russian Writers and Society in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*. Macmillan Press, London, 1982, p. 44.

³³⁶ Swensen, p. 490.

³³⁷ Ibid., p. 505.

doubted the existence of God, nor the truth of Church doctrines. Raised by a devoutly religious mother, the beliefs that began their development in his early life informed his future literary works, developing into his religious convictions as seen throughout his career. However, in expressing his beliefs in his letters to his mother during the time in which these earlier works were written, Gogol exposes his own faults, denoting what he termed his suffering and his weakness, as seen through his constant demands for money from his mother so that he could continue his lavish life in St Petersburg.

Gogol's mother attempted to appeal to his sense of morality, but he continued to implore her for money, even fabricating reasons for needing the monetary support. His mother details the extent to which this affected her in a letter from 23 June 1829:

I am running all over, trying to arrange my affairs; except for increasing my debts, I am getting no place. I sent the St. Petersburg tax authorities 1450 rubles, which I borrowed from Borkovskaya, then I sold the brass kettle from the brandy distillery and will have a new one made from wood; I have settled it at the treasury department for a year, but I still have to send Nikolenka as much as I can; he still has no position. I often get letters from him, and preach to him about morality for pages.³³⁸

Upon receiving his mother's moralizing letters, Gogol not only disregarded them, but destroyed the letters entirely.

However, perhaps reflecting upon his own "suffering and weakness," Gogol externalized the effect of evil in society, presenting it as being a multifarious influence, resulting in his defeatist attitude towards its power over those around him. Since he was susceptible to the lures of society, he projected this susceptibility onto all mankind, suggesting that all will ultimately perish in a "tragic victory of evil over good."³³⁹

Perhaps partially due to his recognition of his own faults within the St. Petersburg

³³⁸ As translated by Setchkarev, p. 21.

³³⁹ Swensen, p. 495.

society, his works increasingly included the concept of the corruption of the individual within society as presented through the protagonistic characters in his vampiric stories.

Gogol acknowledged in his later career that his early works, especially the Dikanka tales, were comprised of “scraps” of his state of mind at the time in which they were written,³⁴⁰ accounting for his imbuing the characters of the tales with his own inherent weaknesses. Putney characterizes this tendency:

Gogol stuffs his fictional “heroes” with his personal nastiness. We recall, too, the writer’s tendency to conceive of his characters as containers, receptacles, and vessels—which not only converges with the medieval conception of personality, but seems to reify them as *receptacles*, vessels waiting to be filled with the author’s own negative (devilish) qualities.³⁴¹

The means in which Gogol creates these “receptacles” varies in each of his vampiric tales, employing different historical externalities for the characters, in addition to different aspects of human frailty within the various societal backdrops of the tales.

His obsession with human licentiousness and the ultimate transgression derived from his early obsession with the Last Judgment³⁴² maintained a thematic permanence comprised of fearful images of human transgression intertwined with his naïve and fervent belief. In his essay “About those states of the soul and our inadequacies, which create embarrassment in us and hinder us from being at peace,” written during his later years, Gogol addresses five different “sins”: wrath, despondency, fear, suspicion, and uncertainty in oneself.³⁴³ Each of these vices is represented in the tragic figures depicted in Gogol’s vampiric tales. *A Terrible Vengeance* saw the deaths of Danilo and Katerina,

³⁴⁰ Christopher Putney. *Russian Devils and Diabolic Conditionality in Nikolai Gogol’s Evenings on a Farmstead Near Dikanka*. Peter Lang, New York, 1999, p. 215.

³⁴¹ Ibid., p. 179.

³⁴² Gogol’s early exposure to the Last Judgment is discussed in greater detail in Section 2.2 The Revenant Within: Gogol’s Vampires and Man’s Internal Corruption.

³⁴³ N.V. Gogol’. *Iz pisem i “Chto mozhet dostavit’ pol’zu dushe.”* Starklait, Moskva, 2006, pp. 147-154.

the former after becoming despondent with his fellow Cossacks, ceasing to see a purpose in the seemingly endless battle with the Turks, the latter after sinking into madness, losing all hope for an escape from her malevolent wizard father and fearing what eventuated in his final arrival and her suicide. *Vii* followed the path of Khoma Brut, who, despite his self-centered nature, showed with each subsequent encounter with the vampiric Cossack's daughter increased doubt in himself and hopelessness of his ability to overcome her, stemming from his own weakness both from his gluttonous tendencies at the seminary and his own cowardice and fear in fulfilling his task of praying over the Cossack's daughter for three nights.

Aside from the general characteristics of mankind within society, each of the tales depicts the societal constructs of a specific historical period, maintaining his pessimistic world view while illustrating diverse periods in Russian cultural history. Gogol's first illustration of his world view through the application of vampiric imagery occurred in the tales *A Terrible Vengeance* and *Vii*. *A Terrible Vengeance* portrays the societal structure of an idealized fifteenth to seventeenth century Cossack village life, depicting two of the most significant events for a Cossack community during that time—a marriage and a battle. The tale begins at the wedding ceremony of the Captain of the Cossacks' son.³⁴⁴ During the celebration the Captain brought out a pair of icons to bless the wedded couple, inadvertently exposing a mysterious guest as the malevolent wizard who had been the scourge of the village in times past. While no one at the celebration was injured, the vampiric figure's ability to infiltrate the community is shown through this scene, hinting at the folk belief of the susceptibility of weddings to malevolent magic, as was found in the aforementioned Afanasiev tales. It further

³⁴⁴ Gogol, "Strashnaia mest'," p. 176; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 135.

heralded the future damage that would be conducted by the wizard during the course of the tale, eventuating in the deaths of Danilo, Katerina, their son, and the deaths of many Cossack soldiers after the betrayal of the community to the Turks. Ostensibly this seems to place value on the brotherhood of the Cossack people, underlining the damage that results from a member of the community, who is not dedicated to the Cossack way of life, interplaying the multifarious corruption of both a demonic influence foreign to the community and the internal influence of a family member upon his relatives. However, the value of the strength of the Cossack community is doubted by Danilo, who denounces his own people shortly before his death, emphasizing the weaknesses of those around him and criticizing the lack of order in the Ukraine, the imitations by the people of Polish fashions, the adoption of the Uniat faith, and the oppression of the poor.³⁴⁵ Danilo idolizes the past glory of Ukraine, expressing his discontent with modern society. By emphasizing the value of behaving as a true Cossack while shortly thereafter lamenting over his own society, Danilo presents one of the “scraps” of Gogol’s mind within the Dikanka tales. Gogol romanticized the history of his country, especially of the Cossack people to the point that when the author resigned from his position as a history teacher many years later, he remarked, “I thumbed my nose at the university, and in a month I’ll be a free Cossack again.”³⁴⁶ As with his fictional character, he both idolized and grieved for the Cossack people, praising what he saw as the historical dignity of the Cossacks and their eventual recession.

The simultaneous romanticization and critique of the Cossack people continued into his tale *Vii*, adding a further criticism of the seminary. As was addressed in Section

³⁴⁵ Gogol, “Strashnaia mest’,” p. 204; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 158.

³⁴⁶ Setchkarev, p. 45.

2.2, the first half of *Vii* is diametrically opposed to the second, scrupulously presenting the gluttonous life that Khoma Brut led in the seminary. However, as was discussed earlier the stories told by the villagers of the witch's liaisons, the eventual destruction of the church in which she was housed, and the mere fact that the daughter of a Cossack had questioned the purity of her soul before death all suggest that the corruption went beyond Khoma and that the "sacrilege of the world" infected the entire Cossack village"³⁴⁷

The sacrilege of the world transcended the historical context of these earlier tales and was transplanted to Gogol's own period in *Nevskii Prospekt*. The vampiric seductress who psychically lures the protagonist to his untimely death does so through the allures of St. Petersburg life. Incorporating imagery of the city brothels, elegant parties of St. Petersburg socialites, opium use, and escape through suicide, Gogol not only illustrates the seductive beauty of the mysterious woman, but illustrates the vampiric qualities of the city itself, reflecting on his personal views of the temptations and pitfalls of that city and the state of St. Petersburg society.

Gogol's impression of St. Petersburg as a falsely alluring city traces back to his first encounter with the city on 15 December 1828, when he fell ill during the journey and upon arrival perceived the city to be "ugly and gloomy to him."³⁴⁸ During this time he became obsessed with "elegance and originality" in his dress, spending large amounts of money on clothing, despite already having difficulties meeting the high cost of living. The allures of life in St. Petersburg depicted as being the downfall of the tale's tragic protagonist were created on a personal level. Hence the protagonist's demise in

³⁴⁷ Beliakovskaia, p. 70.

³⁴⁸ Setchkarev, p. 19.

the city that Gogol describes as having the street lamps lit by the Devil, showing “everything in false colors”³⁴⁹ mirrors the author’s own weaknesses in St. Petersburg society, a place described in the tale’s conclusion:

You imagine those ladies...but ladies are least of all to be trusted. Do not look into the shop windows; the trifles exhibited in them are delightful but they have an odor of money about them. But God save you from peeping under the ladies’ hats! However attractively in the evening a fair lady’s cloak may flutter in the distance, nothing would induce me to follow her and try to get a closer view. Keep your distance, for God’s sake, keep your distance from the street lamp! And pass by it quickly as you can! It is a happy escape if you get off with nothing worse than some of its shaking oil on your foppish coat. But even apart from the street lamp, everything breathes deception. It deceives at all hours, the Nevsky Prospekt does, but most of all when night falls in masses of shadow on it, throwing into relief the white and dun-colored walls of the houses, when all the town is transformed into noise and brilliance, when myriads of carriages roll off bridges, postilions shut and jump up on their horses, and when the devil himself lights the street lamps to show everything in fake colors.³⁵⁰

By his conclusion, Gogol extended the alluring and deceitful nature of the key vampiric figure of the mysterious woman to the city itself, especially regarding Nevskii Prospekt as a place where “everything breathes deception,” where “the devil himself lights the street lamps to show everything in fake colors.”³⁵¹ The interplay of Gogol’s description of St. Petersburg society and his own experiences, while living in the city suggest that the tale externalizes Gogol’s own weaknesses and transgressions through the imagery of the seductiveness of St. Petersburg society. By depicting his own deficiencies as being external to himself, he creates a pervasive malevolent influence from which all men would become tragically enmeshed. The allure of the vampiric seductress is

³⁴⁹ Gogol, “Nevskii prospekt,” p. 312; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 135. Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 238.

³⁵⁰ Gogol, “Nevskii prospekt,” p. 312; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 238.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

downplayed, suggesting that the most deleterious effects were derived from the city itself, luring unsuspecting men with falsities and slowly destroying them.

Despite the personalization of Gogol's negative opinion of St. Petersburg within this tale, when considered in tandem with the prior two tales, a common thematic of the inevitability of mankind's retrogression can be found. These stories not only transcended the original folkloric depiction by entering into the realm of literary commentary, they took the post-Orthodox depictions of *nechistaia sila*, associating them with the Christian concept of demons and strengthening the representation of their demonic personification of those evils encountered in one's life.

All of the tales analyzed above represented Gogol's belief that all men are susceptible to the influence of external evil and illustrate the corruption encountered in the day-to-day world.³⁵² As both T.E. Little and V. V. Mann note, Gogol's view on evil and corruption related it to a "lack of logic and order in the world" and the cause of such chaos was a "demonic force"³⁵³ that would transcend any societal dynamic, entrapping mankind through the interplay of its own weakness.

The lack of logic presented by Gogol's worldview as depicted in these tales was not always presented as being purely external to the protagonist. In a person's confrontation with the "deadly evil in the world,"³⁵⁴ he also encounters his own internal corruption, illustrating the turmoil and darkness that, in Gogol's view, dwell in the human soul. As Greenblatt's concept of the "network of signs" has shown through the interplay of the minor features represented in these tales, the multiple smaller

³⁵² Beliakovskaia, p. 22.

³⁵³ Ibid., p. 105.

³⁵⁴ Swensen, p. 498.

transgressions of man are revealed by Gogol to be the eventual means of his downfall, both on an individual and a societal level. Gogol's tales suggest that no matter what the internal structure of the culture, from the smaller practices of the Cossacks and seminarians to those of the socialites of St. Petersburg, mankind would still fall sway to the temptations presented to it. The primary theme of each of these tales transcends the internal details of the variant societies, reflecting on the professed inevitability of mankind's degeneration, regardless of historical time or societal setting.

However, presenting both the internal turmoil of the protagonists and the corruption inherent in society, Gogol does not present a solution to this conflict and each of the protagonists reaches a tragic end. As Robert Reid notes, this is due to the concepts of repentance and forgiveness being absent from Gogol's works, claiming that Gogol's personal worldview involved an "avenging God bringing down wrath upon the innocent."³⁵⁵ Thus, Gogol depicts all the weaknesses and failings of both man and society at large in his vampiric works, but presents overcoming these failings as being futile.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the literary representation of the folkloric thematics explored in Afanasiev's works as seen in Gogol's tales, analyzing the shifts in the societal dialectic between the two authors as it related both to the differences in their socio-historical context and in the individual desires of the authors themselves. Unlike Afanasiev's collections in which the folklorist attempted to capture the mythological structure found in the oral narratives of Russian villages, Gogol drew upon the literary

³⁵⁵ Little, p. 116.

movements of the Golden Era of Russian literature and his command of Ukrainian folklore to illustrate his own personalized commentary, alluding to the dialectical concepts of his own world view. In the creation of his tales, Gogol kept a balance between the ethnographic accuracy of the folkloric imagery and his desires as a storyteller.

This balance was shown to encapsulate Gogol's deep religiosity and his fear of both the Last Judgment and evil's power over individual man, resulting in a reversal of the common folkloric structure in Afanasiev's tales, which ended positively, to a presentation of the tragic victory of evil over good, criticizing both man's internal moral weakness and the efficacy of the Orthodox church.

Gogol's emphasis on moral transgression transcended his religious conceptions, permeating into the historical and societal contexts of the tales. Each of the tales described a different historical structure within Russian life, including that of the Cossacks, seminarians, and those dwelling in nineteenth century St. Petersburg. With each subsequent time, Gogol exposed the culture's inherent weakness, revealing his own fatalistic view of human nature.

Through the stylistics of Romanticism, Russian Freneticism, and Hoffmanism, Gogol created a man-centered philosophy that focused on a person's fate, balancing the strivings of one's personal soul within the larger world. In the technique of monsterizing his works' characters, Gogol presents the internal corruption of his characters externally, suggesting through the characters' progressions that any attempt at betterment is futile. Gogol's pessimistic worldview extends beyond his tragic figures, projecting the weaknesses and transgressions of man onto society as a whole. Despite the fatalistic undertones of Gogol's works, his success at transforming vampire

mythology into Russian classical literature and his command of the symbol's fluid nature inspired many of the subsequent vampiric works. Gogol created a uniquely Russian literary symbolism that future authors would both draw from and expand upon, such as in the works of the Soviet-era author Bulgakov.

Chapter 3: *A Hesitant Vampire in Mikhail Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita**

The Soviet author Mikhail Bulgakov drew upon vampiric mythology in both his early tales and his final novel, continuing the literary usage of the vampire's metaphorical thematics that had already been seen in Gogol's works. As was described in the last chapter, the formation of a unique Russian literary vampiric symbolism in Gogol's works was factored into the early literary re-envisioning of the vampire myth, later serving within a procession of vampirically themed works written by diverse authors, from the mid 1800s through to Soviet times. While the fatalistic undertones that permeated Gogol's tales did not translate into each of the subsequent vampiric works, his creation of a prolific form of imagery inspired many of his successors to employ the symbolism in their own derivations, finding its way into numerous pre-Bulgakovian literary works, including those of the Russian authors Lermontov, A.K. Tolstoi, Sukhovo-Kobylin, Turgenev, and Dostoevsky.

Mikhail Lermontov, an author who, like Gogol, was highly influenced by Pushkin, wrote multiple poems with demonic themes, including "The Demon,"³⁵⁶ two poems both entitled "My Demon,"³⁵⁷ and an untitled poem comparing himself with a

³⁵⁶ Mikhail Lermontov. *Major Poetical Works*, trans. Anatoly Liberman. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1983, pp. 354-415.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 418-423.

demon born “of vice and danger.”³⁵⁸ Supernatural imagery was common in his works, incorporating both vampiric imagery and general demonic themes, including an exclamation by Pechorin in the novel *Hero of Our Times*, declaring “[...] there are times when I understand the Vampire.”³⁵⁹

Aleksei Konstantinovich Tolstoi wrote two vampiric stories: “The Family of the Vurdalak” and “Upyr’.” Both tales drew on the folk belief that vampirism particularly affected the family of the deceased, with a family cursed by their dead grandfather in “The Family of the Vurdalak” and the more literary combination in “Upyr’” of a cursed family, a living portrait, and a mysterious vampire in their midst.

Unlike the more literal portrayals in Lermontov and Tolstoi, Alexander Sukhovo-Kobylin used the vampire in a humorous way in his short play *The Death of Tarelkin*. As in Pushkin’s “Vurdalak” in which the vampiric apparition was revealed to be imaginary, in Sukhovo-Kobylin’s play the vampiric attributes of the protagonist are based on a misconception. In the play, the primary protagonist attempts to fake his death, with the unexpected outcome that when he is arrested, he is mistaken to be a vampire and put on trial.³⁶⁰

Ivan Turgenev continued the trend of the vampiric in his tale “Klara Milich,” in which a scorned actress commits suicide and returns from the dead to lure the man she loved to an untimely grave,³⁶¹ reflecting on the theme of an allusive beauty that was

³⁵⁸ Lermontov, *Major Poetical Works*, pp. 424-425.

³⁵⁹ “[...]est’ minuty kogda ia ponimaiu Vampira...

(M. Lermontov, *Stikhotvoreniia, poemy, Geroi nashego vremeni*. Astrel’, Moskva, 2003, p. 232.)

³⁶⁰ Alexander Sukhovo-Kobylin. *The Death of Tarelkin and Other Plays: The Trilogy of Alexander Sukhovo-Kobylin*, trans. Harold B. Segel. Harwood Academic Publishers, Amsterdam, 1995, pp. 152-209.

³⁶¹ Ivan Turgenev. *The Mysterious Tales of Ivan Turgenev*, trans. Robert Dessaix. The Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1979, pp. 131-192.

featured in Gogol's works. Even in the works of Dostoevsky, the vampiric *zmitka* myth of an unbaptized child, who returns home to its parents, is alluded to in a scene in his novel *The Brothers Karamazov*. In the scenes leading up to Grigory's discovery of Lisaveta Smerdiashchaia's child, Grigory's wife hears the plaintive cries of a baby and believes that it is her recently deceased child returned from the grave.³⁶² However, as in Pushkin's poem and Sukhovo-Kobylin's play, this was proven to be a misconception.

As in the works of the authors who preceded him, Bulgakov utilized both direct manifestations and the stylistic symbolic imagery of the vampire myth. In his vampiric works, particularly in the twilight novel *The Master and Margarita*, Bulgakov integrated Gogolian mythos with manifold imageries discovered in his research for the novel, including those of Goethian and Hellenic derivation.

The mythos encountered in Bulgakov's works progresses directly from that of Gogol's tales, partially due to Bulgakov's emulation of his fellow Ukrainian author. Bulgakov was once quoted as saying, "Among writers, I prefer Gogol. In my view, no-one can compare with him. I read *Dead Souls* at the age of nine. I regarded it as an adventure story."³⁶³ Towards the beginning of his career, Gogol, along with Twain and Tolstoy, had a stylistic effect on Bulgakov's work, and as Bulgakov began to develop his own independent writing style, Gogol remained an inspiration to "the lyrical and satirical themes of Bulgakov's mature work."³⁶⁴ Bulgakov even depicted the Master in an early draft of *The Master and Margarita* as possessing certain characteristics of his

³⁶² Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky. *The Brothers Karamazov*, trans. Constance Garnett. Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago, 1952, p. 47.

³⁶³ J.A.E. Curtis. *Bulgakov's Last Decade: The Writer as Hero*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, p. 109.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 114.

fellow Ukrainian author, describing the ill-fated title character as “a clean-shaven, dark-haired man of about thirty-eight, with a sharp nose, troubled eyes, and a lock of hair hanging down over his forehead.”³⁶⁵ While this description did not endure into the later drafts of the novel, the sharp nose and troubled eyes hint at Bulgakov’s original motivation for the character of the Master. Bulgakov was so enamored of Gogol’s life and works that when he was on his death bed, suffering from a bout of depression due to his approaching death, he asked that Gogol’s last “dreadful days and hours” be read to him.³⁶⁶ Thus it is likely that the link between the Gogolian vampire and those found in Bulgakov’s work was created as an intentional homage,³⁶⁷ although the imagery was still uniquely re-imagined by Bulgakov, expanding the existing imagery with elements of other literary, folkloric, and religious works. This chapter will analyze of variant works found in Bulgakov and discussion of his own unique societal dialectic found within his novel, addressing the increased complexity of the symbolism in this work as compared to those of Afanasiev and Gogol.

3.1 A Hellenic Seductress: The Mythology of Hella and Varenuksa

When examining the vampiric symbolism of Mikhail Bulgakov’s *The Master and Margarita*, it should be noted that in order to assess any minute aspect of the novel,

³⁶⁵ Curtis, p. 126.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 127.

A further correlation between the lives of the two authors occurred when, not long after his death, Bulgakov’s wife obtained the headstone intended by Aksakov to be placed on Gogol’s grave and put it on Bulgakov’s grave. (Ibid.)

³⁶⁷ This will be discussed in Section 3.1 A Hellenic Seductress: The Mythology of Hella and Varenuksa.

its complexity must first be taken into consideration, thus providing the context in which the variant imageries were formed. Although it has been claimed that *The Master and Margarita* is a “myth in novel form,”³⁶⁸ or that it follows the fairy tale rules set-out by Propp,³⁶⁹ such generalizations oversimplify an intricately constructed novel that resembles, as Edward Ericson described, the “pieces of a puzzle” concealing their pattern, even after multiple readings.³⁷⁰ Curtis describes this intricacy as “innovative to the highest degree,” preventing any one analytical method from achieving a complete representation of the text. He suggests that:

When you come to try on the garb of Menippean satire it covers some parts very well, but leaves others exposed; Propp’s criteria for magical fairy-tales are applicable only to certain events, relatively humble ones at that, leaving almost all the novel and its main heroes stranded; the fantastic stumbles over blatant realism; myth comes up against scrupulous historical accuracy; theosophy confronts demonism; romanticism meets with buffoonery.³⁷¹

In recognition of Curtis’s assertion, this chapter, while employing one analytical lens, does not claim to be a generalized framework for understanding the text as a whole; rather it will attempt to analyze one small aspect of this multifarious work, the novel’s vampiric elements. Bulgakov employed Gogolian imagery in his depiction of Hella in the novel *The Master and Margarita*, drawing upon the techniques of the *Kunstmärchen* movement from which Gogol largely developed his folkloric style. Bulgakov began his experimentation with folklorically derived imagery during his early career when, as a

³⁶⁸ Gasparov, as quoted by David Lowe in “Gounod’s Faust and Bulgakov’s *The Master and Margarita*.” *Russian Review*, vol. 55, no. 2 (April, 1996), p. 279.

³⁶⁹ Sona Hoisington. “Fairy-Tale Elements in Bulgakov’s *The Master and Margarita*.” *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 25, no 2 (Summer, 1981), pp. 44-55.

³⁷⁰ Edward E. Ericson. “The Satanic Incarnation: Parody in Bulgakov’s *The Master and Margarita*.” *Russian Review*, vol. 33, no. 1 (Jan., 1974), p. 20.

³⁷¹ Curtis, p. 129.

short story writer and theatrical director, he wrote numerous short stories, or *fel'etony* for Soviet literary journals, including the vampiric tale "When the Dead Rise from the Grave."³⁷²

During the course of Bulgakov's literary career from this early tale to his twilight novel, the author continued his allusions to the vampire myth. Even the author's seemingly non-fantastic works include slight asides to the vampire. In *Black Snow: A Theatrical Novel*, the narrator imagines a man who, upon killing a friend, was haunted at night by the apparition,³⁷³ alluding to the belief that an unnatural death would cause the dead to return to the living. The professor in *The Heart of the Dog* is referred to as a "sated vampire,"³⁷⁴ metaphorically addressing his effect on his creations, and a despicably bad play in "Crimson Island" is referred to as a "vampuka."³⁷⁵

Even in his historical novel, *The White Guard*, a corpse described as being "beautiful like a witch" has been purported to be the predecessor to Bulgakov's later character, Hella.³⁷⁶ This mysterious corpse was able, despite her deathly state, to lure the protagonist momentarily with her ethereal beauty, as with the many feminine antagonists of Gogol's works. The similarity between this early character and the forthcoming literary figure Hella, however, does not extend past the possession of a

³⁷² M.A. Bulgakov. "Kogda mertvye vstaiut iz grobov," in *Sobranie sochinenii*. Ardis, Ann Arbor, 1985, vol. 2, pp. 276-278.

³⁷³ Mikhail Bulgakov. *Black Snow: A Theatrical Novel*. Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1971, p. 57.

³⁷⁴ As quoted by Diana L. Burgin in "Bulgakov's Early Tragedy of the Scientist-Creator: An Interpretation of the Heart of a Dog." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 22, no. 4 (Winter, 1978), p. 497.

³⁷⁵ Lesley Milne. *Mikhail Bulgakov: A Critical Biography*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 163.

³⁷⁶ "Gella." *Bulgakovskaia Entsiklopediia*. <http://www.bulgakov.ru/print.php?ency=gella>, 13 April 2006, p. 1.

Mikhail Bulgakov. *The White Guard*. Collins and Harvill Press, London, 1971, p. 271.

particularly high level of control over the men around her. The alluring corpse of *The White Guard* differs greatly from the figure that followed it. While the corpse mirrored the vampiric seductresses of Gogol, Hella transcends this imagery, embodying a more complex amalgamation of vampiric myths.

In the novel, there are two primary vampiric characters. The first, Hella, who was termed both a vampire and a “naked witch”, is depicted as a redhead³⁷⁷ possessing a beauty “only marred by a curious scar on her neck.”³⁷⁸ Usually naked, on the rare occasions when she wore clothing, she donned a black evening dress,³⁷⁹ or an “indecent little lace apron, a white cap, and a pair of little gold slippers.”³⁸⁰ Her green eyes were described as burning “with a phosphorescent glitter” and her hands as cold as ice.³⁸¹ Hella’s voice was described as “sweet, though slightly hoarse,” soft, sensual, and cryptic.³⁸² She was attributed with the ability to transmit to others an understanding of French.³⁸³

While in her normal state, Hella gives the impression of a typical Western vampire, her extraordinary beauty, piercing green eyes, curious scar, and ability to

³⁷⁷ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 237; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 148.

³⁷⁸ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 237, 310; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, pp. 148, 231.

³⁷⁹ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 237; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 148.

³⁸⁰ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 310; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 231.

³⁸¹ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 224; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 134.

³⁸² Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 237, 262; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, pp. 149, 175.

³⁸³ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 238; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 150.

almost psychically control those around her to understand a foreign language all seem to be more akin to the works of Bram Stoker or Sheridan Le Fanu³⁸⁴ than the Slavic folkloric depiction. She possesses an allure absent from the old Slavic mythology, which is primarily seen in the Romanticist tales, including the aforementioned tales of Gogol. However this alluring state is transformed into another visage when confronting others. Upon confrontation, Hella's transformation became an exact embodiment of the Slavic mythology. She became a "living corpse" with cadaverous fingers, green skin tone, and spots of decay,³⁸⁵ suggesting that despite her initial visage, she is still the product of traditional myth. Aside from her external qualities, the stench of the grave³⁸⁶ that followed her indicated the belief that the grave could claim another victim, such as during epidemics. Hella was portrayed as particularly sensitive to the cock's crowing, the first sound causing her face to be distorted with wild fury, the second to gnash her teeth and trigger her hair to stand on end, and third to fly away. As in the tales of both Afanasiev and Gogol, Hella and her decoy Varenuška were forced to part upon hearing the third cock's crow, due to the folk belief that the pre-dawn cock's crow compels the vampire to either disappear or to collapse to the ground.

Bulgakov's knowledge of this belief may have stemmed from multiple sources. As has been discussed, Bulgakov's emulation of Gogol implies that he would have known of the efficacy of the cock's crow on the dead from that author's work, if not from his own folkloric knowledge. This may account for resemblances to the witch in

³⁸⁴ Sheridan Le Fanu. "Carmilla." in Leslie Shepard. *The Dracula Book of Classic Vampire Stories*. Citadel Press, London, 1993, p. 15-88.

Bram Stoker. *Dracula: A Norton Critical Edition*. W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 1997.

³⁸⁵ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 267; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 181.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

Vii. Much as the wave of air as cold as ice that suddenly surrounded the men in the procession in *Vii*, a dank smelling icy wind precluded Hella's arrival.³⁸⁷ In *Vii*, the deceased young woman was described as having practiced witchcraft and arose from the grave, with shining green eyes, gnashing her teeth and retreating only upon the cock's crow.³⁸⁸ Both the physical similarities between Hella and the girl in *Vii*, such as their both having possessed green eyes and the folkloric similarity between the two being sensitive to the cock's crow suggest that Bulgakov may have intended his portrayal of Hella as a slight homage to Gogol.

However, Bulgakov may have also been inspired by the reaction depicted in A.K. Tolstoi's "Upyr," which further described the gnashing of a vampire's teeth at the cock's crow.³⁸⁹ Bulgakov had a firm knowledge of Russian literary works and conducted extensive research into each of the characters portrayed in his final novel, including reading A.K. Tolstoi's tale. The author meticulously created each slight detail in *Master and Margarita*. The terminology employed within his depiction of Hella was obtained through his research of the works of Gogol, Goethe, folklore, and Hellenic texts. The name "Hella" itself is said to trace its roots to an entry read by Bulgakov on magic in the *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' Brokgauz i Efron*, which claimed that such a name was given to a woman who died prematurely and became a vampire,³⁹⁰ similar to

³⁸⁷ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 266; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 180.

³⁸⁸ N.V. Gogol'. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*. Izdatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva, 1937, vol. 2, pp. 205-217.

³⁸⁹ "Gella," p. 1.

A.K. Tol'stoi. "Upyr." *Sobranie sochinenii v chetyrekh tomakh*. Pravda, Moskva, 1969, tom. 2, pp. 5-73.

³⁹⁰ "Gella," p. 1.

the *rusalka*, or mermaid myth of Slavic lore in which women who died unnaturally would become water nymphs, luring men to an early grave.

His reference to her as a “naked witch” could be referring to the Ukrainian belief that vampires were the children of witches³⁹¹ or the association embraced after the adoption of Orthodoxy that the powers of witches and other magicians were inherently demonic,³⁹² such as in the folktales that denote that a witch, although appreciated in the community, was considered to have gained her powers through unnatural means, resulting in the witch becoming a vampire after death due to her demonic ties in life and reliance on magic.

Having considered the diversity of Bulgakov’s symbolic choices as embodied by Hella, the question arises of the origin of Varenuvka’s depiction. Hella’s decoy,³⁹³ Varenuvka, was converted into a vampire by Hella through a process she termed “giving a kiss.”³⁹⁴ After his transformation, Varenuvka replicated the forewarning smell of “damp, evil-smelling substances” trickling through the door’s crack in Rimskii’s office,³⁹⁵ followed by a “wave of icy cold”³⁹⁶ as he entered the room. However, since Varenuvka was recently converted, his complexion was of an unhealthy, chalky pallor and he demonstrated his new-found state by making a sucking noise because of his

³⁹¹ W.F. Ryan. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 1999, p. 74.

³⁹² Ibid., pp. 72-73.

³⁹³ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 439; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 383.

³⁹⁴ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 224; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 134.

³⁹⁵ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 263; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 176.

³⁹⁶ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 266; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 180.

troubling new fangs.³⁹⁷ Unlike Hella, the reader never sees a “curious” or “livid”³⁹⁸ scar on Varenuksa’s neck, due to a striped cravat wrapped around his neck³⁹⁹ to conceal the result of Hella’s “kiss.” When Varenuksa confronts Rimskii, his vampiric nature is not exposed until Rimskii perceives that Varenuksa does not cast a shadow.⁴⁰⁰ While Varenuksa may have appeared paler than he had once been and his repetitive tick of sucking on his teeth alluded to his conversion, the absence of a shadow was the only clear indicator to suggest to Rimskii that Varenuksa was not his former self.

Upon a first perusal, Hella’s corpse-like state appears to contradict that taken by Varenuksa when confronting Rimskii. Varenuksa’s “unhealthy, chalky pallor” may seem more akin to Western Gothic literature, much like his newly-developed fangs.⁴⁰¹ However, the damp, evil-smelling, cold gust that proceeded him hints that his form is much like that of Hella’s, but his conversion was so recent that the decaying process had not yet come into effect, causing him to appear merely pale.

Bulgakov’s vampires do not appear to be of the same mentality after conversion. In most of the folk-stories, the vampire was described as returning home and causing tragedy to befall his or her family, but the creature did not appear to keep its former personality. By contrast, Bulgakov’s vampires were quite different in personality from one another. Varenuksa illustrated his absence of the traditional ruthlessness when he

³⁹⁷ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 263; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 177.

³⁹⁸ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 237, 310; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, pp. 148, 231.

³⁹⁹ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 265; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 179.

⁴⁰⁰ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 266; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 180.

⁴⁰¹ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 263; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 177.

pleaded to Woland to return him to his human condition, stating that he could never be a vampire since he was not bloodthirsty.⁴⁰² Hella's cool complexion is contrasted by that of the "drunken vampires" at the Great Ball of the Full Moon.⁴⁰³ This represents a presence of mind associated more with the Western representation of the vampire than the folkloric revenant dead. The vampires in Bulgakov all retain their personalities and are united merely in their vampiric activities, unlike in the tales of Afanasiev and Gogol where each of the vampiric figures served a primarily malevolent purpose, as in Bulgakov's own early vampiric tale. Varenuška and Hella embody two particular beings with an unnatural power over others; however, without a polarized association to their actions.

The prevalence of vampiric imagery in Bulgakov's work suggests that the author felt this image held a certain level of relevance to his prose, allowing him to comment on what he saw as the pitfalls of his time, creating a multilayered analysis of his own culture. This will be seen within the dialectic formed from the religious, political, philosophical, and societal commentaries embedded within the novel, beginning with the religious symbolisms that stemmed from the characters' embodiment of different conceptions of contamination.

⁴⁰² Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 393; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 331.

⁴⁰³ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 373; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 308.

3.2 Vampires and a Withdrawn God: Vampiric Imagery and Bulgakov's Dualistic System of Belief

Considering Bulgakov's emulation of Gogol, one could be led to believe that a similar theme of an avenging God and the inevitable downfall of man would follow in his works. However, Bulgakov's religious symbolism transcended Gogol's dualistic and pessimistic world view, attempting to address the larger questions of spirituality and adapting the discussion to the changing time in which he lived. Bulgakov, while borrowing some of the basic imagery of the Gogolian stories in his emulation of Gogol, deepened the analytical possibilities of his stories and shifted the vampiric from the two-dimensional Gogolian perception of evil to a complex syncretic structure. The religious themes in Mikhail Bulgakov's novel *The Master and Margarita* are both numerous and multifarious, ranging from the Hebraic roots of Hella to multiple illustrations of Bulgakov's own syncretic belief system. In this section the religious elements of the novel as seen through the author's vampiric imagery will be addressed, followed by a discussion of the multiple instances' conglomerate meaning.

As with Gogol's early religious development, Mikhail Bulgakov was raised in Orthodox religious traditions⁴⁰⁴ with a second cousin, Sergius Bulgakov, who became an influential Orthodox theologian.⁴⁰⁵ However, as he matured, Bulgakov distanced himself from these traditions, seeing God as "withdrawn and indifferent to the sufferings of mankind."⁴⁰⁶ According to Edythe C. Haber, Bulgakov's vision of the

⁴⁰⁴ Ia. S. Lur'e. "Mikhail Bulgakov between Mark Twain and Lev Tolstoy." *Russian Review*, vol. 50, no. 2, (April, 1991), p. 208.

⁴⁰⁵ Ericson, p. 23.

⁴⁰⁶ Lur'e, p. 208.

world became syncretic in nature, with a foundation upon his refusal “to accept any single dogmatic system as the whole truth.”⁴⁰⁷ Unlike Gogol, whose religious syncretism was primarily the result of his early Orthodoxy and his exposure to Catholicism, Bulgakov developed his own unique theology obtained from his personal study of belief structures. The product of his study is seen in the dualistic system expressed in Woland’s discussion with Matthew the Levite, in which he states:

Think, now: where would your good be if there were no evil and what would the world look like without shadow? Shadows are thrown by people and things. There’s the shadow of my sword, for instance. But shadows are also cast by trees and living things. Do you want to strip the whole globe by removing every tree and every creature to satisfy your fantasy of a bare world?⁴⁰⁸

Woland’s illustration of the necessity of shadows suggests that evil is necessary for the existence of good and the absence of one or the other quality is impossible within the natural balance of the world. This apprehension of the balance between good and evil shows a dualism that has been referred to as being akin to Bogomilism,⁴⁰⁹ a dualistic system of belief that has been associated with Bulgakov’s non-conventional views on the world. The basis of Bogomilism, or its predecessor, Manichaeism was in a dualism “in which evil had the same positive and ultimate quality as good,” allowing for the balance of spirits and demons.⁴¹⁰ In this conception, Woland seemed to have a further inherent dualism in his nature, causing a balance of roles between him and the Master’s Yeshua, as with the Manichaean balance of spirits and demons. Bulgakov’s incorporation

⁴⁰⁷ Edythe C Haber. “The Mythic Bulgakov: The Master and Margarita and Arthur Drew’s The Christ Myth.” *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 43, no. 2 (Summer, 1999), p. 350.

⁴⁰⁸ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 459; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 405.

⁴⁰⁹ Laura D. Weeks. “Hebraic Antecedents in The Master and Margarita: Woland and Company Revisited.” *Slavic Review*, vol. 43, no. 2 (Summer, 1984), p. 225.

⁴¹⁰ Jan Perkowski. *The Darkling: A Treatise on Slavic Vampirism*. Slavica Publishers, Columbus, 1989, p. 25.

of his knowledge of Orthodoxy with that of other dogmatic systems is complemented by his incorporation of other literary representations, especially that of the Mephistophelian devil of Goethe's *Faust*, a character on which Woland is largely based.⁴¹¹

This syncretism of Orthodox, Bogomilian, and Faustian elements was projected onto his title characters as well, neither of whom were conventionally religious themselves. J.A.E. Curtis professes that:

While the Master's novel, like the Biblical texts themselves, springs from and perhaps seeks to inspire what we might loosely term spirituality, it must be borne in mind that there is never the slightest suggestion that the Master is in a conventional sense religious, any more than Bulgakov was himself. The Master's novel is not primarily a polemic with the Canon; first and foremost it is an act of justification for the Master as an artist.⁴¹²

Curtis's assertion alludes to Bulgakov's individual perception of spirituality related to his own study of Orthodoxy, literature, and various dogmatic systems. Bulgakov's "syncretistic vision" led to the vampire becoming a useful symbol, representing Bulgakov's Ukrainian background, his Gogolian strivings, his views on good and evil, and his own angst as a writer. Through this usage, Bulgakov's vampire served as a symbol, not only of his own syncretism of beliefs, but that of the culture from which he emerged, depicting subjects from the Orthodox concepts of resurrection, baptism, and rebirth to folkloric and Hebraic influences.

Bulgakov's first attempt at employing the vampiric in a syncretic illustration occurred in "When the Dead Rise from the Grave," in which the author depicted a

⁴¹¹ For further information on Woland's ties to *Faust*, both the literary version by Goethe and the operatic version by Gounod, see:

- David Lowe. "Gounod's Faust and Bulgakov's the Master and Margarita." *Russian Review*, vol. 55, no. 2 (Apr., 1996), pp. 279-286.
- Elisabeth Stenbock-Fermor. "Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita and Goethe's Faust." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 13, no. 3. (Autumn, 1969), pp. 309-325.

⁴¹² Curtis, p. 153.

modernization of the *zmitka* myth. While the tale may not have furthered the symbolism of the original mythology in an analytical sense, it is through this tale that the author is first able to combine multiple folkloric myths and Orthodox symbolism, a trait that he would later use in his twilight novel.

In “When the Dead Rise from the Grave,” both the mother and the child replicate the old Slavic belief seen in both Afanasiev and Gogol that vampires held particular power over family members. As described earlier, folkloric vampires would return to their homes and target those who were close to them, not necessarily for malevolent reasons, but their visits would always result in an inevitable tragedy amongst those they loved in life. As was noted in the earlier discussion of Dostoevsky’s work, the undead child illustrates the Ukrainian myth of the *zmitka*, also found in Dostoevsky’s *The Brothers Karamazov*.⁴¹³ Vitalii, the *zmitka*, is suggested to have died before having undergone the Orthodox ceremony of baptism and returns home to inflict tragedy on his parents. As seen through Marfa Ignatievna’s fears in *The Brothers Karamazov*, the concept of an un-baptized or prematurely deceased child returning from the dead was commonplace both within folklore and Russian supernatural literature.

However, unlike in Dostoevsky’s novel where the purported appearance of the deceased child is discovered to have been a newly born baby, in this tale the infant is depicted in full detail, eliciting mythological characteristics often seen in the adult counterpart to the myth, the *upyr*. In this case, rather than imploring his parents for a name, the apparition merely approaches its family saying that he has returned. The child flies up to the window, much as the vampire in Afanasiev’s tale “The Dog and the Corpse” had done, calling out to his family repeatedly. According to Afanasiev, the

⁴¹³ Petr Bogatyrev. *Vampires in the Carpathians: Magical Acts, Rites, and Beliefs in Subcarpathian Rus’*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1998, p. 92.

tales of floating *upyri* were primarily found in the Khar'kov region and were associated more with random acts to scare travelers much as in this story by Bulgakov and the aforementioned tale by Afanasiev.⁴¹⁴ Nevertheless this tale seems to suggest by the description of the mother's death-like complexion that the tragic outcome of the visitation had the traditional familial causality.

The child's mother, depicted all in white, is vaguely reminiscent of the representation of death as an "old woman in a white robe"⁴¹⁵ found in some folkloric texts. While the greenish shading that tainted both the mother and the child's skin suggests an affinity to the folkloric *upyr'*, the aversion to "the power of the cross" reflects the post-Orthodoxy depiction of the Slavic *eretik*. Despite the combination of multiple forms of imagery, the characters' parallels with the Pagan conceptions of death and the Orthodox symbolism signified by the nature of their unnatural demise do not transcend the syncretic belief structure already addressed in Afanasiev and Gogol's tales.

Unlike Bulgakov's first attempt at a vampiric work, the conglomeration of vampiric imageries increases in complexity with Bulgakov's vampiric protagonist in *The Master and Margarita*, Hella. Hella possesses attributes derived from sources beyond the traditional mythos and the Western literary influences, such as Hebraic roots tracing to the ancient Middle Eastern myth of Lilith. Bulgakov was first exposed to this Hebraic figure in the footnotes of his copy of Goethe's *Faust*, in which he made

⁴¹⁴ A. Afanasiev. *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia slavian' na prirodu, Sobranie v trekh tomakh*. Mouton, Paris, 1970, vol. 3, p. 537.

⁴¹⁵ Paul Barber. *Vampires, Burial, and Death: Folklore and Reality*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, p. 51.

numerous notes of concepts to be considered for the novel.⁴¹⁶ In his personal copy, Bulgakov made meticulous notes preserved in red pencil, including a paragraph underlined in the appendices of the novel that discusses the origins of the myth of Lilith, a text which he would later use in his formulation of the character Hella.⁴¹⁷

In this text, Lilith was described as having particular power over men who were alone in their household, such as with Hella's attack on Rimskii in Bulgakov's novel. Portrayed as a nude woman with long red hair, she is often said to be Samael's, or the Devil's wife.⁴¹⁸ While Hella's physical description may correlate with the depiction of Lilith, she serves more as a servant of Woland than a wife, and does not exhibit Lilith's obsession with killing infants or mating with the lone men she attacks.⁴¹⁹ This suggests that Bulgakov took the basic information given in the passage of the appendix, but did not delve into the different forms of the myth.

These inconsistencies suggest that Hella had further roots in alternate sources. As was discussed in the previous section, Hella possessed numerous similarities to the witch in Gogol's *Vii*. However, these similarities are not given the same moralistic colourings as in Gogol's tale. While Hella does lure Varenuška and convert him into a vampire, she is not the fearful beauty of *Vii* and does not embody the same alluring and evil attractiveness of the Gogolian perception of humanity's tragic demise; rather, she is depicted merely as a figure within the larger literary thematic structure, serving Woland's forces, much as Matthew the Levite served Yeshua, thus suggesting that she

⁴¹⁶ This copy can be found in the Bulgakov Archive of the Russian State Library.

Edition Information: Goethe, V. *Faust: Perevod i comment. A Sokolovskogo*. Sankt-Peterburg. Tipografiia br. Panteleevykh, 1902. S pometami M.A. Bulgakova. 192+ I-IV ll.

⁴¹⁷ This note can be found as Note 329, p. 321.

⁴¹⁸ Weeks, pp. 239-240.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

was intended not as the fearful figure from which she was derived, but as another element of Bulgakov's dualistic system.

However, if Hella's religious significance was in serving within a dualistic system, Varenuksa's role comes into question. As was noted in the previous section, Varenuksa's vampiric conversion was a result of his own internal corruption—his compulsive lying and selfishness—that attracted Hella to him and caused these internal pitfalls to imbue literal external equivalents. Varenuksa was converted into a vampire, giving a literal representation of his figurative draining of those around him for his own personal improvement. Through Hella's conversion of Varenuksa, Woland is able to illustrate to the character how destructive and divisive his actions are to those around him.

Towards the end of the novel, he promises to end this habit to Woland, although the lesson did not immediately instill itself in the character as is indicated by the line, "...as soon as I've had my supper."⁴²⁰ If one did not continue to the epilogue, this line could be viewed to indicate that even with the intervention of the Devil, mankind will not be changed and will always reflect the same weaknesses and failings. However, the true extent to which Varenuksa was changed by the event is seen within the context of the epilogue:

He [Bengalsky] left and never again saw Varenuksa, who had acquired universal love and popularity for his incredible charm and politeness, remarkable even for a theatre manager. The free-ticket hounds, for instance, regarded him as their patron saint. At whatever hour they rang the Variety, through the receiver would always come his soft, sad: 'Hello,' and if the caller asked for Varenuksa to be brought to the telephone the

⁴²⁰ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 393; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 331.

same voice hastened to reply: 'Speaking—at your service.' But how Ivan Savvelich had suffered for his politeness!⁴²¹

This description of Varenukha's noble work, reversing his former habits, insinuates that, while Varenukha may have had his weaknesses, he was able to overcome them. By including this aside, Bulgakov presents a dual nature between Varenukha's vampiric self and the changed theatre manager in the epilogue, suggesting that the aforementioned dualism of good and evil resides in each of us.

Aside from the specific "vampires," the novel possesses other vampiric elements with more direct religious antecedents. Although Woland is Bulgakov's depiction of Satan, he illustrates attributes ascribed to vampires. His chambers are described as being "damp and cold" as if entering a "tomb," much like Rimskii's office when attended by Hella.⁴²² While these instances suggest a slight vampiric folkloric origin, it is through Woland's power that a more symbolic correlation is formed, the Master's figurative resurrection. Edythe C. Haber describes this revivification thus:

[...] Earlier, in his conversation with Ivan Bezdomnyi, the Master spoke of himself as if from beyond the grave: 'And so the last thing I remember in my life is the strip of light from my entryway...'; 'Those were her last words in my life...'; '...when Stravinskii says that he'll bring me back to life, I don't believe him'. What the modern scientist Stravinskii is incapable of doing, the archaic figure of Woland—devil, magician, pagan Messiah—accomplishes through his carnivalesque re-enactment of the ancient rites of death and rebirth.⁴²³

While not purely a vampiric conversion, the Master does undergo "the rites of death and rebirth" as granted by the Devil, a common theme in vampire literature. This sense of rebirth and regeneration has been included in a number of Russian short stories,

⁴²¹ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, pp. 486-487; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 438.

⁴²² Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, pp. 311-312; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 233.

⁴²³ Haber, "The Mythic Bulgakov," p. 355.

including Turgenev's "Phantoms," where a vampiric apparition attempts her own rebirth through the death of her lover.⁴²⁴

Perhaps more directly applicable to the study of the vampiric characteristics of the novel are the various uses of blood during Woland's Great Ball of the Full Moon. Before the commencement of the ball, Margarita is bathed in blood with the assistance of Hella and Natasha.⁴²⁵ Edythe Haber relates this bath's properties of revivification and rebirth to the "baptism of blood" undertaken by the "believers in Attis," who would perform this vampiric act in order to receive exculpation from their sins and be reborn into "a new life."⁴²⁶ Bulgakov would have been informed of this practice from his reading of Arthur Drew's *The Christ Myth*, which he read in preparation for a later draft of *The Master and Margarita*.⁴²⁷

Christ takes just the same position in the religious-social brotherhoods which are named after him as Attis has in the Phrygian, Adonis in the Syrian, Osiris in the Egyptian, Dionysus, Hercules, Hermes, Asclepius, &c., in the Greek cult-associations. He is but another form of these club-gods or patrons of communities, and the cult devoted to him shows in essentials the same forms as those devoted to the divinities above named. The place of the bloody expiatory sacrifice of the believers in Attis, wherein they underwent "baptism of blood" in their yearly March festival, and wherein they obtained the forgiveness of their sins and were "born again" to a new life, was in Rome the Hill of the Vatican. In fact, the very spot on which in Christian times the Church of Peter grew above the so-called grave of the apostle. It was at bottom merely an alteration of the name, not of the matter, when the High Priest of Attis blended his role with that of the High Priest of Christ, and the Christ-cult spread itself from this new point far over the other parts of the Roman Empire.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁴ Ivan Turgenev. "Phantoms," in Gladwell, Adele Olivia, ed. *Blood and Roses: The Vampire in 19th Century Literature*. Creation Books, New York, 1999, pp. 113-136.

⁴²⁵ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, pp. 364; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 298.

⁴²⁶ Haber, "The Mythic Bulgakov," p. 354.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., p. 347.

⁴²⁸ Arthur Drew. *The Christ Myth*. T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1910, p. 264.

As the believers of Attis prepared for the March festival by undergoing a baptism of blood to be “born again” into a new life, Margarita underwent a similar ceremony, entering into her new life before the commencement of the ball as a witch under Woland’s employ. The imagery of this baptism of blood was continued when, upon arrival at the ball, the “soaring violins” of Strauss’s orchestra “poured over her [Margarita’s] body like blood,”⁴²⁹ marking both the beginning of the ball and of Margarita’s duty to head it.

The ball itself was attended by guests who verged on the vampiric. While, aside from the two drunken vampires, the guests were not specifically termed vampires, they were revived corpses. All the guests emerged from the gallows or from their rotting coffins and were transformed into handsome men and women, all former murderers.⁴³⁰ Ellendea Proffer asserts that this is due to a tie to Good Friday, on which “the dead can leave their graves.”⁴³¹ This correlation with Good Friday was first expressed in Matthew 27:52-53, which states “And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, And came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city and appeared unto many.”⁴³² Buttrick describes the import of this passage, relating it to the imagery of Christ’s resurrection:

What are we to make of the reading of the temple veil, the earthquake, and the opened graves? The Gospels give different accounts of these portents: only Matthew speaks of opened graves. To the ancient world these “signs” were the natural accompaniment of

⁴²⁹ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 365; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 299.

⁴³⁰ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 368; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 302.

⁴³¹ As quoted by Donald M. Fiene in “A Note on May Eve, Good Friday, and the Full Moon in Bulgakov’s *The Master and Margarita*,” *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 28, no. 4 (Winter, 1984), p. 533.

⁴³² As quoted by Fiene, p. 534. See *The Interpreter’s Bible, New Testament Articles Matthew-Mark, Volume VII*. Abingdon Press, New York, 1951, p. 610 for full text.

tragedy, and the Gospelists could hardly tell of Calvary without assuming that God would write the lines of his judgment on mountain and sky. But this story cannot be dismissed as mere “legendary accretions.” For the very description of the portents implies a great faith in the early church. This faith: God watched his Son on the Cross; God wrote in darkened sky and torn mountains his judgment on our wickedness, and his love for Christ; and God proved himself then and there the Lord of death and life. The portent of the **opened** graves has special meaning. Christ became the first fruits of them that slept” (I Cor. 15:20). Notice the safeguarding clause **after his resurrection**. That event was to the early church the vindication of God upon the truth and life of his son, and the promise of eternal life to those who follow Christ in sincerity of faith and venture of deed.⁴³³

As in Matthew, where God is proven to be “the Lord of death and life” as Christ “became the first fruits of them that slept” by the act of raising the saints from their graves, Woland presents the dualistic corollary of the Devil bringing sinners back to life. Rather than the righteous arising from their tombs through their devotion to Christ, indicating the “truth and life of his son,” the participants in the Ball of the Full Moon are vindicated and provided with enduring life for their faith in Woland.

The idea of saints arising has been reversed by Bulgakov, incorporating the more folkloric notion that those who have sinned or died an unnatural death will return from the grave, rather than the rebirth of those who were holy. These corpses, regenerated from their deathly state, remained in attendance until a final immolation at the end of the celebrations, involving the performance of a vampiric sacrifice of the Baron. Azazello shot the Baron and collected his “crimson blood spurting from his chest” into the goblet formed from Berlioz’s skull. Woland proceeded to drink to the health of those around him and direct Margarita to do the same, stating, “Don’t be afraid, your majesty...don’t be afraid, your majesty, the blood has long since drained

⁴³³ George A. Buttrick. “The Gospel According to St. Matthew: Exposition,” in *The Interpreter’s Bible*, p. 609.

away into the earth and grapes have grown on the spot.”⁴³⁴ While the blood/juice “ran through her veins”, she was “deafened by cocks crowing,” saw the guests return to dust, and transported back to Berlioz’s drawing-room.⁴³⁵ Thus Margarita’s ingestion of blood exposed her to the cock’s crowing, willing her to return to her prior dwelling and causing the other guests to return to their former state, much like in the folk-belief of the effect of the cock’s crowing on the revenant dead, suggesting that as with the *upyr*’ and post-Orthodox *eretik*, witches and wizards were interconnected with the undead.

This correlation is solidified with the final instance of the vampiric towards the end of the novel when Azazello, referred to as a “murderer-demon”⁴³⁶, poisoned the Master and Margarita with Fallernian wine that, when hit by light turned “everything to the colour of blood.”⁴³⁷ In the description of Margarita’s poisoning Azazello waited until “her mouth lost its predatory sneer and simply became the mouth of a woman in her last agony” before re-administering the wine to resuscitate her.⁴³⁸ Margarita demanded why he had killed her and the Master, to which Azazello stated that they “are not dead,” and asked in a bewildered manner how they could be. Yet, they appeared to have entered an altered state because both the Master and Margarita acquired a sudden ability to fly.⁴³⁹ David Lowe described this process as “blurring the boundary between

⁴³⁴ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 377; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 313.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 477; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 427.

⁴³⁷ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 468; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 416.

⁴³⁸ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 468-469; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 417.

⁴³⁹ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 471; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 420.

life and death” and refers it and the sacrifice during the Great Ball to a “series of metamorphoses of death into life,” claiming that the Master and Margarita are not dead, but “transformed,” allowing them to fly away with Azazello.⁴⁴⁰ This transformation, while certainly not a strict vampiric conversion, incorporates the elements of a blood-like liquid causing both death and rejuvenation and of the conversion into a new post-death state, creating a unique imagery of death and resurrection.

Both in the characters of Hella and Varenuksa and in the more figurative vampiric imagery of the novel, Bulgakov created a religious symbolism imbued with a uniquely syncretic system of beliefs, creating a dualism in the elements of good and evil and maintaining the equality and need for both. This reflected a moralistic balance that can also be found within the novel’s depictions of Soviet Russian politics, both in its embodiment of the political situation in which the author lived and in the novel’s figurative manifestations of life in Soviet Moscow.

3.3 Of Censorship and the Theatrical Elite: A Symbolic Embodiment of the Vampirism of Artistic Creativity

In Bulgakov’s novel, the political backdrop of the prior vampiric works shifted from Imperial Russia to Bulgakov’s own time period—early Soviet Russia. As in the works of Afanasiev and Gogol, the political commentary in the vampiric portions of *The Master and Margarita* is understated in its representation, showing itself primarily through the characters of Varenuksa, Berlioz, and Rimskii, hinting at the censorship

⁴⁴⁰ Lowe, p. 282.

experienced by writers and theatrical producers during the Soviet Union. As Petelin notes, in Bulgakov's life, he had to repeatedly deal with "Berliozes, Bosys, Likhodeevs, Bezdomnys, Rimskiis, and Vareukhas,"⁴⁴¹ unable to bring any of his creative works to fruition. In his final novel, Bulgakov was able to voice his frustrations with the artistic elite of the Soviet Union, depicting caricatures of those individuals that hindered him in his endeavours.

As was noted in the previous section, Vareukha, the House Manager of the Variety Theatre in which Woland was to perform his magic show, was depicted as having been of a nervous composition, with little outlet for his energy and it was precisely through his manner and his habit of lying on the phone that results in his eventual transformation. After receiving a phone call in which he first lied as to his identity and then disregarded the warning to him not to take the telegraphs sent by Likhodeyev to anyone and stay in the Variety, Vareukha was beaten by Woland's minions for noncompliance and then converted into a vampire by Hella.⁴⁴² This state was only reversed towards the end of the novel when Vareukha promised Azazello that he would neither act the fool nor lie on the phone any more.

On the surface, this appears to be an unsympathetic punishment for this character's untruthful nature; however, it is intended to represent a much larger issue of corruption from Bulgakov's own experience. During his theatrical career, Bulgakov repeatedly had his plays banned for various reasons. From January to June 1929, just after beginning the first draft of *The Master and Margarita*, all of his plays were banned

⁴⁴¹ Viktor Petelin. *Zhizn' Bulgakova: Dopisat' ran'she chem umeret'*. Tsentrpoligraf, Moskva, 2005, p. 581.

⁴⁴² Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, pp. 222-224; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, pp. 132-134.

and taken off the theatre repertoires. This prompted Bulgakov to write the *Theatrical Novel*, based on his fiascos in Moscow theatrical circles and later experience with his plays being banned from 1933 onwards.⁴⁴³ The critic Boris Miliavsky gives the reasons for bans on Bulgakov's plays as Bulgakov having ridiculed "the very idea of state and Party management of theatrical activities," and having directed his play (*Crimson Island*) "against any participation of the theatre in communist propaganda."⁴⁴⁴ Bulgakov constantly encountered real-life equivalents of Varenuška and the other theatrical figures of his novel during his work at MKhAT, but despite the multiple attempts to ban his work and in spite of the harsh criticism, Bulgakov aspired to compose many plays and eventually rose to the role of director, allowing him to produce theatrical versions of various authors' works, including a production of a theatrical version of his favourite author Gogol's *Dead Souls*. However, as was the fate of Afanasiev a generation before him, Bulgakov was never able to overcome the censorship enstated by the Moscow literary society, resulting in many of his works remaining unpublished and his plays unperformed until after his death.

While Bulgakov encountered numerous inept and frequently destabilizing figures within the theatrical community, both Varenuška and Rimskii may have specific antecedents from the author's life. During the initial staging of his play *Cabal of Hypocrites*, later to be renamed *Molière*, Bulgakov underwent many years of arguments with the theatrical directors of MkhAT, Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko and

⁴⁴³ For more information on the specific plays banned by the censors and Bulgakov's experience with Soviet theatre, see:

- Michael Glenny, "About Mikhail Bulgakov, his novel, the Moscow Art Theatre and Stanislavsky," in Bulgakov, *Black Snow*, pp. 5-12.
- V.I. Sakharov. *Mikhail Bulgakov: Zagadki i uroki sud'by*. Zhiraf, Moskva, 2006, pp. 97-148.

⁴⁴⁴ Nadine Natov. *Mikhail Bulgakov*. Twayne Publishers, Boston, 1986, p. 73.

Konstantin Stanislavsky,⁴⁴⁵ confronting multiple requests from the directors, primarily from Stanislavsky, to significantly alter the play. The first significant request came from Stanislavsky in 1934 when he agreed to stage the play, but requested that the play's title be altered, asserting that the title was inappropriate for the play due to its provocative nature. Bulgakov obliged and changed the title to *Molière*. However, Stanislavsky still wasn't appeased, claiming that the play did not "justify the anticipation suggested by its new name," since it did not stress the genius of the author, but rather the struggles, which he had to confront in his later years.⁴⁴⁶ Stanislavsky asked Bulgakov to rewrite the play in order to present Molière in what he thought to be a more positive light. Bulgakov refused and after a series of smaller problems due to quarrels between the director and author, the play was performed, but in the form of a melodrama, with a significant shift in emphasis from Bulgakov's original intentions. The play proved to be a failure amongst Soviet critics and was quickly removed from the theatrical roster.⁴⁴⁷ Bulgakov was infuriated by the treatment he received during the staging of his play and soon after composed a semi-autobiographical novel entitled *Black Snow* or *The Theatrical Novel*, in which both of the theatrical directors of MKhAt were caricatured, Nemirovich-Danchenko as Aristarkh Platonovich and Stanislavsky as Ivan Vasilievich, presenting the Stanislavsky character as being especially vain and tyrannical.⁴⁴⁸ In the novel, the protagonist is driven nearly to madness by the theatrical staff of the fictional theatre. Bulgakov originally intended the novel to conclude with the hero's suicide,

⁴⁴⁵ Michael Glenny. "About Mikhail Bulgakov, his Novel, the Moscow Art Theatre and Stanislavsky," introduction to Bulgakov, *Black Snow*, p. 9.

⁴⁴⁶ Ludmila Duca Ershov. *Mikhail Bulgakov As Playwright*. Stanford University PhD 1981. Printed by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI, 1984, p. 48.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Curtis, p. 157.

reflecting what Curtis terms Bulgakov's "desperate mood" during the mid to late 1930s,⁴⁴⁹ a mood reciprocated by the Master in his encounters with the literary communities.

Curtis suggests that unlike in *Black Snow*, where the protagonist is directly impinged upon by the theatrical workers, Varenuška and Rimskii do not possess a direct connection with the Master's tragic plight, suggesting that the theatrical personnel are punished for unspecified crimes, and are "by definition hypocritical, greedy and inefficient, and that they simply deserve to be shaken out of their complacency,"⁴⁵⁰ maintaining that Woland was more concerned with the literary scene than the theatrical. While the literary concerns of the Master do receive greater prominence within the novel than those of the corruption of the Soviet theatrical circles, the continuance of the theme initially begun in *Black Snow* of exposing the corruption of the theatrical community, especially those in positions of power, suggests that the author had not forgotten the desperation felt during the time of *Molière* and *Black Snow*, and that through the figure of Varenuška, he could once again expose the deception of figures encountered in the Soviet theatrical community.

The personalized commentary of the effect of men like Varenuška and the Soviet system in general on the artistic communities of the time is further broadened to a discussion of Soviet Muscovite culture in general. The plotline in Soviet Moscow follows the effect of Woland's minions on the populace, with Woland attempting to ascertain the state of the Soviet people. He discovers, as Natov describes, that:

⁴⁴⁹ Curtis, p. 157.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 159.

Moscow inhabitants have not changed their habits: they are still as interested as ever in good food, housing, fashionable clothes, entertainment, and money. 'The black magic' helps to uncover the faults and vices of modern Muscovites. They are tested by Voland [sic.], whose main purpose in visiting Moscow is to see its inhabitants 'en masse,' as he says to the bartender Sokov, and to discover whether the people of Moscow had changed 'outwardly' and especially, 'inwardly'. This 'vital question,' as Koroviev-Fagot calls it, is answered in the negative. Not only do the former faults of human nature persist, they are aggravated by new defects caused by shortages of almost everything.⁴⁵¹

By representing these defects, Bulgakov develops a trend of employing supernatural imagery in an Aesopian style to illustrate the political pitfalls of the culture of the time. He exposes not only the faults and vices formed by the political institutions of the time as being vampiric in nature, draining the artistic communities of the very artistry that should define them, but further presents the effect of the political time as seen on a larger scale, claiming that the defective organizations and shortages of basic needs have caused the faults of human nature to become exacerbated. In Bulgakov's concern over the "vital question" of the nature of humanity in this political time and the fate of the Soviet people, Bulgakov created a unique world-view, founded upon his distinctive syncretic beliefs, his musings on the fate of artistic communities and his fellow countrymen in general. Each of these aspects informed his philosophical conceptions, drawing from his attempts at understanding the religious and political concerns that shaped mankind, and were further augmented by the larger questions of humanity.

⁴⁵¹ Natov, p. 95.

3.4 Varenukha's Redemption: Bulgakov's Vampires and Humanist Ideals

Like Gogol in his contemplation of the corruption of mankind in his works, Bulgakov continued the study into the nature of mankind, examining humanity within the backdrop of Soviet society. However, unlike Gogol, Bulgakov's worldview does not possess the same pessimistic quality of the "avenging God" that was seen in Gogol. Bulgakov diverged from the works of his literary predecessor, shifting the language employed from the Romanticist tones of Gogol's vampiric tales to a Humanist philosophical base. In the novel the author utilized the language and stylistics of Menippean satire, through which he depicted three primary philosophical areas: man's ability to change, the concept of an "eternity of rest,"⁴⁵² and the "idea of independence."⁴⁵³

The philosophical nature of Bulgakov's novel, *The Master and Margarita* has been discussed by academics since its original 1967 release. Lesley Milne describes it as having been written in the form of Menippean satire, a form that lived through Lucian, influencing future authors such as Erasmus, Rabelais, Cervantes, Goethe, Hoffman, Gogol, and Dostoevsky.⁴⁵⁴ While, as Kirk notes, a strict definition of Menippean satire is impossible due to its variation within the different literary traditions, some general characteristics transcend its varying uses:

The chief mark of Menippean style was unconventional diction. Neologisms, portmanteau words, macaronics, preciousness, coarse vulgarity, catalogues, bombast, mixed languages, and protracted sentences were typical of the genre, sometimes

⁴⁵² Sakharov, p. 174.

⁴⁵³ Lur'e, p. 210.

⁴⁵⁴ Milne, pp. 228-229.

appearing all together in the same work. In outward structure, Menippean satire was a medley—usually a medley of alternating prose and verse, sometimes a jumble of flagrantly digressive narrative, or again a potpourri of tales, songs, dialogues, orations, letters, lists, and other brief forms, mixed together. Menippean topical elements included outlandish fictions (i.e.) fantastic voyages, dreams, visions, talking boasts, and extreme distortions of argument (often, “paradoxes”). In theme, Menippean satire was essentially concerned with right learning or right beliefs. That theme often called for ridicule or caricature of some sham-intellectual or theological fraud. Yet sometimes the theme demanded exhortation to learning when books and studies had fallen into disuse and neglect.⁴⁵⁵

The above described “potpourri of tales” and dialogues mirrors the structure of Bulgakov’s novel. The threefold structure of Soviet Moscow, the love story of the Master and Margarita, and the tragic tale of Pontius Pilate and Yeshua were all interlaced into what initially seemed to be three disparate narratives. Within this structure, the Menippean “typical elements” of “fantastic voyages, dreams, visions, talking beasts, and extreme distortions of argument” were all employed, ranging from Margarita’s journey to the dream-like nature of the initial scene in Patriarch Pond to the talking cat Behemoth. Even the paradoxical discussion between Woland and Matthew the Levite over the balance of good and evil includes the Menippean paradoxical system of logic.

Bulgakov’s adoption of Menippean stylistics is intrinsically linked with his literary influences, his style inspired by Goethe, Hoffman, and Dostoevsky, and idolized Gogol, all authors associated with the satirical themes of Menippean artistry.

According to Lur’e, the later period of Bulgakov’s writings in which his twilight novel was written was characterized by a style of writing similar to the works of Gogol and

⁴⁵⁵ Eugene P. Kirk. *Menippean Satire: An Annotated Catalogue of Texts and Criticism*. Garland Publishing, New York, 1980, p. xi.

Hoffmann.⁴⁵⁶ Using the interplay of historical realism with the aforementioned “potpourri” of tales and fantastic symbolisms found in these works, Bulgakov expanded the realm of its imagery, adopting a Hoffmanesque tone, along with Faustian and Gogolian attributes in order to illustrate the development of “the most extraordinary truth” behind the “most common myth,” as Lesley Milne argues.⁴⁵⁷ Through the use of a common mythology, the author discovered that it is possible to depict hidden truths in a work, discreetly disguising one’s observations via mythological language. In regards to the specific vampiric mythos, as has been noted, the characters of Hella, Varenuška, the Master, Margarita, and even Woland reflect both traditional vampiric mythological symbols and the more literary vampiric imagery, creating the “common mythology” that served within Menippean stylistics. Through the comparison of these supernatural characters and analysis of the vampiric imagery which surrounds them, Bulgakov’s philosophical ideas will be elucidated, addressing the images’ ties both to the philosophical thought of the time and the specific theory addressed by Bulgakov.

Mikhailov notes that the novel is composed from the “global ideas of a person and humanity, of the purpose of life, and [...] of good and evil.”⁴⁵⁸ Mikhailov purports that the existence of these themes in the novel elevates it to the genre of philosophical novel in the tradition of Dostoevsky’s *The Brothers Karamazov*.⁴⁵⁹ Bulgakov’s novel

⁴⁵⁶ Lur’e, p. 204.

⁴⁵⁷ Milne, p. 233.

⁴⁵⁸ [...] global’naia mysl’ o cheloveke i chelovechnosti, o smysle zhizni, [...] i o dobre i zle.

(Kim Do Eb. *Khudozhestvennye i filosofskie printsipy kompozitsii romana M Bulgakova „Master i Margarita.” Dissertatsiia na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk.* MGU, Moskva, 2002, p. 133.)

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

follows the Humanist tradition of philosophical novel, based on the author's ideals of desiring:

[...] to see his country rich, beautiful, and cultured. This is why he hated all the different types of "uncleanliness", seen in the imperfections of the State Department, bureaucratization, and other shortcomings and rising at all times with the instabilities of their souls. From this impatience, the image of Woland was developed, in whom the humanistic ideals of Bulgakov himself were placed.⁴⁶⁰

Bulgakov saw the effect of these perceived shortcomings as being all-inclusive of the inhabitants of Russia, due to his belief that "there can not be complete freedom for any single person because of the thousands of unexpected events" that occur because of the involvement of other people.⁴⁶¹ Petelin even claims that Woland is the personification of the author's ideals, serving a similar role as Raskol'nikov or Ivan Karamazov in Dostoevsky, all of which presented a non-traditional understanding of Good and Evil.⁴⁶²

These ideals formed from Bulgakov's Humanist tradition of examining the interrelation of humanity and the world around them, creating the basis for the philosophical discussion shown through the novel's vampiric elements. Bulgakov illustrated his observations of life in Moscow and the nature of man through supernatural elements in his depiction of the Devil, Woland and his minions. By presenting this discussion via vampiric and demonic personifications, it by relation, illustrated the level of corruption in Muscovite society with which the supernatural was transposed. However, it should first be noted that while the suggested nature of the

⁴⁶⁰ [...]juvidet' svoiu stranu bogatoi, prekrasnoi i kul'turnoi. Vot pochemu on tak nenevidel vsiacheskuii nechist', kotoraiia, pol'zuias' nesovershenstvom gosapparata, biurokratizmom i drugimi nedostatkami molodogo gosudarstva, pronikaia vo vse pory, razlagala nestoikie dushi. Iz etogo neterpeniia vznik obraz Volanda, v kotorom voploshcheny gumanisticheskie ideally samogo Bulgakova.

(Petelin, p. 581.)

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., p. 578.

⁴⁶² Ibid., p. 577.

philosophical undertone of this novel can be studied, the philosophical conflict remains unresolved. As Val Bolen states, the “keystone,” or the solution to understanding the overarching philosophy, was left out.⁴⁶³ Hence what follows is a discussion of the philosophical underpinnings of the vampiric characters and events in the novel, but not a definitive picture of the author’s personal philosophy, due to the novel’s unfinished state. This is not to suggest that this discussion is futile or unrelated to the author’s own personal philosophy. On the contrary, the analysis of Bulgakov’s vampiric imagery elucidates the philosophical questions and concerns posed by the author. The absence of the keystone merely implies that there are no definitive answers to these postulations.

As was noted in the discussion of Hella’s Hebraic antecedents, when Bulgakov was researching for *The Master and Margarita*, he repeatedly read his copy of Goethe’s *Faust*, making meticulous notes of concepts to be considered for the novel, which can be accessed in the Bulgakov Archive in the Russian State Library, with his notes preserved in red pencil. Aside from Bulgakov’s personal notes on the origin of Lilith addressed earlier, the author also underlined a few basic philosophical concepts that were incorporated into the novel. One such concept was from page thirty in which Bulgakov noted a paragraph by the Poet, highlighting one particular line: “The only person who is truly happy is he who can give.”⁴⁶⁴ This statement became one of the “extraordinary truths” found in the novel and is developed through the character of Varenuvka. Varenuvka’s punishment for his self-serving nature and ill behavior in the Variety Theatre forced his weaknesses to manifest themselves externally through his

⁴⁶³ Val Bolen. “Theme and Coherence in Bulgakov’s *The Master and Margarita*.” *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 16, no. 4. (Winter, 1972), p. 433.

⁴⁶⁴ Schastliv tol’ko tot, kto mozhnet dat’.

(Bulgakov’s personal copy of *Faust*, p. 30.)

vampiric conversion, inducing the character to come to terms with the error of his ways. While his initial promise to Woland to change his self-serving ways as soon as he had his supper suggested that the manifestation of this extraordinary truth was not immediately realized, Varenuška is changed by the event, becoming a universally loved theatrical manager. However, while his manifestation did come to fruition in Varenuška, it came at great personal cost and suffering to him, as was indicated by the line “how Ivan Savvelich had suffered for his politeness,” perhaps indicating how difficult it is to instill any sort of change in humanity, since those involved would have to undergo great personal sacrifice in order for such change to manifest itself.

The difficulty of instilling change perhaps led to the novel’s discussion of the afterlife, addressing the only peace that man is guaranteed in life, or rather, upon death. The novel illustrates this discussion through the afterlife that awaited the two title characters after their conversion by Azazello into a state of living death. Through the process of death and revivification via the administration of Fallernian wine, the characters entered an altered state reminiscent of a vampiric conversion. Once they had achieved this post-Death state, they were granted an afterlife unlike that given to those, who earned their entrance into Heaven, but an eternity of “rest.” Beliakovskaia argues that this concept of an eternity of rest traces back to a poem by Pushkin entitled “It is time, my friend, time”:

There is no happiness on earth, but there is quiet.
The long dreamt of and enviable fate.
The long tired slave dreaming of his escape.
In the dwelling of long labour, there is no purity.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁵ “Pora, Moi drug , Pora!”

Na svete schast’ia net, no est’ pokoi i volia.
Davno zavidnaia mehtaetsia mne dolia—
Davno, ustalyi rab, zamyslil ia pobeg

Due to their conversion, they were unable to enter Heaven with Yeshua and Pontius Pilate, but they were granted the quiet described in this poem, a quiet that as Margarita describes, the Master had never had in his life.⁴⁶⁶ As is described at the end of “Chapter 32: Absolution and Eternal Refuge,” the Master “had been freed, just as he had set free the character he had created.”⁴⁶⁷ As this was Bulgakov’s twilight novel, perhaps it was this peace that he was hoping for, the first peace that he would have after a long career of attempting to overcome the Soviet literary system. Sakharov claims that Bulgakov came to this novel “of God and the Devil” only when the theatre had eaten him whole, creating the novel as one last requiem before he obtained his own “eternal refuge.”⁴⁶⁸

The question does arise over Bulgakov’s reason behind using the supernatural to illustrate these beliefs. The literary motivation is partially seated in his regard for Gogol and the stylistic influence of Hoffmann on his works, through which he was introduced to such Romantic attributes as the use of folkloric and symbolic elements in one’s works. This symbolism may also have been intended, however unsuccessfully, as a means of decreasing the level of censorship which the work would have encountered at the time and preventing other serious repercussions that could occur upon the wrong person’s perusal of the work.⁴⁶⁹

V obitel’ dal’niuiu trudov i chistykh neg.

(Discussed in Larisa Nikolaevna Beliakovskaia. *Evoliutsiia filosofskogo mirovozzreniia N.V. Gogolia. Dissertatsiia kand. filos. nauk.* RGB, Moskva, 2005, p. 27.)

⁴⁶⁶ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 475; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 431.

⁴⁶⁷ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, pp. 475-476; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, pp. 431-432.

⁴⁶⁸ Sakharov, p. 174.

⁴⁶⁹ Lur’e, p. 204.

In regards to the religious images in this novel, including that of Satanic Woland, they were intended primarily as literary devices. As Lur'e notes, Satan to Bulgakov is much like Satan to another of Bulgakov's influences, Twain. To both authors, Satan is a "literary figure," not a "subject of faith," but still serving within the writers' personal cosmologies⁴⁷⁰ as the "judge" of humanity.⁴⁷¹ However, the effect of censorship is directly related to Bulgakov's use of the above-described vampiric imagery. Freedom of expression was impossible under the conditions in which Bulgakov found himself, causing the "idea of independence" to become one of the driving principles of the writer's works.⁴⁷²

As has been noted in the previous section, the presentation of the political situation as represented by the vampiric imagery of the novel concentrated primarily on the censorship experienced by writers and theatrical producers during the early years of the Soviet Union. Varenuška, amongst other characters, represented the corrupt elite in the theatrical community that would undertake any corrupt habit, from lying to evading the truth in order to facilitate their own personal gain. Such behavior, reciprocated by Latunsky, affected the writers and theatrical personnel of the time, making it near impossible to see their creative works to fruition. Freedom of expression was impossible under the conditions of the Soviet artistic communities in which Bulgakov worked, instilling the "idea of independence"⁴⁷³ in his mind, an idea that formed a driving philosophical principle in the writer's works.

⁴⁷⁰ Lur'e, p. 205.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., p. 207.

⁴⁷² Ibid., p. 210.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

3.5 Vampirism in Society: A Missing Keystone and the Global Ideas of Humanity at an Individual and Societal Level

Bulgakov's representation of societal issues involves the study of larger philosophical dilemmas as they relate to the actions of society as a whole, continuing the "global ideas of a person and humanity, of the purpose of life, and [...] of good and evil" addressed in the previous section within the global context of mankind's societal interaction. While the characters in *The Master and Margarita* did not all prevail in overcoming their personal weaknesses exposed by Woland during his stay in Moscow, certain characters were successful, suggesting that mankind's edification forms a dichotomy between the successful progression of individual man and that of the society as a whole. The conceptual framework of Menippean satire as addressed in Section 3.5 applies to the societal discussion of the novel, employing the concepts of an "eternity of rest"⁴⁷⁴ and the "idea of independence"⁴⁷⁵ as they relate to the interplay of both man and Soviet society.

The inclusion of these themes in *The Master and Margarita* hints at the aforementioned nature of the work as a philosophical novel in the tradition of such works as Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*. The nature of the philosophical base of *The Master and Margarita* is such that rather than purely glancing at the philosophical essence of humanity as was covered in the prior section, the novel looks at the quintessence of humanity and human behavior in a larger society, addressing both the composition of Soviet societal dynamics and the nature of mankind as a whole in the interrelation between men. The author examines the possibility of change both at an

⁴⁷⁴ Vsevolod Setchkarev. *Gogol: His Life and Works*. Peter Owen Limited, London, 1965, p. 174.

⁴⁷⁵ Lur'e, p. 210.

individual and societal level, via the effect of Woland and company's black magic on the populace. Despite the fantastic means in which these issues are exposed, the essential underlying ideas are both genuine and definable.

The perceptions underlying these themes could not have been described directly at the time due to the censorship of the Soviet state. Due to this, Bulgakov harnessed the techniques of Aesopian imagery, employing multiple uses of vampiric imagery in "When the Dead Rise from the Grave," *Black Snow*, and even *The Heart of the Dog*, a method that allowed him to explore the faults and defects of modern society and the political pitfalls of the culture of the time. Through Woland's "black magic" the devilish anti-hero uncovers the faults and vices of modern Muscovites, showing, as Natov noted that "not only do the former faults of human nature persist, they are aggravated by new defects caused by shortages of almost everything."⁴⁷⁶ In doing so, the novel adopts a Hoffman-esque style, with both Faustian and Gogolian attributes interlaced into the narrative, allowing this complex imagery to represent the larger philosophical, satirical, and societal issues.

The presentation of the political dynamics of Soviet Russia concentrated primarily on the censorship experienced by writers and theatrical producers during the early years of the Soviet Union with Varenuvka and other characters representing the corrupt elite in the theatrical community.⁴⁷⁷ Through the self-progressing behavior of the real-life equivalents of Varenuvka and Latunsky, writers and theatrical personnel living in the Soviet Union at the time were significantly creatively hindered, making it almost impossible to see their works to fruition. Since Bulgakov himself was never able

⁴⁷⁶ Natov, p. 95.

⁴⁷⁷ This is described further in Section 3.4 Of Censorship and the Theatrical Elite: A Symbolic Embodiment of the Vampirism of Artistic Creativity.

to overcome the censorship instituted by the Moscow literary society, resulting in the majority of his works remaining unpublished, Bulgakov personalized his presentation of the Soviet elite within the novel by embodying those he encountered within his own artistic career in the characters affected by Woland's minions, presenting the difficulties and corruption of Soviet society in a personalized manner.

The philosophical ideas expressed in the prior section are intrinsically linked with the societal commentary within the novel. Due to the absence of true freedom of expression under the conditions of the Soviet artistic communities in which Bulgakov worked, the previously mentioned concept of the "idea of independence"⁴⁷⁸ became a driving principle in the writer's works, addressing the possibilities of true independence and the means in which it is achieved within adverse conditions. The significance of this idea as it relates to the societal discussion of the work will be elucidated further in this section, but first the further concepts that will be applied to this discussion will be reviewed.

Along with the "idea of independence," another prevalent idea in the work was the author's syncretic vision of the world, founded on Bulgakov's refusal to "accept any single dogmatic system as the whole truth."⁴⁷⁹ As described earlier, Bulgakov distanced himself from the Orthodox traditions in which he was brought up, seeing God as "withdrawn and indifferent to the sufferings of mankind."⁴⁸⁰ In understanding this perceived indifference, Bulgakov developed a dualistic belief that evil is inherent to the existence of good, suggesting that the two concepts are intrinsically equal and both

⁴⁷⁸ Lur'e, p. 210.

⁴⁷⁹ Haber, p. 350.

⁴⁸⁰ Lur'e, p. 208.

related. This concept not only caused a Bogomilian dualism in his theosophical view of human existence, it allowed for the acceptance of the dogmatic system of *Faust* within its composition. Bulgakov was highly influenced by the story of *Faust* from an early age, resulting in a non-traditional view of the Biblical figure of Satan, serving as a more literary figure within Bulgakov's own belief system, as with the figure of Mephistopheles in Goethe's work. The Goethian line that precedes Bulgakov's novel, "That Power I serve, which wills forever evil, yet does forever good"⁴⁸¹ not only gives a summation of this dualistic system, but it highlights the difficulty within this conception of ascertaining what is good and what is evil, presenting the grey area that envelopes the characters of the novel. In the novel the characters, despite being presented as literary embodiments of certain types of people in the Soviet Union, are not presented purely as diametrically opposed figures. The reader is not aware of which characters will be improved and which will be destroyed by Woland's visit until the novel's end.

The possible edification of certain characters is intimately linked with the final societal concept in Bulgakov's novel, namely that of an "extraordinary truth,"⁴⁸² a subject touched upon in the previous section. Various "truths" are interspersed throughout the text, elucidating different aspects of Soviet society and the faults of human nature. The most defined "extraordinary truth" as was noted in the prior section on the philosophical conceptions of the novel, was the Faustian statement that, "The only person who is truly happy is he who can give,"⁴⁸³ as seen in the punishment and

⁴⁸¹ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 123; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 7.

⁴⁸² Milne, p. 233.

⁴⁸³ Schastliv tol'ko tot, kto mozhet dat'.

(Bulgakov's personal copy of *Faust*, p. 30.)

eventual redemption of Varenuvha, recanting from his behaviour in the Variety Theatre of lying to achieve his own needs at the expense of others.

Varenuvha's progression indicates that he, through his suffering, had become a new man, accepting the lesson presented to him by Woland and Hella and adopting the need to have a giving nature. However, the constant badgering from the "free-ticket hounds" suggests that Varenuvha's change is unique and those around him maintained their former attitudes attempting to gain at others' expense, including Varenuvha's, despite the lessons given at the performance at the Variety Theatre. The interplay of Varenuvha with the audience of the Variety Theatre in their continuance of demanding free tickets suggests that, while the problems involved in the literary and theatrical communities of the Soviet Union could be solved, those involved would have to actually desire such change to the detriment of their own personal interests. The discrepancy between the characters whose lives had been significantly altered due to personal intervention from Woland, such as Varenuvha, and those who denied the event and continued living in the same manner as they had before, presents the duality of the desire to change, suggesting that only a small percentage of the population would accept the personal hardship that such change would entail. Adding on Bulgakov's belief in the need for evil in order for good to exist, such a change not only would be the exception rather than the rule, but it is the natural disposition of man.

However, Bulgakov's contempt for the state of his society, especially in regards to the censorship and hardships, which he himself encountered, suggests that despite his recognition of the inherent duality of man's nature, he did desire eventual societal change. In spite of this, the vampiric and demonic personifications of the level of corruption in Muscovite society only present the issues, but the conflict itself remains

unresolved due to the unfinished nature of the novel, never having reached a finalized version before Bulgakov's death, resulting in various sections being left in draft form. As with the "keystone" to understanding the overarching philosophy described by Val Bolen,⁴⁸⁴ the societal commentary also remains unresolved, resulting in the ability to discuss the societal conflict as presented through the philosophical underpinnings of the vampiric characters and events in the novel within this thesis, but leaving the author's personal views unclear.

Conclusion

In this chapter the dialectic of ideas within Bulgakov's vampiric works was exposed, addressing the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal thematics created by the author. In his tale "When the Dead Rise from the Grave" and final novel *The Master and Margarita*, Bulgakov utilized both elements of the traditional folkloric manifestations of the vampire myth and the stylistic symbolic imagery of past literary vampiric works. Bulgakov employed manifold imageries discovered through extensive research for his novel, deriving his imageries from Goethian, Gogolian, Hellenic, and other literary sources. The chapter attempted to analyze one small aspect of the novel, namely its vampiric elements, avoiding creating another endeavor to achieve a complete representation of the text as in prior studies of Bulgakov's novel.

The chapter began with analysis of the derivations of folkloric imagery found in the texts, addressing the presence of the vampiric in multiple works by Bulgakov. This

⁴⁸⁴ Bolen, p. 437.

was followed by an analysis of Hella and Varenuksa's depictions, delineating both folkloric and Western imagery.

Bulgakov's religious development was then elucidated, beginning with the Orthodox traditions of his youth and progressing through to his adult belief that God was withdrawn and indifferent, refusing to accept a single dogmatic system in his search for the truth. It was revealed that through his study of different theological systems, Bulgakov's own beliefs became a syncretized form of belief that, while not apparent in the simple combination of mythological and Orthodox elements in "When the Dead Rise from the Grave," did form an amalgamation of Orthodox, Bogomilian, Faustian, and Middle Eastern imageries in Hella, concepts that further took shape in the dualistic tendencies towards both Good and Evil residing in each of us as depicted through Varenuksa.

In the political connotations of the novel's vampiric imagery, Varenuksa was shown to be a caricature of the theatrical elite, expanding on the satirical imagery initially created by Bulgakov for *Black Snow* in its criticisms of the theatrical figures Nemirovich-Danchenko and Stanislavsky. However, Bulgakov's larger philosophical conceptions caused this character to transcend a mere embodiment of those figures encountered by Bulgakov, and through his redemption epitomized the concept of the eternal truth that "the only person who is truly happy is he who can give." In addition to Varenuksa's betterment, Bulgakov's usage of Menippean satire and Humanistic ideology augmented the philosophical ruminations of the work, stressing the concepts of the idea of independence and an eternity of rest, the former an ideal of artistic freedom unattainable in his time and the latter being the one final release given to the novel's protagonists and perhaps the author himself. The chapter concluded with a discussion of

the societal significance of the described contexts, illustrating the complexity of the structures shown in Bulgakov's work and their interrelation within Soviet society.

Chapter 4:

The Vampiric Echelon of Sergei Lukyanenko's *Dozor Series*

From the period during which Bulgakov penned his final novel to the fall of the Soviet Union, Russia underwent a series of drastic changes, both politically and ideologically. After the fall of the Soviet Union, aesthetically fantastic themes began to permeate Russian literature more prevalently. According to Rosenthal, “destalinization and the collapse of communism created favorable conditions for the occult revival that is so apparent in Russia today”⁴⁸⁵ due to the uncertainty of tomorrow amidst a climate of political and social instability. This uncertainty instigated increased attempts at regaining what Brougher refers to as a “spiritual dimension”⁴⁸⁶ to life through both Orthodoxy and revived folk belief.

This is apparent in the recent proliferation of supernaturally themed literary publications, resulting in numerous vampiric works published within the past two decades, including Petr Aleshkovskii's *Vladimir Chigrintsev*⁴⁸⁷ and Sasha Sokolov's *Palisandriia*.⁴⁸⁸ These works presented life through an “occultist prism”⁴⁸⁹ in order to explore different political and ideological spheres of life, some relying more on

⁴⁸⁵ Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal, ed. *The Occult in Russian and Soviet Culture*. Cornell University Press, London, 1997, p. 29

⁴⁸⁶ Valentina G. Brougher. “The Occult in Russian Literature of the 1990s.” *Russian Review*, vol. 56, no. 1 (Jan. 1997), p. 111.

⁴⁸⁷ Petr Aleshkovskii. *Vladimir Chigrintsev*. Vagrius, Moskva, 1997.

⁴⁸⁸ Sasha Sokolov. *Palisandriia*. Izdatel'stvo Simpozium, Sankt-Peterburg, 2004.

⁴⁸⁹ Brougher, “The Occult,” p. 112.

historical Russian folk beliefs, others employing a more Western demonology. However, the most prolific vampiric work published since the fall of the Soviet Union was Sergei Lukyanenko's *Dozor Series*. In his novels, Lukyanenko addressed the societal dialectic examined in each of the prior authors' works; however, in this series each of the ideological subdivisions is discussed directly by the vampiric characters of the novels, all of whom attempt to contend with the indefinite world in which they find themselves. While in the prior works, the discussions were implied primarily through the choice of symbolism or through shifts in plot structure and character description, Lukyanenko's characters directly address the different themes through open discussions. As in the prior chapters, the societal dialectic formed from the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal thematics of this vampiric work will be elucidated; however, unlike the prior works, these areas will be examined primarily from the points-of-view of the author's creations, his characters.

4.1 The Others and the Twilight: The Multidimensional World of Lukyanenko's Vampiric Series

In Lukyanenko's series, the syncretically created vampiric imagery of the prior authors was expanded to encompass an entire echelon of different vampiric characters, from the more mythologically derived vampires to the vampiric nature of the magically inclined Others. Unlike in Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita*, where many of the characters indirectly alluded to different elements of vampiric symbolism, Lukyanenko's Others possess a psychic ability to drain the energy of those around them, suggesting

definite vampiric antecedents for all the characters of his novels. Lukyanenko imagined a world involving a complex interweaving of folklore, literature, and pop culture, creating two different echelons of vampiric activities: traditional vampires and the psychic-vampiric Others.

4.1.1 Saushkin's Cocktail: The Slavic Vampire Adapts to a Globalized World

While some of the varied categories of Others rely heavily on the Slavic mythology, such as with the different levels of shapeshifters, Lukyanenko's vampires are an amalgamation of both Russian folklore and Western legend. While the vampires in the series possess the attributes of the Gothic, they also engender Slavic mythological roots. This connection is primarily seen in the burial methods used when interring a vampire and the methods of being initiated as a vampire, although Lukyanenko continues the tradition of describing vampires as "dead bodies"⁴⁹⁰ and even employs the old Slavic word *upyr*' in one of his descriptions of the female vampire,⁴⁹¹ suggesting the associative origin of these figures is similar to that in Afanasiev's folkloric tales. There are further similarities with Slavic folklore found in these novels in the burial practices employed to dispose of a vampire. Anton follows the Slavic tradition of burying those suspected of vampirism in a river or lake, by using the next closest option—a snow

⁴⁹⁰ Mertvye telo or mertvyi plod.

(Sergei Lukyanenko. *Nochnoi Dozor*. Izdatel'stvo AST, Moskva, 2004, p. 24.)

⁴⁹¹ "Luchshe soobshite upyrikhe, chto ia edu."

(Ibid., p. 122.)

drift.⁴⁹² When disposing of the remains of the male-vampire in the beginning of *Nochnoi Dozor*, Anton abandons the dead vampire in a snowdrift and, covering him in dirty snow, states that the creature did not deserve a human funeral since it was not human.⁴⁹³

The vampire's method of initiation also reflected on a facet of the traditional mythology. Lukyanenko describes certain people as being fated to become vampires, such as with the character Kostia, who is not destined to be a vampire by some physical malformation, but by being born the son of vampires. Lukyanenko describes Kostia thus:

Kostia is only seventeen, a vampire from birth—typical normal city vampire. It is a really unpleasant situation—his parents are vampires and a child with that sort of background has no chance of growing up as a human.⁴⁹⁴

[...] Kostia is a good, intelligent boy—a student in the physics faculty at Moscow State University—who happens to have the misfortune of being born as a living dead.⁴⁹⁵

Although this is not the conventional folkloric way of a person being fated to become a vampire from birth, it does serve as an interesting, yet original correlation. Typically those destined to become vampires were not fated to do so because of their parental status, with the exception of being cursed by their parents, but by being born with either

⁴⁹² Elizabeth Warner. *Russian Myths*. The British Museum Press, London, 2002, p. 48.

⁴⁹³ Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 25.

⁴⁹⁴ “Koste vsego semnadtsat’. Vampir on s rozhdeniia, obychnyi, normal’nyi gorodskoi vampir. Ochen’ nepriiatnaia situatsiia: roditeli—vampiry, u rebenka v takikh usloviakh shansov vyrasti chelovekom pochtii ne ostaetsia.”

(Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 37.)

⁴⁹⁵ “...Kostya khoroshii umnyi paren’, student fizfaka MGU, imevshii neschast’e rodit’sia zhivym mertvetsom.”

(Ibid., p. 34.)

a caul or teeth.⁴⁹⁶ However, vampires were associated with targeting members of their own family and through the members' unnatural deaths, creating more vampiric creatures.

While the Others are said to rarely have progeny with magical capabilities, the vampires are cited as having vampiric children almost without fail,⁴⁹⁷ although in this process, vampires are only allowed to give birth to a single offspring.⁴⁹⁸ Because of this limitation, familial bonds amongst vampires are considered to be particularly strong, explaining why Kostia lived with his parents even as he became older and his power grew.⁴⁹⁹ This connection to one's family and almost inevitable conversion if born within a vampiric family is not so far removed from the original myth, with victims typically associated with having close relations to the vampire.

However, few other folkloric similarities can be unearthed. The depiction of the vampire as having a thin face with sunken cheeks and pale skin is more akin to *Dracula* than the old legends, especially when factoring in the hypnotic eyes.⁵⁰⁰ The level of mind control the vampires possess reminds one of "For the Blood is the Life" by Marion Crawford or "A Rendezvous in Averoigne" by Clark Ashton Smith.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁶ W.R.S. Ralston. *The Songs of the Russian People: An Illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life*. Haskell House Publishers, New York, 1970, p. 412.

⁴⁹⁷ Sergei Lukyanenko i Vladimir Vasil'ev. *Dnevnoi Dozor*. Izdatel'stvo AST, Moskva, 2006, p. 35.

⁴⁹⁸ Sergei Lukyanenko. *Poslednii Dozor*. Izdatel'stvo AST, Moskva, 2006, p. 259.

⁴⁹⁹ Sergei Lukyanenko. *Sumerechnyi Dozor*. Izdatel'stvo AST, Moskva, 2006, p. 53.

⁵⁰⁰ Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 10.

⁵⁰¹ Leslie Shepard, ed. *The Dracula Book of Classic Vampire Stories*. Citadel Press, London, 1993, p. 169.

Alan Ryan. *The Penguin Book of Vampire Stories*. Penguin Books Ltd, Ringwood, 1987, p. 241.

Vampires causing dogs to shy away out of fear⁵⁰² and their ability to feel death in the elderly⁵⁰³ are powers which would befit a Western story rather than a Slavic myth.

Unlike the magic used by most Others, which is described as being almost unnoticeable to non-Others, vampiric power is described as being between half-magic and strong hypnotism, relying heavily on the vampire's allure and requiring some form of connection, whether with a look, sound, or physical contact.⁵⁰⁴ This near hypnotic power closely resembles the Western depiction of a vampire's near psychological hold over humanity rather than the more primal power given to the traditional mythology. As with Hella's ability to both lure her victims and instill in them heretofore unknown abilities, Lukyanenko's vampires' power of hypnosis is so penetrating that even the recently initiated are able to lure a potential victim across all of Moscow, such as with Egor' at the beginning of *Nochnoi Dozor*.

Lukyanenko's vampires are described as needing to ingest blood, an act that was not always included within the folkloric representations. Unlike the immediate gratification attained in most associations of vampires with the consumption of blood, these vampires are described as having the ability to digest blood for up to four hours, thus decreasing the frequency of needing to perform such an act.⁵⁰⁵ However, more frequent ingestion of a victim's blood allowed Lukyanenko's vampires to gain higher powers.

⁵⁰² Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 10.

⁵⁰³ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 77.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 381.

⁵⁰⁵ Lukyanenko, *Poslednii Dozor*, p. 108.

Just as the form of sustenance differs, the apotropaic methods used to ward off Lukyanenko's vampires have been modernized as well. As is befitting their Westernized powers, Lukyanenko's vampires are not affected by the folkloric methods, such as silver, aspen, and crosses.⁵⁰⁶ The methods of averting a vampire that are closest to the Slavic folklore are the use of the sign of "Atan"⁵⁰⁷ and a vampire repelling spell.⁵⁰⁸ Both of these methods are used by Anton in *Sumerechnyi Dozor* and resemble the Pagan talismans used to ward off evil. Garlic is considered useful, but for a significantly different purpose, as explained in Egor's apartment. After asking about the effect of garlic, Anton and Olga reply:

"Garlic is a useful thing," I [Anton] said.

"Yes. And protects. From the flu virus that is." Olga added.⁵⁰⁹

Vampires do require permission to enter as in Western literature, but there is no reason given as to why this is the case, with Anton even stating that "no one knows why."⁵¹⁰

However, Lukyanenko diverges even further from the myth by incorporating methods used in modern pop culture, relying especially heavily on those used in *Blade*.⁵¹¹ In order to satisfy the need for blood without needing to obtain a permit from the Night Watch to take human life, the vampires started up a system of blood donation,

⁵⁰⁶ Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 75.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 56.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 386.

⁵⁰⁹ "Chesnok—poleznaia shtuka," skazal ia [Anton].

"Da. I zashchishchaet. Ot virusov grippa." dobavila Ol'ga.

(Ibid., p. 71.)

⁵¹⁰ Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 71; *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 136; *Poslednii Dozor*, p. 56.

⁵¹¹ Stephen Norrington, dir. *Blade*. New Line Cinema, 1998.

benefiting both the medical system and themselves.⁵¹² As for preventative methods, blue light is used against vampires in *Nochnoi Dozor*, much like in Stephen Norrington's film.⁵¹³ The references to this particular film became overt when Anton is referred to as a white Blade in *Sumerechnyi Dozor* by a man in the apartment complex in which Anton is conducting an undercover investigation.⁵¹⁴ This commentary shows the globalized nature of modern Russian culture, representing the importance and elasticity of older cultural influences, such as folklore and literature, but also the new importance of modern popular culture. While the prior works also reflected on a level of cultural syncretization in the depictions of each differing vampiric figure, the progression of time and multitude of cultural influences encountered in post-Soviet Russia, a country increasingly experiencing the effects of globalization, reflects a greater complexity in the incorporated symbolisms.

The complexity of imageries increases with the different levels of vampires. In Lukyanenko's series, different vampires can rise in power and become as strong as a second or third class Other.⁵¹⁵ In order to increase in power, vampires need to take five or six lives, although some find methods around this stipulation, such as with Kostia who gained this ability in *Sumerechnyi Dozor* from drinking a concoction he developed from twelve different donors' blood called Saushkin's Cocktail.⁵¹⁶ By ingesting the

⁵¹² Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 39.

⁵¹³ Ibid., p. 67.

⁵¹⁴ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 73.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., p. 33.

The levels of Others will be explained in Section 4.1.2 The Others and Psychic Vampirism: Understanding the World of the Watches.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., p. 385.

proper quantity of blood by either method, a vampire rises in power from having only a third of the strength of a shapeshifter, to possessing the power of the upper ranks of the Others. The abilities gained by fulfilling this process include, in typical Romantic fashion, the capability to turn into bats, although this is not the only form an upper vampire can take.⁵¹⁷ Kostia was able to turn both into a wolf and even a rabbit,⁵¹⁸ a transmogrification indicative both of Dracula's ability to become a wolf and the substantial role of shapeshifting in Slavic folklore. Upper vampires could also read minds⁵¹⁹ and employ a "cold chill" to slow their enemies,⁵²⁰ thus taking a characteristic of forewarning seen upon Hella and Vareukha's arrival in *The Master and Margarita* and transforming it into another form of vampiric prowess.

As is seen by both the lower level vampires and those who have attained greater power through the ingestion of their victims, the modernization of the vampire in Lukyanenko's *Dozor Series* integrated multiple imageries, embodying symbolism from Slavic mythology to modern popular culture. Through this combination of fantastic elements, Lukyanenko uniquely re-imagines the vampiric.

4.1.2 The Others and Psychic Vampirism: Understanding the World of the Watches

The distinctiveness of Lukyanenko's presentation of vampiric characters is further seen in his creation of the Others, the supernatural beings that inhabit his novels.

⁵¹⁷ Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, pp. 37, 74.

⁵¹⁸ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 416.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

The *Dozor Series* is set thousands of years after a monumental agreement between the forces of Light and Darkness, which sought to maintain balance by the formation of two patrols—the Night Watch, comprised of Light Others or magicians⁵²¹ that enforced the stipulated regulations on the forces of Darkness, and the Day Watch, a patrol of Dark Others who maintained the corollary agreements of the forces of Light, with upper maintenance of the balance between these watches overseen by the Inquisition, a tribunal comprised of former Light and Dark Others.

Within these two patrols and the Inquisition, there is an echelon of different magical abilities, ranging from those with minimal power ranked as sixth or seventh level Others to first level Others, Others without rank, and one absolute Other—Anton’s daughter Nadia. These rankings apply primarily to the different types of magicians, while different types of Others have their own categories, such as werewolves and vampires. Aside from the upper vampires, vampires and werewolves are considered to be lower than most Others.

As a magician moved up in rank, he or she would be able to move deeper into the Twilight, a set of different planes of reality. The levels of the Twilight give varying representations of the world we live in, relating to different levels of magic. The most dramatically different levels are the sixth and the seventh. The sixth level is where Others go when they have died. It looks like an ideal world, but possesses an emptiness that drives those trapped there nearly insane.⁵²² The seventh level, a level that only the

⁵²¹ In Russian folklore, the term “magician” implies a broader sense of magical capabilities, referring to their advanced abilities in the employment of magic. The traditional designation of magician includes a hierarchy of magical specialists varying from witches to wizards to shapeshifters and so on. For a comprehensive list of the various magically endowed figures considered under this term, see W.F. Ryan. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 1999, pp. 85-86.

⁵²² Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, pp. 383-384.

absolute Other can approach from the sixth level of the Twilight is the world we live in, the highest level of reality. The ability to gain access to these various levels of the Twilight is dependent on your abilities as an Other.

While there are others that deliberately perform acts of psychic vampirism, whether to rejuvenate their powers as with Igor' and Alisa⁵²³ or due to their nature as incubi or succubi,⁵²⁴ they are not the only beings in Lukyanenko's series that are associated with some form of vampirism. After Svetlana first reaches the fifth level of the Twilight, she realizes that Others are parasites, feeding off of normal people and using the energy obtained for their magical capabilities.⁵²⁵ Sveta says that everyone has a magical temperature, with the normal magical temperature, that possessed by humans, set at 36.6 degrees Celsius. Because of their magical temperature, humans warm the Earth with its power. Others are colder than humans, with lower Others having temperatures around thirty four to the absolute Other having a temperature of zero. Others are described as being less magically enabled than humans, feeding off of humans' magical levels in order to obtain their respective powers. In essence, Others act as parasites, or psychic vampires, in order to live longer and exhibit their powers.⁵²⁶

Both the more literal vampiric figures of the novels and the larger echelon of the Others created a complex supernatural world, possessing folkloric, literary, and pop-cultural allusions that in their amalgamation create a multifaceted blend of vampiric associations. The permutations of this imagery in Lukyanenko's work form a

⁵²³ Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, pp. 81-82, 122.

⁵²⁴ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 36.

⁵²⁵ Ibid., pp. 285-287.

⁵²⁶ Ibid., pp. 284-288.

multilayered world from which the different conceptual categories of an ideological dialectic could be constructed.

4.2 “Superstitions Are Dangerous. They Give You False Hope”⁵²⁷:

Lukyanenko’s Vampires and Religious Plurality

The initial ideological discussion found within Lukyanenko’s novels encompassed a multilateral examination of religious belief. As Bulgakov expanded upon Gogol’s application of vampiric symbolism by taking an image of the dualistic concept of good and evil and creating a complex ideological representation of his syncretic system of belief, Lukyanenko adopted vampiric imagery in his work in a depiction of multiple competing ideologies as addressed by the Others themselves. With the turbulent times experienced in post-Soviet Russia, multiple conflicting, yet often interwoven ideologies are held amongst its people. By having different Others express their own separate opinions on belief, Lukyanenko is able to depict the indeterminate nature of beliefs marked by post-Soviet Russia’s Occultist revival.⁵²⁸

Before addressing the characters’ individual beliefs, the attributes of Lukyanenko’s vampires will be analysed for their religious significance. As was attested in the previous section, the vampires in this series portray both folkloric and literary roots, but possess a greater resemblance to the Western depiction of the vampire. However, in the vampires’ likeness to their Western counterparts, they only embody a

⁵²⁷ Mal’chik, *sueveriiia opasny, oni vnushaiut lzhiivye nadezhdy*.

(Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 80.)

⁵²⁸ Brougher, “The Occult,” p. 110.

certain number of religious qualities of the gothic depiction. While the vampires are described as missing what is termed for “simplicity’s sake a soul,”⁵²⁹ none of the Christian apotropaic methods, such as holy water and garlic, are effectual.⁵³⁰

This counterbalance of soullessness and the inefficacy of preventative methods within the novel served less as a moral commentary than as a means of presenting the vampires as being lower than most Others, due to the less human quality of not possessing a soul and serving as figures who, while maintaining a human state of mind, were still considered undead corpses. The distinction serves less as a commentary on the intrinsic moral qualities of Lukyanenko’s vampires than as a reason for their inferior status within the magical community.

The discussion over the inefficacy of the preventative methods led to the first discussion of belief in the series. Egor watched the film *Fright Night* in order to understand the complexities of and defences against vampires after his first confrontation with the vampire who had him under her hypnotic thrall.⁵³¹ In the film it is stated that “the cross helps only if you believe in it,”⁵³² which instigated an internal debate in Egor:

What would the cross help with? He’s not even baptized. And doesn’t believe in God.
He didn’t believe before, now he probably needs to.
If there are vampires, then there is the Devil, and if there is the Devil, then there is God?
If there are vampires, then there is God?
If there is Evil, then there is Good?

⁵²⁹ Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 397.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., p. 23.

⁵³¹ Tom Holland, dir. *Fright Night*, Sony Pictures, 1985.

⁵³² Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 68.

“There’s nothing,” said Egor.⁵³³

This first theological discussion debating Good and Evil reflects the confusion felt by many in post-Soviet Russia who grew up during the collapse of the former atheist state, experiencing a rise in both Orthodoxy and the Occult. Egor, like many Others when confronted with questions of faith, was unsure about his beliefs and found it difficult to know what was true to him. In attempting to understand the new issues laid before him, Egor attempts some of the superstitious defenses which he learned from watching the aforementioned film, but Anton, upon discovering this notes that “superstitions are dangerous, they give you false hope.”⁵³⁴ He discourages him from these conventional methods, noting that not all folk methods are efficacious and that in the wrong situation, such as in a confrontation with the vampire he had encountered, belief in such methods could prove harmful. Such a statement from Anton reflects a skepticism that, in a time when such a plentitude of religious beliefs are present in popular culture, he feels is needed to avoid false hope and practices.

However, not all of the Others are represented as existing in this state of confusion experienced by Egor and even by Anton. There are Others described in both *Watches* and external magicians who identify themselves as being Orthodox. One of Alina’s patrollers, Lenka, identifies herself as believing in Jesus.⁵³⁵ The witch Dasha

⁵³³ A chem? Emu krest pomozhet? On dazhe nekreshchenyi. I v Boga ne verit. Ran’she ne veril.
Teper’, navernoe, nado?
Esli est’ vampiry, to znachit, est’ i d’iavol, to est’ i Bog?
Esli est’ zlo, to est’ i Dobro?
-Nichego net, -skazal Egor.

(Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 68.)

⁵³⁴ Mal’chik, sueveriiia opasny, oni vnushaiut lzhiivye nadezhdy.

(Ibid., p. 80.)

⁵³⁵ Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, p. 39.

from the prologue of *Dnevnoi Dozor* synchronizes elements of folk magic and Christianity in her magic. She induces a spell to return a woman's husband, but states that in order to do this the woman would have to abort her husband's new girlfriend's unborn child. She describes this "sin" in a conversation with the woman:

"Only I don't want to take that sin on myself," Dar'ia said, crossing herself in response.

"If you want I can help, but then you will have to answer to God for it."⁵³⁶

This combination not only reflects on the syncretic nature of Russian belief, it also alludes to the current Occultist revival in Russia. During the Gorbachev years, people began to express more open interest in the occult, causing a rise in works on magic, faith healing, folk beliefs, and superstition.⁵³⁷ Having lost faith in communism, many were faced with the uncertainty of tomorrow amidst a climate of political and social instability, instigating increased attempts to regain what Brougher refers to as a "spiritual dimension"⁵³⁸ to life through both Orthodoxy and revived folk belief.

In the *Dozor Series*, the Others debate the role of Jesus. Towards the beginning of *Dnevnoi Dozor* it was suggested that Jesus had been a powerful Light Other.⁵³⁹ However, later it is discovered that he had not been just a Light Other, but light itself.⁵⁴⁰ In the series, the traditional name "Jesus Christ" and the Bulgakovian derivation "Yeshua" are used interchangeably, reflecting both on the non-traditional nature of the

⁵³⁶ --Tol'ko etot grekh ia na sebia brat' ne khochu--Dar'ia istovo perekrestilas'--Esli khochesh'-pomogu no togda ty pered Bogom otvechat' budesh'.

(Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, p. 13.)

⁵³⁷ Brougher, "The Occult," p. 110.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., p. 111.

⁵³⁹ Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, p. 34.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 335.

representation of Jesus in the series and possibly hinting at the influence of Bulgakov on Lukyanenko.

The discussion of the role of the messiah was continued when Geser attempted to cause the rebirth of the messiah two thousand years later, a subject described in a conversation between Anton and Igor’:

“Do you understand what time it is?”

“The end of the millennium...”

“Two thousand years after the birth of Jesus Christ,” said Igor’ with a laugh.

“Jesus was a great Light magician,” said Anton, “I don’t even know if you could call him a ‘magician’...he was Light itself...but...Geser wants a new coming of the Messiah?”

“You said it and not me,” answered Igor’. “Let’s drink...to Light.”⁵⁴¹

The coming of the Messiah was not achieved, but the desire for its occurrence reflects the desire to be saved from the difficult times of post-Soviet Russia, to escape the confusion of modern times.

Geser’s desire for the coming of the Messiah reflects on what is described as an “apocalyptic tradition” in Russian literature,⁵⁴² stemming from the turbulence of those times. Moehlmann notes that this phenomenon is not unique to Russia, but occurs in places experiencing a time of change:

Whenever the world is in travail with a new era, apocalypticism celebrates a revival of devoted enthusiasm. Wars, floods, epidemics, earthquakes, uncertainty, social

⁵⁴¹ -Ty ponimaesh’, kakoe seichas vremia?

-Konets tysiacheletiia...

-Dve tysiachi let so dnia rozhdeniia Iisusa Khrista,-usmekhnulsia Igor’.

-Ieshua byl velichaishim Svetlym magom,-skazal Anton.-Dazhe ne znaiu, mozno li tut govorit’

“magom...” byl samim Svetom...no...Geser khochet novogo prikhoda messii?

-Eto ty skazal, ne ia,-otvetil Igor’.-Davai...za Svet.

(Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, p. 355.)

⁵⁴² David Gillespie. “Apocalypse Now: Village Prose and the Death of Russia.” *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 87, no. 2. (Apr., 1992), p. 407.

revolution, industrial upheaval, rumors, suspense—these and their kin nourish the apocalyptic mind.⁵⁴³

Such an “apocalyptic mind” during the initial period after the end of the Revolution led to “the hope of the approach of the millennium and the Messiah.”⁵⁴⁴

As with the rise of hope for the coming of the Messiah during Russia’s last time of political upheaval, the portrayal of a similar desire during the current “time of unrest”⁵⁴⁵ continues the trend of apocalyptic spirit. The Other Igor’ confirms this phenomenon:

[...] with the spread of religious belief in the world, still in one way or another with different probability, they wait for the end of the world and the new coming...but these are one and the same.⁵⁴⁶

Zavulon is able to use the widespread interest in the apocalypse by staging what appeared to be the portents of the apocalypse, including a sacrifice and a group of men thought to be the four horsemen. This scheme was revealed to have been a ruse to disguise his endeavours to prevent Geser’s attempts at the second coming.⁵⁴⁷

Despite both Zavulon and Geser having lived through nearly two millennia, each reflects a concern for the social changes and societal upheaval seen in post-Soviet Russia, confirming Moehlmann’s thesis on the cause of apocalyptic spirit. As with the multitude of beliefs held by the Others, the revival of both Occultist spirituality and the growing interest in apocalyptic thought each manifest the confusion felt in an indefinite

⁵⁴³ Conrad Henry Moehlmann. “The Apocalyptic Mind.” *The Biblical World*, vol. 54, no. 1. (Jan., 1920), p. 58.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, pp. 253-254.

⁵⁴⁶ [...] v mire vplesk religioznykh verovani, vse tak ili inache s rasnoi veroiatnost’iu zhdut i kontsa sveta, i novogo prishestviia...vprochem, eto odno i to zhe.

(Ibid., p. 335.)

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 372-380.

time. Lukyanenko's characters broaden their discussion, deliberating upon both the nature of contemporary life and the beliefs held within it and the progression of past historical periods.

4.3 A Communist Experiment and the Vampire as Ideal Soldier: The Others Examine History and Political Realities

Following Bulgakov's figurative use of the character Varenuška in depicting the internal corruption of the Soviet elite, Sergei Lukyanenko employs his characters to represent the different historical events and political turmoil relevant to Russians today. In his personal Livejournal, Lukyanenko states that the purpose of a writer is to discuss debated and controversial themes.⁵⁴⁸ Lukyanenko adds that he is more interested in what he deems long-term problems than in the short-term discussion of individual politicians. His belief in a writer's duty to the society in which his works are published can be seen in the multiple political discussions touched upon in the *Dozor Series*.

Lukyanenko designed a multifaceted system of beings possessing vampiric attributes, an echelon which provides both for the conventional moral analysis associated with vampiric literature and for political commentary. The Others are described as possessing the attributes of psychic vampires, sustaining themselves on the energy of humans and thus causing elongated life spans, up to a few hundred years. Because of their lengthened lives, many Others are able to look back over the entire history of the Soviet Union. Certain characters, such as Geser and Olga, were alive during and participated in the initial phases of communism, while characters like Igor'

⁵⁴⁸ "Vy ateisty? Kak interesno!" 20 November 2006, 3:45 PM, <http://doctor-livsy.livejournal.com>.

were initiated during World War II and primarily remember life during the Stalinist period of the Soviet Union. This allows Lukyanenko's characters to discuss the principal historical events of the last century from the revolution to post-Perestroika upheaval.

The adoption of communism is viewed by the various personages in different ways, placing the blame of its failure on the opposing sides. In *Sumerechnyi Dozor* the reader is informed by Edgar, a Dark Other in the Inquisition, that communism was thought of by the Light Others, but that the rights to the social experiment of communism were fought for by both the Night Watch and the Day Watch.⁵⁴⁹ Stressing the grey nature of the movement, Edgar stated that the project was instituted by the Inquisition with the assistance of both Watches, attempting to bring people into the Communist ideology.

The foundation of the project was portrayed as being dependent on a remoralization of the Russian people, in order to have the entire nation accept the precepts of communist ideology. In order to test the project, there was an initial group of one thousand people who were meant to adopt the morality and ideals of communism, but the experiment was hindered when the recipe for the remoralization was sabotaged by Arina, an old witch that Anton had met in the woods, who had slept through communism. However, Edgar concludes that the failure of the experiment was not entirely due to Arina's sabotage, but that the initial experiment, in its attempts to have a test group adopt the "moral codex" of communism, failed due to the non-existence of a definitive standard of morals. Edgar explains to Anton that those in the experiment either lost their minds, died, or began to react contrary to the

⁵⁴⁹ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 220.

remoralization.⁵⁵⁰ The initial testers discovered that people could not be improved, that natural flaws prevent it. However the effect of the individual sabotage of Arina and the internal moral code of man are not presented as the only causes of the failure of the Communist movement. Arina stated that it was instigated by the combined effect of the demise of this experiment and the enormous number of deaths during World War II. She claimed that the death toll during the war was deliberately increased by those who were intimately involved in the initial steps of the introduction of communism, and that because of these two factors, the desirability of the political ideology was significantly decreased in Europe and North Africa.⁵⁵¹ The possibility that the initial failure could have been avoided brought up a series of alternate histories and political hypotheses by the Dark and Light Others, addressing what would have occurred had the adoption of communism been successful. According to Arina, if neither the failed initial experiment nor the increase of World War II deaths had taken place, the present state of Russia would be significantly different from today. There would have been a city on the moon in the seventies, a flight to Mars would have already been undertaken, all of Europe would be Communist, the United States would have become enormous, having overtaken Great Britain, Canada, and Australia, and China would have emerged on its own.⁵⁵²

However, Geser, the head of the Night Watch, tells Anton that Arina had presented an idealized alternate future, stating that there were three possible outcomes of the communist experiment: the idyllic outcome where everyone would accept

⁵⁵⁰ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, pp. 222-223.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., p. 278.

⁵⁵² Ibid., p. 277.

communist ideology, the collapse of communism that occurred, and Arina's third outcome, where, while all that she stated might be true, there would also have been five to six localized nuclear conflicts each year in the territory of the third world.⁵⁵³ Geser stated that the first possibility was highly improbable and the third would have been monstrous, thus representing the collapse which did occur as being the least harmful.

The discussion of alternate futures reflects on possibilities imagined by those experiencing life after the revolution and hindsight theories by those experiencing the aftermath of the failure of the Soviet Union. During the period directly following the adoption of Communism, those involved were unable to predict exactly which outcome would materialize, ranging from the communist ideal to all-out nuclear war. However Russians looking back on the process leading up to the system's eventual failure also theorize on what could have prevented its fall, and how this would have affected the future tumultuous times. With the indefinite nature of current life, people find themselves looking to the past for answers, attempting to understand what could have prevented the development of the issues present in daily life, searching for lessons that may be ascertained from the past.

The examination of the general course of the past is extended to the Others' examination of the revolution. Perhaps because of the confusion and turbulence described in the novel as being ever present in daily life, the revolution itself is not envisioned with any nostalgic overtones. According to the novel, there was no correct side in the conflict, even the Light Others were on different sides, some belonging to the Red Army, others to the White. Fighting on opposing sides resulted in a life-long conflict between Geser, who served in the Red army, and Rustam, who served in the

⁵⁵³ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 304.

White.⁵⁵⁴ This reflection on the motivations of each side differs greatly from the Soviet depiction of the revolution, taking on elements of Bulgakov's *White Guard*⁵⁵⁵ in its recognition of loyalties, rather than the "correctness" of each side, allowing for recognition of the role that Russians played on all fronts of the conflict. By examining the revolution in this way, the novel acknowledges those who belonged to the White Army, a sentiment that was not allowed during the early years of post-Revolutionary Russia, in hopes of gaining solidarity and enabling a smooth transition to the new system. By acknowledging those who served in the White army, this description overcomes the prior dualistic depiction by portraying the grey areas of the conflict, recognizing that these were not two positions in diametric opposition to each other. Rather, they were two contrasting viewpoints on the preferable future outlook for Russia, both of which had adherents from varying social circles.

After communism's initial adoption, the country underwent a series of changes in order to adapt to the new structure, leading to the development of a variety of inherent consequences of the shift. The eventual transition to the post-Revolutionary atheist state is illustrated by Arina as being a witch hunt of Others, thus prompting her decision to sleep for sixty years through what she deemed the worst part of the Communist era. Arina said that those who lived near her at the time, described by her as "peasants", discovered that she was a witch and decided to attack her with ChK Mauzers,⁵⁵⁶ alluding to the mass pogroms of religious and intellectual figures in the post-Revolutionary climate, many of whom either left Russia between 1918 to 1929, or,

⁵⁵⁴ Lukyanenko, *Poslednii Dozor*, p. 186.

⁵⁵⁵ See Mikhail Bulgakov. *The White Guard*. Collins and Harvill Press, London, 1971.

⁵⁵⁶ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 196.

especially from 1918-1922, were “persecuted and driven out as bourgeois specialists,”⁵⁵⁷ events that were largely kept secret at the time. The discussion of these early persecutions and the later pogroms became the subject of debate only recently, largely due to publications by authors such as Solzhenitsyn, who either wrote about their personal experiences, or composed literary works based on those events.⁵⁵⁸ By acknowledging these historical events, Lukyanenko extends the modern discussion of the recent past, allowing for a complex debate over the more controversial historical movements.

The pogroms are not the only events of early Soviet life brought under scrutiny. The events of World War II are also deliberated upon by Lukyanenko’s characters. In this discussion, the ideal Soviet soldier is embodied in a vampire who was converted by his commanding officer, while serving in the army during the war. He was described as possessing “unheard of fighting capabilities,” killing dozens of enemies at night.⁵⁵⁹ This image directly opposes that of the Nazi troops brought back by Arina through necromancy when defending herself from being captured by Anton and Svetlana.⁵⁶⁰ Anton reacted fearfully to the risen troops while Svetlana, recalling her grandparents that had fought in the war, became incensed and destroyed the onslaught. Each reaction to the reemergence of the Nazi troops reflects on the continued sensitivity to the fearful image of the World War II Nazi troops that persists today, partially due to the continued affect on most Russians’ extended families in a war that cost Russia nearly twenty-

⁵⁵⁷ M. Osharov. “To Alien Shores: The 1922 Expulsion of Intellectuals from the Soviet Union.” *Russian Review*, vol. 32, no. 3. (Jul., 1973), p. 294.

⁵⁵⁸ Michael Confino. “Solzhenitsyn, the West, and the New Russian Nationalism.” *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol 26, no. ¾ (Sep., 1991), p. 611.

⁵⁵⁹ Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, p. 39.

⁵⁶⁰ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 270.

seven million lives.⁵⁶¹ However, despite this image, Anton questions who was “right” in World War II in a conversation with his former vampire neighbor, turned member of the Day Watch, Kostia. Although, in the end he agrees that the Soviet troupes were correct, he makes a convincing argument to the contrary:

“Who, in your opinion, was right in World War II?” I [Anton] asked.

“What are you getting at?” Kostia, said, becoming tense and, not without pretense, expecting a trap.

“Answer first.”

“Our side was right,” Kostia said patriotically, “By the way, some vampires and shapeshifters fought. Two even received the Hero Star.”

“And why were we right? Stalin also wasn’t against taking over Europe. And we bombed peaceful cities and robbed museums and shot deserters...”

“Because they’re ours. That’s why they were right!”

“And now ours are right. And ours are Light Others.”⁵⁶²

Putting forth this argument is contrary to the Socialist-Realist representation of the war, described as possessing a “two-dimensional psychology of its heroes, especially its positive heroes.”⁵⁶³ Most of the early film depictions of the war utilized this two-dimensionality in presenting the Soviet troops in a predominantly positive light. While this early dualistic representation has become less prominent, today World War II is still

⁵⁶¹ Mark Harrison. “The Soviet Union: The Defeated Victor,” in Mark Harrison, ed. *The Economics of World War II: Six Great Powers in International Comparison*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 1998, p. 291.

⁵⁶² -Kak ty думаеш’ kto byl prav vo Vtoroi mirovoi voine?-sprosil ia.
-Eto ty k chemu?-Teper’ napriagsia Kostia, ne bez osnovanii ozhidaia podvokha.
-A ty otvet’.
-Nashi byli pravy-patriotichno skazal Kostia.-Mezhdu prochim, nekotorye vampiry i oborotni voevali. Dvoe dazhe poluchili Zvezdu Geroia!
-A pochemu pravy imenno nashi? Stalin ved’ tozhe ne proch’ byl progлотit’ Evropu. I mirnye goroda my bombili, i muzei grabili, i dezertirov rasstreivali...
-Da potomu chto oni nashi! Potomu i pravy!
-Tak vot, seichas pravy nashi. A nashi-Svetlye.

(Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, pp. 135-136.)

⁵⁶³ Gary Saul Morson. “Socialist Realism and Literary Theory.” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 38, no. 2. (Winter, 1979), p. 121.

looked at with what could be called a somber, romanticized air, recognizing the millions of Russian deaths, but also celebrating the veteran soldiers.

While the war is imbued with a primarily solemn tone, the portrayal of life after World War II and throughout the time of the Soviet Union varies greatly depending on the perception of the individual character. Igor', another Light Other in the Night Watch, represents the Soviet people as being different, expressing their greater compassion towards others, but retains an un-idealized recollection of the hardships faced during that time period, perhaps suggesting that because of the difficult times, people were kinder. He describes his initiation as an Other as the possibility to avoid the lines for food and the hunger that plagued the postwar period:

[...] I became an Other in '45...I had returned from the front as a young captain, chest covered in medals, not one scratch...and in general I was lucky, only then did I understand that it was my latent ability as an Other that saved me. And there's the truth about the Watches...New war, understand? Moreover, it was completely justified and there was nowhere else! I couldn't do anything properly except fight, and I understood that I had found myself work for the rest of my life. And also, that I wouldn't have any sort of human sorrow, annoying sicknesses, lines for groceries...you couldn't possibly imagine what the common hunger was, Anton, what real black bread is, what stinging vodka is...what it means to first smirk with satisfaction at the pressure, especially from SMERSH, and lazily answer the question, 'Why did you spend two months on enemy territory if the bridge was blown up already on the third day after you paratrooped in?'⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶⁴ Ia stal inym v sorok piatom godu...vernulsia s fronta, molodoi kapitan, grud' v ordenakh, ni odnoi tsarapiny...i voobshche mne vezlo, ia tol'ko potom ponial, chto latentnye sposobnosti Inogo menia vyruchali. I tut Pravda o Dozorakh...Novaia voina, ponimaesh'? Prichem-uzh sovsem spravedlivaia, dal'she nekuda! I nichego tolkom i ne umel, krome kak voevat', a tut ponial, chto nashel sebe rabotu na vsiu zhizn'. I eshche, chto dlia menia ne budet kakikh-to chelovecheskikh gostei, dosadnykh boleznei, ocheredei za produktami...ty ved' i ne predstavliaesh', chto takoe samyi obyknovennyi golod, Anton, chto takoe po-nastoiashchemu chernyi khleb, chto takoe po-nastoiashchemu palenaia vodka...chto takoe—vpervye ukhmyl'nut'sia v sytuiu zhariu osobista iz SMERSHa, i lenivo zevnut' v otvet na vopros: "Pochemu vy probyli na vrazheskoi territorii dva mesiatsa, esli most byl vzorvan uzhe na tretii den' posle desantirovaniia?"

(Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, pp. 328-329.)

This shows the bittersweet memory of Soviet times of those who experienced life under Stalin and knew both the hardships of postwar Russia and the camaraderie amongst those of that time. Unlike in Woland's Variety Theatre speech, in which the shortage of one's most basic needs was said to have caused an exacerbation of human faults, Igor' suggests that, while times were difficult and he attempted to find ways around the hardships facing those around him, it caused people to become closer. However, this is not to say that the Soviet past is idealized in these novels. On the contrary, only a few lesser characters are personified as mourning the collapse of the Soviet Union, as best represented by a weak non-initiated Other, a simple old senile woman that Anton encountered on his mission in *Sumerechnyi Dozor*. Because of her senility, she believed that it was still the early years of the Soviet Union and repeatedly wrote letters to Stalin, Kalinin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev.⁵⁶⁵

The younger generation, on the other hand, is represented as having a more superficial recollection of life in the USSR. The Dark Other that Igor' serendipitously fell in love with spoke mainly of life in the pioneers in her memory of the Soviet Union, describing the three tasks that every good Soviet pioneer had to fulfill:

Every exemplary Soviet pioneer had to complete three things in their lives: to visit Lenin in the mausoleum, to have a holiday in the "Artek" and to tie on an Octoberist necktie. After that one could progress to the next stage of one's development in the Komsomol. I was only able to fulfill one in my short pioneer childhood. Now was a chance to compensate for another.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁵ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 80.

⁵⁶⁶ Kazhdyi obraztsovyi sovetskii pioner dolzhen byl sovershit' v zhizni tri veshchi—navestit' Lenina v mavzolee, otdokhnut' v "Arteke" i poviazat' galstuk oktiabrenku. Posle etogo on mog pristupat' k sleduiushchei stadii svoego razvitiia komsomolii. Ia v svoem nedolgom pionerskom detstve uspela vypolnit' lish' pervyi punkt. Teper' byl shans vospolnit' odin iz probelov.

(Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, p. 68.)

For most of the younger generation, the memory of the Soviet Union is limited primarily to the final years of the young pioneers, not having experienced what life was truly like during the Soviet Union. For those Others who only witnessed a brief period of Soviet life, such as Alisa and Anton, the difference between the times raises less of a subjective opinion. Despite this, they are represented as having a negative reaction to Perestroika and, especially, Gorbachev. When a Frenchman is caught at the crime-scene in *Poslednii Dozor*, he asks Anton not to kill him and begins to recite all the symbols of Russia that came to his mind: “Comrad, sputnik, vodka, perestroika, Gorbachev,” to which Anton replies, “For the last word you could be killed in Russia.”⁵⁶⁷ The negativity expressed by Anton towards Gorbachev is due, inevitably, to what was thought to be the destruction of the Soviet Union without instituting an adequate democratic order as its replacement. When Gorbachev was elected as General Secretary at the 1985 Central Committee Plenum, he was placed in control of a country described as having “a stagnating economy, an ambitious but self-defeating foreign policy, and a corrupt, inept elite that was short of both energy and ideas.”⁵⁶⁸ While the position of the country at the time Gorbachev took power was evidently difficult, common perception is that the issues that arose from the ill-prepared dissolution could have been lessened had Gorbachev recognized the severity of the situation.⁵⁶⁹ It is this failure that is reflected in Anton’s reaction to Gorbachev’s name.

Progressing to the period after Perestroika, the issue of post-Cold War relations with the US is addressed in a conversation between Anton and Edgar. In the beginning

⁵⁶⁷ Lukyanenko, *Poslednii Dozor*, p. 64.

⁵⁶⁸ Dmitri Simes. “Gorbachev’s Time of Troubles.” *Foreign Policy*, no. 82 (Spring, 1991), p. 97.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

of the third book of *Dnevnoi Dozor*, Anton compares recent conflicts to the battle between the Watches and refers to both the Cold War and the conflicts between the US and the Islamic world as “children’s toys for foolish people.”⁵⁷⁰ Edgar and Anton are then seen in a café in Prague where they began assessing America’s possession of what they describe as “something holy,” tying it to an American misbelief that it was the US troops who saved Prague in 1945 and sarcastically referring to current Americans as Clinton’s aces.⁵⁷¹ In this discussion, Edgar and Anton fight over whether or not a soldier, especially an American soldier, must have something holy in his life. After arguing, Edgar asks an American soldier, who was dining near them in the restaurant where the discussion took place what was holy to him, the American responded, “the Chicago Bulls.”⁵⁷² Such a description not only suggests the level of consumerism in America, but it also serves as a prelude to Anton’s discussion of modern Russians as “children of mass culture.” Anton states, “We are all children of mass culture. We all believe in its stamps. A person doesn’t even demand your documents if you carry yourself like a secret agent from a war movie [in reference to a girl believing Anton is from the KGB].”⁵⁷³ By asserting that certain cultural stamps could be discovered on a mass cultural level, it implies that Anton’s time, the period following the fall of the Soviet Union, is characterized by the mass culturalization found in a globalized world, an effect that not only affects an American man with an overt love of a basketball team, but cultural fears and values that are found at a mass level in Russia as well.

⁵⁷⁰ Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, p. 285.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., p. 305.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ Lukyanenko, *Poslednii Dozor*, p. 88.

The role of mass culture throughout Russian history is further illustrated in Lukyanenko's examination of various historical figures that have influenced the country. Despite these being supernaturally themed novels, the primary historical figures discussed are not given any sort of mythical justification. Lenin is described as possessing no preternatural power⁵⁷⁴ and the characters distinctly emphasized that Hitler was not an Other,⁵⁷⁵ that his evil was merely the byproduct of a disturbed mind rather than some higher level of evil. The only historical figure depicted as having been an Other was Joan of Arc. This association proved to be controversial, in that the Others, while able to recognize some magical prowess in her, were unable to agree upon her orientation. In *Dnevnoi Dozor*, Edgar states that she was a Light Other, but capable of killing children, while in *Sumerechnyi Dozor* Anton says she was a weak dark magician whose acts were primarily benevolent.⁵⁷⁶ The conversation continues, but becomes increasingly circumspect, forming a perplexing representation that illustrates the multi-dimensional nature of history, in which one historical persona can be viewed in positive, negative, and neutral terms. Much like the analysis of past political events assessed in the body of this section, history is considered fluid, intangible, and dependent on the person viewing it.

Perhaps because of this fluidity of the past, it is difficult for the Others to agree on ideal political systems for the future of Russia. While not spoken of extensively in the series, a few characters discussed their personal opinions on the ideal form of government with Anton. Olga felt that the future of the country lay in another attempt at

⁵⁷⁴ Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, p. 221.

⁵⁷⁵ Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, pp. 201-202.

⁵⁷⁶ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 210.

communism, an attempt which she claimed the upper management of the Night Watch had been planning for over twelve years.⁵⁷⁷ This would include another attempt at remoralization, in order to make the population more humane, kinder.⁵⁷⁸ Olga claimed that the second attempt would avoid the past problems, that there would be no revolution, camps, shootings, or tribunals.⁵⁷⁹ Anton responded that while these aspects of the past attempt may be avoided, they would just encounter new problems,⁵⁸⁰ expressing a cynicism towards any idealized attempts at improving the political constructs in Russia, verging on a nihilistic belief that attempts at improvement are futile.

The second suggested political system was postulated by Edgar in a conversation with Anton in *Poslednii Dozor*. He stated that the ideal societal structure would be one close to that of the feudal systems of the Middle Ages because people would live “simply, healthily, in an uncomplicated existence working with nature, and busying themselves with various trades and arts.”⁵⁸¹ Edgar suggested that this would entail a system of barons with a nominal king and allow for Others to live amongst people in the open because of what he described as the popular draw to fantastic elements in literature and desire to realize such fantastic elements in real life. However, Anton pointed out that this desire only existed because people envisioned themselves in

⁵⁷⁷ Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 334.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 332.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 334.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ “...prostym, zdravym, nezateilivym bytom, rabotaiut na prirode, zanimaiutsia remeslami i iskustvami.”

(Lukyanenko, *Poslednii Dozor*, p. 337.)

the positions of the warlocks or barons, not as the helpless peasants living in poor village conditions,⁵⁸² indirectly stressing the negative effect that a denial of individual independence would cause, expressing a skepticism in any possible success for a future feudal system in Russia.

Despite the expression of doubt towards this particular system by his own fictional character, Lukyanenko's own personal opinion on political structures mirrors Edgar's feudal system. Lukyanenko believes that many of the reforms begun under the Soviet Union to decrease the peasantry and create a well-educated populace were in vain, due, according to Lukyanenko, to the nature of "unneeded knowledge"⁵⁸³ resulting in sadness:

The reform of the Russian language with the destruction of the wonderful iatei and other difficulties were also started by the Communists with the purpose of an introduction to national literacy. Yes, and as a result this was achieved—everyone now could read and write and completely unneeded knowledge littered the minds of the Russian people. [...talks about the superiority of the Chinese hieroglyphic system...] The ability to read and write is completely not needed for a person. On the contrary, great knowledge means great sadness. Information and entertainment are adequately provided by the radio and television.⁵⁸⁴

Despite this controversial view, only hinted at by Edgar, Lukyanenko develops an intricate alternate view, encompassing the uncertainty of current times. While Anton never specifically expresses his views on the subject, it could be ascertained that he

⁵⁸² Lukyanenko, *Poslednii Dozor*, p. 337.

⁵⁸³ "Vostochnyi secret dlia Rossii." 25 February 2007, 11:53 AM, <http://doctor-livsy.livejournal.com>.

⁵⁸⁴ Reforma russkogo iazyka, s unichtozheniem chudesnykh iatei i prochikh uslozhnitelei tozhe byla zateiana kommunistami s tsel'iu vvedeniia vsenarodnoi gramotnosti. Da, rezul'tat byl dostignut-chitat' i pisat' teper' umeli vse i sovershenno nenuzhnye znaniia zasorili mozgi russkomu narodu [...] umenie chitat' i pisat'-vovse ne obiazatel'no dlia cheloveka. Naprotiv, mnogie znaniia-mnogie pechali. Informatsiiu i razvlecheniie prekrasno postavliaet radio i televidenie. [...]

("Vostochnyi secret dlia Rossii." 25 February 2007, 11:53 AM, <http://doctor-livsy.livejournal.com>.)

represents more of a sense of confusion and indefinite opinion over what is correct, characteristic of many in the uncertain times after the fall of the USSR.

In the series, the end of the millennium was depicted as a time when it “is impossible to differentiate between Light and Dark, and Dark and Light, a time of death and fighting, a troubled time.”⁵⁸⁵ The world of the Watches is one of contradictions, of uneasy questions and difficult decisions. Unlike the heroes of traditional fantasy novels, those described as “good” or the “Light” Others are not always certain of their choices, nor even the cause for which they see themselves fighting, reflecting on the correlating confusion felt by many Russians who have begun to question the efficacy of their work under the Soviet Union, attempting to comprehend the indefinite nature of life in general. By adopting this viewpoint and using the imagery of the vampiric as a means of examining an extended period of time, Lukyanenko extended the image’s efficacy from merely representing a historical time and place and the inherent problems found in it to discussing the overall conception of history.

4.4 The Existentialist Undead: Anton, the Others, and Individual Subjectivity

Unlike the prior authors’ work, Lukyanenko reflects on the philosophical leanings of the vampiric characters not by internal symbolism, but by allowing the characters to express and develop their own philosophical viewpoints, intimating the varying perceptions of the world held today. While avoiding direct expression of his

⁵⁸⁵ Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, pp. 253-254.

own personal assertions, Lukyanenko describes a plethora of possible viewpoints on the current state of life in Russia, including that of the protagonist Anton, whose views are indicative of the existentialist theory of developing a personal truth of one's individual subjectivity,⁵⁸⁶ taking control of himself and his own being throughout the novel, as will be discussed later in this section.

While it is primarily the characters' considerations on life and reality that will be discussed, the method of becoming an Other in itself hints at the process of coming to terms with one's personal subjectivity, as in Sartre's fictional presentations of existentialist theory. In his novel *Nausea*, Sartre's fictional character goes through such a process, describing the shift in his outlook thus:

So a change has taken place in the course of these last few weeks. But where? It's an abstract change which settles on nothing. Is it I who has changed? If it isn't I, then it's this room, this town, this nature; I must choose."⁵⁸⁷

Anton finds himself in this position, having been initiated as an Other at the age of thirty-two after having been a computer engineer, expecting a long, uneventful life, until he was exposed to an entirely new realm of existence.⁵⁸⁸ As an Other, one is taken from the day to day world and transported into another reality. The world around oneself ceases to be what it had once been thought to be, with a new echelon of reality in its place, represented in this series by the seven levels of the Twilight, each presenting a different manner of viewing the world through seven different levels of magic, illustrating the unseen worlds interconnected with the daily reality of life. The interplay of these levels presents a world other than the one readily apparent, a common theme in

⁵⁸⁶ Jean-Paul Sartre. *Existentialism and Humanism*. Haskell House, Brooklyn, 1977, p. 45.

⁵⁸⁷ Jean-Paul Sartre. *Nausea*. Penguin Books, London, 2000, p. 14.

⁵⁸⁸ Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 33.

popular culture, such as with Neo's escape from the Matrix⁵⁸⁹ and a vampire's conversion causing one to see through "new eyes" in Anne Rice's *Vampire Chronicles*.⁵⁹⁰

However, this is not a theme that is unique to modern culture and can be traced back to Plato's Cave.⁵⁹¹ Plato's allegory tells of prisoners who are chained since childhood in a cave with their limbs and head immobilized so that they can only see the wall of the cave in front of them. The prisoners base reality on the shadows that they see on the wall of the cave in front of them. If freed, the prisoners will be blinded by sunlight and the actual objects which they see will seem surreal in comparison with the shadows. If a person were to return into the cave to free the others, he would need to adjust to the sunless cave and would no longer see the shadow images as well as the other prisoners, inducing him to feel that seeing "reality" blinded him.⁵⁹² In his discussion, Plato poses a series of hypothetical questions:

And suppose someone tells him that what he's been seeing all this time has no substance, and that he's now closer to reality and is seeing more accurately, because of the greater reality of the things in front of his eyes—what do you imagine his reaction would be? And what do you think he'd say if he were shown any of the passing objects and had to respond to being asked what it was? Don't you think he'd be bewildered and would think that there was more reality in what he'd been seeing before than in what he was being shown now?⁵⁹³

⁵⁸⁹ Andy Wachowski and Larry Wachowski, dir. *The Matrix*. Warner Home Video, 1999.

⁵⁹⁰ Anne Rice. *Interview with the Vampire*. Warner Books, London, 1986, p. 24.

⁵⁹¹ This has been discussed by John Partridge in his chapter "Plato's Cave and *The Matrix*" in Christopher Grau, ed. *Free Your Mind: Philosophy and The Matrix*. Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 239-257.

⁵⁹² Plato. *Republic*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993, p. 242.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-242.

After his initiation as an Other, Anton masked this disassociation, reflecting the bewilderment and disbelief in reality shown by Plato's theoretical freed man. After an Other is initiated, he goes through a period of adjustment to the Twilight, much like Plato's freed man. When the boy that Anton was sent to protect, Egor, first entered the Twilight, the world around him changed. The colors became grey, all external sounds disappeared, and the second hand on the clock barely moved.⁵⁹⁴ The world remained as it always had been, but Egor's perception of the world changed, as he saw new levels of reality. Egor's first initiation into the Twilight contrasts with the conversion of the vampire Louis in Anne Rice's *Interview with the Vampire*:

It was as if I had only just been able to see colors and shapes for the first time. I was so enthralled with the buttons on Lestat's black coat that I looked at nothing else for a long time. Then Lestat began to laugh, and I heard his laughter as I had never heard anything before. His heart I still heard like the beating of a drum, and now came this metallic laughter. It was confusing, each sound running into the next sound, like the mingling reverberations of bells, until I learned to separate the sounds, and then they overlapped, each soft but distinct, increasing but discrete, peals of laughter." The vampire smiled with delight. "Peals of bells."⁵⁹⁵

While Louis's senses are heightened, allowing him to perceive colours and sounds beyond those of human perception, he still is suddenly exposed to another realm of reality, where time is less significant, much like with Egor. Every Other must go through a period of adjustment in associating himself with his new status and learning how to view the different levels of the Twilight.

The most significant levels to this discussion are levels six and seven. Level six is a sort of purgatory, where Others go upon their death. When Anton first attained access to the sixth level, it seemed almost heavenly. The Sun shone in a blue sky with

⁵⁹⁴ Lukyanenko, *Nochnoi Dozor*, p. 76.

⁵⁹⁵ Rice, p. 24.

white fluffy clouds. Green grass covered the field and the calls of birds sounded through the air.⁵⁹⁶ Anton saw many of his deceased friends, including Tigrenok and Kostia, but, as Anton noticed, everything was unreal, “there wasn’t enough life,” it felt empty.⁵⁹⁷ All the deceased Others attempted to follow Anton, to escape their fate. Anton was saved only by his daughter, the Great Other, who brought him into the seventh level of the Twilight, the level thought to be reserved for their equivalent of Heaven. Once they arrived, they realized that the seventh level was the world in which they lived, that “reality” per se is Heaven.⁵⁹⁸

The representation of Heaven as not being dissimilar to life on Earth and the inability to have a Heaven devoid of sin has long been discussed as a philosophical concept. A similar theme can be seen in “Letters from Earth,” written by Mark Twain in which a banished Satan asks man about his concept of Heaven.⁵⁹⁹ In this report Satan speaks to a man who, in describing Heaven:

[...] left out the one ecstasy that stands first and foremost in the heart of every individual of his race—and of ours—sexual intercourse! [...] His Heaven is like himself: strange, interesting, astonishing, grotesque. I give you my word, it has not a single feature in it that he actually values.⁶⁰⁰

This and Twain’s further argument is presented by Richard Hanley in his comparison of “Twain’s puzzle” to the ideal Matrix discussed by Agent Smith in the 1999 film *The Matrix*, stating that in considering a Heaven devoid of sin where all inhabitants would live in bliss, free will would present a definite contradiction due to the fact that one

⁵⁹⁶ Lukyanenko, *Poslednii Dozor*, p. 382.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 383.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 388.

⁵⁹⁹ Discussion from Richard Hanley’s chapter “Never the Twain Shall Meet: Reflections on the Very First Matrix” in Grau, p. 120.

⁶⁰⁰ As quoted by Richard Hanley in Grau, p. 122.

person's desires would come into direct conflict with another's. This would result in the need either for each person to live in what Hanley terms "a solitary matrix," for it to be as close as possible to true happiness without ever reaching the pinnacle, or for there to be an absence of free will.⁶⁰¹

The sixth level of the Twilight appears to be a place devoid of conflict amongst the deceased and is not a solitary existence, suggesting that it could be an absence of free will to take any action that could be deemed negative to the afterlife of another that caused the false tranquility and absence of life. It is this absence that causes the sixth level of the Twilight to feel empty...it lacks the freedom that is inherent in truly living.

However, even if the world itself is presented as being the highest level of the Twilight, above the traditional depiction of Heaven, it is still shown to be a stark reality, conveying the turmoil encountered in daily existence. In post-Soviet Russia, the line between good and evil has blurred, the paths, which one followed during the Soviet Union seem indefinite in the current time of turmoil, affecting not only the political outlooks and conceptions of history addressed in the prior section, but also the philosophical convictions of the characters, shaping their perceptions of the world, of morality, and of humanity within an inherently fluid setting. The indefinite nature felt by those who have lived through this transition is expressed in a song included in

Dnevnoi Dozor:

We don't know who we are—
Children of the Red Star
Children of the Black Star
Or of a new grave...
The dance of death is simple and terrifying
When the hour has yet to come
For all the sins of our life.
This Time of Troubles tortures us.⁶⁰²

⁶⁰¹ Grau, pp. 126-127.

⁶⁰² My ne znaem, kto my--

The lyrics of this song present the political turmoil of post-Soviet Russia that has led to a common feeling of uncertainty of the course of life and one's role within the world. It reflects, as the lyrics say, a new "Time of Troubles" during which nothing is definite.

Lukyanenko extends this description of the sensation of the current indefinite nature of life with a depiction of the city of Moscow, headquarters to both Watches:

The fabric of reality is too thin here. There's too much blood, too many emotions, the remains of the past are too apparent. Such places exist where the line between the human world and the Twilight is almost unnoticeable and the centre of Moscow is one of those.⁶⁰³

The world of the Watches is one of contradictions, of uneasy questions and difficult decisions. Unlike the heroes of traditional fantasy novels, those described as "good" or the "Light" Others are not always certain of their choices, nor even the cause for which they see themselves fighting. As was expressed in *Dnevnoi Dozor*, the post-Soviet era is a time when Light is indistinguishable from Dark,⁶⁰⁴ presenting the world in an indefinite, non-polarized manner. The indefinite nature of life and depictions of the afterlife that awaits the psychic-vampiric characters are presented in an equally non-conventional way, bearing on the characters' individual perceptions of reality.

Deti krasnoi zvezdy,
Deti chernoi zvezdy
Ili novykh mogil...
Tanets Smerti prost i strashen,
No poka ne probil chas
Za grekhi vsekh zhiznei nashikh
Vremia smut karaet nas!

(Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, p. 254.)

⁶⁰³ Zdes' slishkom tonka tkan' bytiia. Slishkom mnogo krovi, slishkom mnogo emotsii, slishkom otchetlivy sledy proshlogo. Est' takie mesta, gde gran' mezhdru chelovecheskim mirom i sumrakom pochtu nerazlichima, i tsentr Moskvy—odno iz nikh.

(Ibid., p. 50.)

⁶⁰⁴ [...] nevozmozhno otlichit' Svet ot T'my, a T'mu ot Sveta.

(Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, pp. 253-254.)

Anton, the series' protagonist, whom we follow through his evolution as a late-discovered Other to an upper-level magician was depicted as being particularly perceptive of the uncertainty around him. In the final book of the series, *Poslednii Dozor*, Anton expresses his confusion over the purpose of his fighting in a discussion with his wife Svetlana:

"Sveta," I [Anton] asked, holding the phone with one hand, "What do I do if I'm not sure that I did the right thing? If the question of if I was right or not is torturing me?"

"Join the Dark Others," Svetlana answered without hesitation. "They don't torture themselves."

"And that's the whole answer?"

"It's the only answer. And the entire difference between the Light and the Dark."⁶⁰⁵

Svetlana asserts that the sole difference between Light and Dark Others is in the hesitation shown by Light Others towards the indefinite morality of certain decisions, rather than through definite dualistic codes. Anton is placed through different trials that test his perception of the correct decision, befriending Dark Others, such as his vampire-neighbor Kostia in *Nochnoi Dozor* and uncovering an illicit plot by his own boss in *Sumerechnyi Dozor*. He repeatedly questions the difference between good and bad, right and wrong, but he does reach the conclusion that even with the battle between Light and Dark, the greatest threat to humanity is humanity itself. He describes this affirmation as arising suddenly in his mind:

At a certain point, completely unexpectedly, I began to feel disgust. No, not towards the Kazakh passengers and not towards my fellow Russians. It was towards people. All people on Earth. What are we working towards in the Night Watch?

⁶⁰⁵ --Sveta...--odnoi rukoi priderzhivaia rul', sprosil ia, --chto delat' esli ne uveren, chto ia postupil pravil'no? Esli muchaesh'sia voprosom, prav ili net?

--Idti v Temnye,--bez kolebanii otvetila Svetlana. —Oni ne muchaiutsia.

--I eto ves' otvet?

--Eto edinstvennyi otvet. I vsia raznitsa mezhdu Svetlymi i Temnymi.

(Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 143.)

Rubbish! Not one Dark Other, not one Day Watch has ever brought as much evil as humanity has brought on itself. What is one hungry vampire in comparison with your typical maniac, raping and killing girls in the lifts? What is a witch who brings damage for money in comparison with a “humane” president sending out cruise missiles for oil?

A plague on both your houses...⁶⁰⁶

By ending this aside with a reference to Mercutio’s dying speech from act three, scene one, of Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*,⁶⁰⁷ Anton insinuates the betrayal that he feels both from the Night Watch, to which he has been questioning his own role, and towards humanity, for he sees his own role as meaningless in the grand scheme of human corruption.

Anton later recognizes while debating over the merits of reconstituting a drunk man’s desire to work that in order to address the corruption he sees, not just one person needs to be cured of his problems, but all of humanity. Anton states that if just the one drunken man were given the desire to work, he would soon realize that as a former mechanic no longer with the strength to work, he would be unsuccessful and would soon return home, begin drinking samogon once again, and feel malice towards all those around him.⁶⁰⁸ The task of improving humanity was also implied in the Communist Experiment discussed in the previous section, in which the recipe for the remoralization was sabotaged by Arina and the one thousand people involved in the initial experiment

⁶⁰⁶ Na kakoi-to mig, sovershenno neozhidanno dlia sebia ia pochuvstvoval otvrashchenie. Net, ne k etim passazhiram-kazakham i ne k sograzhdanam-rossiiianam. K liudiam. Ko vsem liudiam v mire. Chem my, Nochoi Dozor, zanimaemsia? Chush’! Ni odun Temnyi, ni odin Dnevnoi Dozor ne prinosit liudiam stol’ko zla, skol’ko oni sami sebe dostavliaiut. Chego stoit golodnyi vampire po sravneniiu s absoliutno obychnym man’iakom, nasiluiushchim i ubivaiushchim devochek v liftakh? Chego stoit beschuvstvennaia ved’ma, nasylaiushchaia za den’gi porchu, po sravneniiu s gumannym prezidentom, posylaiushchim radi nefi vysokotochnye rakety?

Chuma na oba vashi doma...

(Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 348.)

⁶⁰⁷ William Shakespeare. *Romeo and Juliet*. J.B. Lippincott & Co. Philadelphia, 1878, pp. 158-159.

⁶⁰⁸ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, p. 157.

either lost their minds, died, or began to react contrary to the remoralization due to the non-existence of a definitive standard of morals.⁶⁰⁹ This leads to the development that you cannot improve humanity, that people are not just good and evil, they naturally have faults. The initial testers discovered that people could not be improved, that the natural flaws that make up the core of human nature prevent it.⁶¹⁰

It is this discussion and Anton's above considerations on the inability to reconstitute a drunk that hints at Anton's existentialist undertones.⁶¹¹ He develops throughout the novel, attempting to understand his existence as an Other. In his realization that Light and Dark Others are not dissimilar and that they are all, in a way, psychic vampires, he questions his own role in the world, feeling a sense of confusion indicative of Sartre's "nausea." James Wood describes this phenomenon as:

[...] episodes in which, afflicted by his sense that there is 'absolutely no reason for living,' he is simultaneously alienated from and over-immersed in reality. He is overcome in a café, in a street, in his study. He feels that 'nothing looked real; I felt surrounded by cardboard scenery which would suddenly be removed... I murmured: "Anything can occur, anything can happen."' Reality begins to lose its familiar outlines. Words, for instance, no longer seem to refer to their referents.⁶¹²

Towards the end of the series, Anton begins to overcome his sense of nausea. At the end of the series he has not completely developed his "personal truth," but he has discovered the aforementioned belief that humanity is faulted by nature. He has inadvertently taken

⁶⁰⁹ Lukyanenko, *Sumerechnyi Dozor*, pp. 222-223.

⁶¹⁰ Having a remoralisation project that illustrates the basics of existentialism is not uncommon in modern literature and cinema, as the aforementioned Joss Whedon film *Serenity* suggests. Joss Whedon is a known existentialist and has stated his admiration of Sartre. He adapted existentialist elements deliberately both into *Serenity* and the *Firefly* episode "Objects in Space." The deliberate elements are almost exactly the same between Whedon's show and the failed Communist project described in Lukyanenko, suggesting that while it may not necessarily have been Lukyanenko's intention to display existentialist attributes in his character, it can be seen as such.

(Joss Whedon, dir. *Firefly*. 20th Century Fox, 2003; and Joss Whedon, dir. *Serenity*. Universal Studios Home Entertainment, 2005.)

⁶¹² James Wood, "Introduction," in Sartre, *Nausea*, p. x.

advantage of the main aspect of existentialism: he took the possibility of choice.⁶¹³ In finding this “truth,” Anton discovers what Sartre noted as being the centre of existentialism, “the absolute character of the free commitment, by which every man realizes himself in realizing a type of humanity.”⁶¹⁴

Anton was not the only Other to develop his own world view. One of the lesser characters, Alisa of the Day Watch begins the novel *Dnevnoi Dozor* by expressing her belief that jungle rules are the rules of life.⁶¹⁵ She states that the person who is stronger, who is smarter, who sees further, is the person in the right. She believed that she fought for freedom, for everyone’s right to do what he or she wanted.⁶¹⁶ However, before her demise at the end of the first book of the novel, she began to doubt what she held to be her own personal truth after serendipitously falling in love with a Light Other. This alternate narrative expression of Alisa’s philosophical view on life is detailed here to illustrate that there is not one truth among the Others, that each tries to come to his or her own truth through the confusion. By illustrating Anton’s development and elucidating the views of lesser characters, Lukyanenko emphasizes the Sartrean aspiration towards “free commitment,” stressing that each individual person, as with each individual Other, must develop his own “truth.” Unlike with Bulgakov where the keystone was non-intentionally missing, Lukyanenko intentionally does not give an answer to the problems of modern day Russia. Rather he presents the competing philosophical views of his characters and leaves it to the audience to form their own conclusions.

⁶¹³ Sartre, *Existentialism and Humanism*, p. 20.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid., p. 42.

⁶¹⁵ Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, p. 26.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.

4.5 As Good As It Gets: Alternate Societal Constructs and the Seventh Level of the Twilight

In Lukyanenko's *Dozor Series*, the author's estimations on Russian society also remain obscured; however, unlike in Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita*, where the absence of a conclusive portrayal is due to the unfinished nature of the novel, Lukyanenko intentionally avoided his own opinions, choosing to develop distinct world views for his fictional characters, covering their religious, political, and philosophical outlooks as discussed in prior sections, along with overarching conceptions of the state of Russian society as a whole.

Sergei Lukyanenko's views on the purpose of a writer and his interest in long term issues⁶¹⁷ addressed in the prior account of Lukyanenko's political and historical representations extends to the discussion of Russian society as a whole. While preserving his own personal opinions on what he termed "long-term issues" for his blog, the author engendered a discussion in his novel through his characters, presenting variant viewpoints. Through this means, the religious, political, and philosophical discussion takes a global perspective, addressing the nature of modern Russian culture in its recognition of the importance and elasticity of older cultural influences, such as folklore and literature, but also the new importance of modern popular culture, and by using these influential elements, representing the problems of Russian society today.

In his amalgamation of folkloric, literary, and modern popular cultural elements he presented the religious and political confusion of post-Soviet Russia, including the multiple competing ideologies held by different others addressed in Section 4.3. With

⁶¹⁷ "Vy ateisty? Kak interesno!" 20 November 2006 3:45PM, <http://doctor-livsy.livejournal.com>.

these ideologies, he reflected on current religious viewpoints in Russia, both presenting characters that are sure of their own personal views on the supernatural, and those who are searching for the spiritual dimension to their lives.⁶¹⁸ From Lenka and Dasha who syncretically combined Orthodoxy and folk-magic to Egor who expressed his confusion over his beliefs, rather than a strict theology, Lukyanenko formed a dynamic of religious diversity within Russian culture, illustrating the different trends in belief found in the country today. These manifold beliefs are shown as conflicting, yet interconnected ideologies, illuminating the diversity of the “Occultist revival”⁶¹⁹ in Russia as they relate to the manifold reactions to the turbulent times that shape post-Soviet life, ranging from the hesitancy of Anton towards superstitions, declaring that they are dangerous in their false hope, and the “apocalyptic tradition”⁶²⁰ in desiring the second coming shown even amongst the high-ranking officials of the Watches.⁶²¹

Along with the diverse Russian beliefs, the political and historical events in Russia from the Revolution to current times are shown for their indefinite nature, signifying the grey nature of both events and political stances and suggesting the complexity of issues relevant to society in modern times. This perplexing representation illustrates the multi-dimensional nature of history, that one historical persona can be viewed in positive, negative, and neutral terms. Much like the analysis of past political events assessed in the body of this chapter, history is considered fluid, intangible, and

⁶¹⁸ Brougher, “The Occult,” p. 110.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

⁶²⁰ Gillespie, p. 407.

⁶²¹ Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, p. 335.

dependent on the person viewing it. Due to this fluidity of the past, it is difficult for the Others to agree on ideal political systems for the future of Russia.⁶²²

In Anton's discussions over possible future political systems with both Olga and Edgar, Anton disagreed with central tenets of their proposed solutions, forming a counterbalance by recognizing the fallacies of mankind, especially within the larger structure of Russian society, but avoiding his own suggestions for an alternate possibility. Instead he further embodied the sense of confusion, expressing an indefinite opinion of the correct course for the country, recognizing what Lukyanenko terms the new "Time of Troubles,"⁶²³ but not possessing an opinion over the means in which Russian society would transcend these times and reach a greater period of stability. His inability to present an alternate view and to connect himself with one specific system or method of resolving the societal issues faced on a day to day basis is due to his own belief that no matter what actions are taken on his part to improve the state of humanity, it is futile because according to his assertions, humanity is faulted by nature. Anton's personal truth of the inability to change man as addressed in the prior section prevents him from believing in improving society as a whole. However, this is not implied to be a negative reflection on society. Within the discussion of the different levels of the Twilight, the revelation of the seventh level, attributed with being Heaven, as the real world suggests that despite the failings of mankind and the confrontation with the issues found within modern post-Soviet society, the current world is as good as it gets.

⁶²² The suggested political systems are discussed in detail in Section 4.3 A Communist Experiment and the Vampire as Ideal Soldier: The Others Examine History and Political Realities.

⁶²³ Lukyanenko, *Dnevnoi Dozor*, p. 254.

Conclusion

In this chapter the ideological subdivisions of Sergei Lukyanenko's *Dozor Series* were analyzed, illustrating the transition of imageries and perceptions from Bulgakov's Soviet Era novel to Lukyanenko's post-Soviet work. Lukyanenko's series was intended for a mass audience and depicted the confusion and indefinite nature of life felt by many in contemporary Russia. Unlike in the prior authors' works, the characters of Lukyanenko's tetralogy form an echelon of vampiric associations, allowing for the efficacy of the imagery to manifest itself in the novels, with the dialectic of religious, political, philosophical, and societal concepts openly discussed amongst the novel's characters.

The mythological foundation of the characters varied between the more literary vampires and the psychically vampiric Others. The novel's vampires reflected the folkloric attributes of Slavic mythology in the burial rites used against them and in their familial causality, but in their external qualities, they more closely resembled the Western literary depiction of the vampire, and in their methods of consumption and sensitivity to blue light alluded to pop-cultural references, particularly the American film *Blade*. The interweaving of disparate imageries becomes increasingly complex with the Others, who, while possessing a myriad of different magical abilities both of folkloric and literary origin, obtained their powers through the parasitic vampirism of humanity, attaining their powers through the draining of those around them.

The creation of this multi-tiered magical system of Others differing in age and background produced a constructive means of discussing the deeper conceptions of society. The multiple competing religious beliefs held by the Others were elucidated, reflecting on both the confusion felt by many in post-Soviet Russia and the attempts by

many to regain a spiritual dimension to life. This led to a comprehensive discussion about the nature of Jesus Christ and the desire for either the rebirth of the messiah or an apocalypse.

The confusion articulated within the religious thematics of the novels transcends the realm of belief into the conception of politics and history. Due to their prolonged lives, many Others were able to recall the events of the past hundred years, musing upon the nature of events ranging from the Revolution to Perestroika. Despite the supernatural nature of Lukyanenko's created world, the political figures guilty of causing the tragic events of the past hundred years were predominantly said to have no mystical power, placing the origin of their actions solely within the minds of those who conducted them.

In attempting to comprehend these events, Anton progresses his philosophical conception of the world around him. Anton's worldview embodies the theoretical concepts of existentialist theory, balancing his perception of reality and unreality in an attempt to develop his own personal truth. He repeatedly questions the distinction between Light and Dark in the novels, but eventually concludes that even with the many grey areas of the battle between Light and Dark, the greatest threat to humanity is humanity itself.

Through each of these disparate discussions, Lukyanenko depicts the complexity of modern Russian society, representing the problems facing post-Soviet Russia through a myriad of cultural influences known by a larger Russian reading audience. While the delineation of the sixth and seventh levels of the Twilight suggests that modern society, despite its faults is as good as it gets, Lukyanenko does not give an answer to the problems of modern day Russia and through the varying perceptions of his fictional

characters creates differing views, leaving it to the audience to form their own conclusions.

Chapter 5:

Discussion on the Dialectical Nature of the Slavic Vampire Myth

The first four chapters of this thesis examined the vampiric works of Afanasiev, Gogol, Bulgakov, and Lukyanenko, exposing their mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal themes. These themes were all explored within the dialectic formed in each author's works. This chapter will discuss the ideological subdivisions⁶²⁴ encountered within these Russian vampiric works as a whole. The internal consistencies within each category will be addressed, forming a clearer picture of the vampire's presence as a continuing symbol of societal concerns and illustrating the nature of the vampire myth's particular applicability in Russian literature.

5.1 An Undead Commonality: Continuous Themes in Russian Vampiric Works

Within the societal dialectic examined in this thesis, a number of common themes were found, creating a natural progression from one work to another. Thematic correlations arose both within the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal elements of the works and in the means in which each larger category

⁶²⁴ In this thesis, an ideological subdivision indicates a category within the dialectic. Any use of the word "ideological" within this context purely means the interplay of ideas.

progressed towards a detailed conception of society. The evolution of these themes will be analyzed, illustrating the multiple levels of ideological discourse found through the vampiric symbolism of Russian literary works.

5.1.1 The Malleability of Mythology: Shifts in Vampiric Imagery and its Ambivalence towards Death

The first indication of the vampire myth's ability to adapt to different literary periods is found within the mythological themes of each work. With the progression from one author to the next, the means by which the vampire was depicted saw a dramatic shift, including variations at the most basic terminological level. The labels given to the folkloric vampire in Afanasiev's tales include corpse, wizard, and *upyr*', and in the writers that followed him, further terms were added: "antichrist" in Gogol and the Western term "vampire" in both Bulgakov and Lukyanenko. However, even with the addition of newer labels, the persistence of the initial terms found in Afanasiev's works illustrated the consistency of certain symbolisms, intertwined with the fluidity and adaptability that would later allow the vampire to maintain its utility and permanence.

The progression of the labels given to the vampiric figures from Pagan to post-Orthodox terms as seen in these works served as a microcosm of the shifts in vampiric imagery. Afanasiev's tales formed a basis from which each of the subsequent authors' works could be compared. From living corpses clad in burial shrouds, vampires began to adapt even within those tales, adopting a Western mythos in the tale "Upyr'" in the antagonist's depiction as an alluring foreigner. Gogol's vampiric figures also possessed the enthralling qualities of Afanasiev's tale, with Katerina's father in *A Terrible*

Vengeance and the mysterious feminine vampires of his later two tales *Vii* and *Nevskii Prospekt*. While Gogol's preference for female villains intimates a transition in the vampire's depiction, within the framework of the general folk belief of the *upyr*', it merely draws upon additional associations of the myth. Bulgakov's vampiric characters exhibit further adaptations to the vampire myth, interspersing the existent folkloric and Gogolian imagery with Hellenic and Faustian associations. In the most recent work by Lukyanenko, elements of modern pop-culture were further interwoven into the fabric of the myth.

Along with the figure of the vampire itself, the different compositional elements associated with the myth, such as burial methods, means of consumption, apotropaic methods, magical abilities, and ambivalence towards death also reflected the varying influences of the authors and their time periods. The burial methods and means of consumption were only addressed in select works. In Afanasiev's tales, both "The Two Corpses" and "The Coffin Lid" described their antagonists as residing in either the church graveyard, or within the church itself. However, "The Dog and the Corpse" and "Upyr'" both refer to the Slavic folk-belief of the burial of suicide victims at the crossroads, creating a counterbalance to the traditional church burial encountered in the other two tales. In Gogol's works, only *Vii* referred to the vampiric figure's burial, with the primary encounters with the vampire occurring within her ceremonial three days in the church. Bulgakov's novel neglects any definitive reference to burial, while Lukyanenko describes one burial of a vampire in the first novel of the series in which Anton buries a vampire in a snow drift, much as in the folkloric burial of an unnaturally deceased person in a body of water. Each description of burial rites does not deviate from either the folkloric or Orthodox methods described within *Poetic Views of the*

Slavs on Nature, suggesting a continued reliance on traditional folkloric imagery, despite the fluidity shown in the physical descriptions of the vampires.

The means in which each vampiric antagonist took the life of its victim was largely left untold. With the exception of the vials of blood removed from the malevolent wizard's victims in "The Soldier and the Vampire," the description of Hella's kiss in *The Master and Margarita*, and the vampire blood donation service and Saushkin's cocktail in the *Dozor* series, most of the Russian vampiric figures adversely affected their victims in either an unspecified manner, or through the psychic draining of their victims, as in Afanasiev's tales "The Coffin Lid" and "Upyr'," Gogol's *A Terrible Vengeance* and *Vii*, and both in the figures of incubi and succubi and in the Others' method of obtaining their magical prowess in Lukyanenko's *Dozor Series*. The disparity in the depiction of the vampire's effect on its victims between the more literal blood letting and the figurative draining suggests that the means by which the vampire killed its victims was less important than the end result itself. Instead each differing work's focal point was upon the interplay of the vampire and the victim, the means by which the vampire targeted that victim, and the resultant effect of that encounter.

The vampire's ability to target a community and the level of the malevolent figure's success was largely interconnected with the efficacy or inefficacy of different apotropaic methods. Most of the apotropaic methods can be divided into two groups: those of folkloric and of Orthodox derivation. The choice of method in each work displays the mutability of symbolisms within the mythology, from primarily utilizing mythologically derived preventative measures to contemplation over the Orthodox derived methods, both those that proved effective and those that were ultimately futile. The only method that maintained its utility in the majority of works was the cock's

crow; however, in the latest work, Lukyanenko's *Dozor Series*, even that apotropaic method was no longer mentioned.

Unlike the techniques of deterring vampires, the overall ambivalence towards death remained a foundational theme. Each work by its nature involved the repeated reversals of the characters' deaths, both for the vampiric antagonists and often the reversal of their effect on the community by the revivification of their victims. The means in which this ambivalence towards death manifested itself in the works largely affected the perception of the stories' endings. With the exception of "The Dog and the Corpse," all of Afanasiev's tales reflected the traditional positive resolution of folk tales, in which the protagonists of the tales each had, to a certain level, a happy ending, often with the reversal of the vampire's malevolent acts. However, Gogol created a reversal of this folkloric structure. While the antagonistic figures, defying death, were able to maintain their existences beyond the tales' conclusions, the protagonists of each tale reached a tragic and irreversible demise. The later authors, Bulgakov and Lukyanenko, transcended the polarization of happy and tragic conclusions, ending their works in a subdued and open-ended manner.

However, this is not to deny the essential duality of the nature of the vampire as a symbol. While the means in which an author employs a vampiric character within the confines of a literary world may result in an intricately painted world of grey tonalities, the symbol itself maintains a religiously themed duality tracing back to its conception as an object of folk belief.

5.1.2 Of Death and Corruption: The Syncretistic Nature of Vampiric Symbolism and its Ties to Apocalyptic Thought

The initial duality of the symbol of the Slavic vampire traced back to the pre-Orthodox conception of the *upyr'* as an embodiment of “unnatural death,” serving within the larger system of *roditeli* and *zalozhnye*; however, the deeper complexity of the duality of the symbol took shape after the adoption of Orthodoxy, when the spiritual phenomenon of *dvoeverie* developed, specifically syncretistic *dvoeverie*. The development of the practice of combining two different forms of belief into one system allowed for many of the prior folkloric concepts to not only assimilate into the new system of belief, but by the nature of their transmogrification, develop a fluidity of their core connotations. The initial syncretism of Paganism and Orthodoxy was seen in the shift from the *upyr'* to the *eretik*, allowing for the addition to the original dualistic depiction of death an association with the demonic and the Devil. In this additional association, the causation of different vampiric events became less the product of internal issues within the community and more the result of an external force on the community, with the *koldun*'s power becoming associated with the demonic, the apotropaic methods adopting associations with both the Devil and Judas, and the emergence of Christian apotropaic methods within the folkloric retellings of myths.

The syncretic quality of the vampire allowed for further adaptation within the works of Gogol. Having been introduced to the schools of Catholicism and Protestantism, Gogol further shifted the imagery of the vampire, causing it to possess a harsh and unforgiving association to the vampiric acts, associating the fate of his protagonists with his mother's ruthless retelling of the Last Judgment in his youth. Through the vampire myth, Gogol depicted what he saw as the failings of humanity,

emphasizing that all men are susceptible to the influence of external evil, a theme stemming from his own fear of his personal weakness and his comprehension of “Death, the devil, and hell.”⁶²⁵ This resulted in his tales possessing the constant themes of retribution and the ultimately tragic victory of evil over good.

The vampiric imagery of Bulgakov’s novel *The Master and Margarita* manifested further religious connotations. As with Gogol, Bulgakov was also raised primarily in Orthodox traditions but was further exposed to Catholic thought and other forms of Christianity. However, unlike his predecessor, Bulgakov refused to accept any single dogmatic system and delved into different types of belief, from Bogomilism and Hellenism to Faustian literary perceptions of the Devil. Each area of Bulgakov’s own religious quest is subtly interwoven into the vampiric imagery of his novel, relying on a complex amalgamation of spiritual symbolism. In his adaptation of the vampire myth, three primary religious themes emerged in his work, namely the belief that God is indifferent to the suffering of mankind, the assertion that Evil is necessary for the existence of Good, and the ability of man at the individual level to overcome his own inherent weakness.

Unlike the prior three authors’ works, Lukyanenko’s characters discussed not only belief structures possessing the synchronism of Paganism, Orthodoxy, and other forms of Christian thought, but the parallel existence of differing beliefs within post-Soviet Russia. Accordingly, Lukyanenko’s series illustrates two forms of *dvoeverie*, expanding past the syncretistic *dvoeverie* seen in the prior works into the realm of parallel *dvoeverie*. The prior works’ themes persisted in the dialogue of the lesser characters Lenka and Dasha, each of whom stated that they were Orthodox, but also

⁶²⁵ V.A. Desnitskii. “Zadacha izucheniia zhizni i tvorchestva Gogolia” in Gippius, V.V., ed. *N.V. Gogol’: Materialy i issledovaniia*. Izdatel’svo akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva, 1936, vol. 2, p. 7.

embraced modern Occultist beliefs. The parallel variants in the novel were not so much ascriptions to a particular religion, but reactions to the multiplicity of beliefs of post-Soviet Russia. Both Egor and Anton express confusion over the questions of belief and Anton develops a wary skepticism that persists throughout the series.

Aside from the varying syncretism of each vampiric work, two persistent themes emerged throughout the progression of the works: the absence of the apotropaic power of the church and the theme of apocalypticism. Even in the early folkloric tales collected by Afanasiev, the futility of the church and cross in warding off vampires is seen, remaining utterly ineffectual in “The Coffin Lid,” “The Two Corpses,” and “Upyr’,” forming a discrepancy between the purported efficacy ascribed to the cross in traditional folk-belief by W.F. Ryan and the absence of even the most remote effect, creating a literary transmogrification from the traditional belief structure to that presented in these tales. Whether this transition was due to Afanasiev’s editing of the tales, or the folkloric framework constructed by the original orator, the questioning of the efficacy of Orthodoxy in these tales established a metaphorical means of questioning that would maintain its permanence in Russian vampiric literary works.

While the publication of Afanasiev’s *Russian Folk Tales* occurred after Gogol’s works were written, Gogol also expressed the theme of the impotence of Orthodox relics, creating a metaphor for the collapse of the Orthodox Church. Bulgakov and Lukyanenko’s vampiric characters remained immune to the power of the church and the cross as well. However, in the combination of their imperviousness to these symbolisms and the unpolarized means in which they were depicted in general, the vampiric characters illustrated a diminishing of the constants of Good and Evil, Light and Dark, presenting vampiric figures like Hella and the Others as normal participatory characters

within the novel, rather than as malevolent antagonistic figures. Due to this shift, religion was examined from a point external to traditional conception, creating an entropic realm of existence rife with uncertainty.

This entropic realm developed into a series of apocalyptic themes in the Russian literary vampiric works, alluding to end-of-the-world imagery in their religious framework. While these themes were absent from Afanasiev's folkloric tales, each of the literary transmogrifications of the vampire myth addressed the Apocalypse to a certain extent. In Gogol's works, it largely stemmed from the aforementioned obsession with his mother's retelling of the Last Judgment, maintaining a thematic permanence of the almost prophetic tragedy of his characters. This is most apparent in Gogol's *A Terrible Vengeance*, in which the malevolent sorcerer and his daughter were pawns within an all-encompassing curse that would only end with the extinguishing of the family line, even alluding to the imagery of a horseman who stretched out "his mighty hand,"⁶²⁶ bringing the dead to life to pull the sorcerer into his final grave. Bulgakov's novel utilized the imagery of the Horsemen after the resurrection of the title characters, concluding the novel with their midnight ride. Nevertheless, no work addressed the Apocalypse more thoroughly than Lukyanenko's series in which both the return of the messiah and the portents of the Apocalypse remained constant, openly debated themes.

However, the apocalyptic undertones of the Russian vampiric works are part of the general apocalyptic tradition of Russian literature. Berdyaev associated the development of apocalyptic symbolism with the transitional nature of indefinite times, claiming that the destiny of the people is subject to the breaking "waves of an

⁶²⁶ Gogol'. "Strashnaia mest", p.219; English translation: Gogol, *The Complete Tales*, p. 169.

apocalyptic environment,”⁶²⁷ prompting an examination of man’s internal nature, exposed by the difficulties of the confusion faced in daily life.

The need for such an examination of humanity due to the upheaval of the time was described by Berdyaev in his studies on another Russian author, Dostoevsky. Berdyaev claims that the author had begun his literary life at a time in which a new period of history was beginning, appearing “at the moment when modern times were coming to an end and a new epoch of history was dawning.”⁶²⁸ Due to the historically transient period experienced by Dostoevsky in the nineteenth century, Berdyaev claimed the inner division of human nature was exposed, resulting from man’s reaction to a seemingly “ceaseless threat of change.”⁶²⁹ Through man’s internal struggle within an indefinite environment, Berdyaev reveals that conflict is no longer encountered within elementary forms, but balances precariously on indefinite foundations, constantly clouded by an atmosphere of “illusion and falsehood,” characterized by “perpetual confusion.”⁶³⁰ Termed an “apocalyptic environment,” the transitioning periods and their affect on people’s divided minds expose the internal nature of man, through which “far-reaching discoveries about human nature in general” can be made.⁶³¹

It is the inner division of human nature and the transition of historical periods that leads to the need to examine the concepts affecting humanity in this dialectical method. With such division and the “unsteady and contradictory” nature of such a time, the depths of humanity and human nature are made transparent, allowing for the themes

⁶²⁷ Nicholas Berdyaev. *Dostoevsky*. Sheed & Ward, London, 1934, p. 60.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

⁶³¹ Ibid., p. 61.

of not only the political and historical situations of the time to develop, but the further philosophical and societal underpinnings of these times.

5.1.3 The Undead Through the Ages: The Vampire and the Common Historical Experience

The “ceaseless threat of change” described by Berdyaev for Dostoevsky’s time was experienced during the historical periods in which each of this thesis’s authors lived as well. Both Gogol and Afanasiev lived during a similar time to Dostoevsky, Bulgakov during the transitory years of the Soviet Union, and Lukyanenko during the indefinite times of post-Soviet Russia, verging on the “apocalyptic environment” discussed within the works’ religious conceptions. Berdyaev’s assessments implied that when mankind is under crisis, its nature is more apparent, as with the time of Dostoevsky and the corresponding times for the authors discussed in this thesis.

The historical periods both of the authors themselves, and occasionally a prior period chosen as a historical setting for the particular tale, served to create, through the allusions to common historical periods, assessments of their respective historical times. The concept of a shared history and the ability to examine the similarities in individual experience during such a time stems from the concept of a “common historical experience in the Russian character,” largely heralded by the folkloric collector Petr Kireevskii, from whom Afanasiev obtained many of the sources for his own collection. While the validity of the concept of an inherently common historical experience has been debated, the search for an understanding of the Russian spirit still remained a driving force within folkloric studies and in the literature which stemmed from it. In Afanasiev’s vampiric tales, the social class and setting of each tale stemmed from this

phenomenon, identifying the “Russian spirit” with the peasantry rather than the ruling classes, emphasizing the historical development of the people through the choice of both the setting for the plot of the tale and the choice of victims. From soldiers to peasants to boyars, an image was created that embodied Propp’s concept of the “changeability of folklore” in comparison with the seeming stability of classical literature, allowing for the teller of the tale to, through the discipline’s flexibility, adopt the concerns of the people of that time.

This ability of folklore to adapt to the concerns of a storyteller during a certain historical period allowed for the changeability of folklore to transcend into the discipline of literature, as was seen in Gogol, Bulgakov, and Lukyanenko. While the authors would occasionally draw from the imagery of prior periods of Russian history, there was still a concentration on illustrating their own times and the complexities of day-to-day life. For instance, while the intention of Gogol’s folkloric tales may have been to embody “the beauty of the spiritual essence of the people, and its dreams of a free and happy life,”⁶³² the uniqueness of the vampiric tales lay in the ability to embody the more serious concerns of the people and to illustrate the causes of the tragedies experienced by the fictional characters in the different historical times. Whether it was in Cossack Ukraine, the Russian seminaries, or nineteenth century St. Petersburg, Gogol exposed the weaknesses of each time period and demonstrated the means in which those living during the respective times of each tale were susceptible to different forms of corruptive influences.

As in Gogol’s final tale, *Nevskii Prospekt*, in which the author set the tale in his own historical time period and setting, personalizing the tale to a degree not found in the

⁶³² A.I. Reviakin. *Istoriia russkoi literatury XIX veka pervaiia polovina*. Prosveshcheniia, Moskva, 1977, p. 383.

earlier tales, Bulgakov set his final novel in Soviet Russia. In the same manner as many of the other differing forms of supernatural imagery found in that novel, Bulgakov's use of vampiric imagery served as an illustration of the different tribulations of his own life during that time. Through the employment of Aesopian imagery, Bulgakov, like Gogol, exposed the political pitfalls of the culture of the time, from the theatrical elite to Soviet Moscow in general. Particularly concentrating on the artistic communities, Bulgakov exposed the vices of the political institutions of the time through his usage of vampiric imagery, depicting them as having been, in and of themselves, vampiric in their draining of the very artistry that they ought to represent. However, as with the discrepancy in Gogol and Bulgakov's religious perceptions, Bulgakov avoids the inherent pessimism of Gogol's historical conceptions.

As in Gogol's tales, the historical and political discussions of Lukyanenko's works also range over a large period of time, from the Revolution to post-Soviet Russia. However, unlike in Gogol's tales, Lukyanenko openly discusses the complexity of different historical times through the direct discussion of his characters. In the author's concentration on what he deems long-term problems, Lukyanenko addressed the densely intricate perceptions of the Revolution, Pogroms, World War II, Soviet Life, Perestroika, and life in modern-day post-Soviet Russia.

With the progression of each author, the density of expression increased in complexity, from the relatively simplistic descriptions of the Imperial Russian village in Afanasiev to the interplay of different indefinite periods in Bulgakov and Lukyanenko. Each author slowly focused less on the symbol itself and more on the depth of historical confusion. By employing the imagery less and less faithfully with the mythological

conception of the vampire and in more literary Aesopian means, the authors transcended the vampire as subject, using it as a tool to facilitate discussion.

5.1.4 Of Man and Vampire: Symbolic Representations of the Nature of Humanity

The malleability of the times in which the writers examined in this thesis lived also shaped the philosophical conceptions of their works. Through the attempts at understanding the historical time periods in which each work was set, the human element was emphasized, stressing mankind's weaknesses in each respective time. In this discussion, the "vital question" of the nature of humanity was emphasized. The imagery of the vampire myth became a constructive device within many philosophical frameworks encountered within Russian vampiric literature, from Slavophilism to Existentialism, and through its Aesopian qualities and dualistic nature, the vampiric imagery was able to embody the differing theories on mankind.

The philosophical undertones embedded within the folkloric vampiric tales initially involved the historiographical leanings of the Slavophile movement followed by Afanasiev. Rather than in a strict expression of this philosophy through thematic illustration of its tenets, the subject matter and setting of Afanasiev's tales themselves reflect the Slavophil tendency towards recapturing Russia's cultural past and distinguishing Russia from the West, capturing the spirit of the Russian village both in the exposition of folkloric figures like the vampire and in the tales' backdrop of the traditional village structure. Further, Afanasiev's tales embody a non-systematic ethical philosophy, conveying through the interplay of vampire, victim, and village, thoughts

on how one ought to live. The values of bravery, wit, and aged wisdom were all stressed, delineating their role in the communal social order of man and village.

Gogol's tales possessed a different philosophical emphasis to Afanasiev's, dwelling on the individual in a manner that deemphasized the context of man's role within the village found in the folkloric texts. Gogol depicted the individual's interaction with those around him as a confrontation with the character's external world rather than as part of his communal identity. In his tales, the protagonists were presented as being at odds with the cultures surrounding them, such as with Danilo's lamenting the fate of the Cossacks towards the end of *A Terrible Vengeance* and Khoma Brut's discomfort in performing a deceased woman's final request in *Vii*, despite his seminarian background. By altering the position of the protagonists in the tales, the role of the vampire transcended the myth's usage as a means of expressing the ethical philosophy of village values, concentrating primarily upon the weaknesses of the individual. While Gogol did continue the Slavophil emphasis on understanding the Russian past, having placed two of the three tales in a relatively distant historical period, his focus on the themes of one's personal fate and his dwelling on the dark side of human nature kept within the tradition of Romantic literature. Gogol presented the man-centered philosophy of his work as being dependent on individual man and through the Romantic tradition of monsterizing characters, used the vampiric figures to comment on man's inherent weaknesses.

Bulgakov further reflected the study into the nature of mankind, placing emphasis on the individual as did Gogol; however, unlike his predecessor, Bulgakov did not incorporate the same degree of pessimism. The philosophical themes of this author's works were close to the precepts of Humanism and the imagery of Menippean Satire. In

the vampiric characters of *The Master and Margarita*, three primary philosophical areas were emphasized: man's ability to change, the concept of an "eternity of rest," and the idea of independence. The first category centered upon the development of the "most extraordinary truth" behind the "most common myth," namely in the case of Varenuška's progression, the truth that "the only person who is truly happy is he who can give,"⁶³³ transforming Varenuška from a self-centered and odious gentleman into the kindest theatre director known to Moscow. The other two concepts focused primarily on the result of the title characters' revivification, allowing for the couple to attain peace at last through an eternity of rest, but maintaining the hope of some day possessing true artistic independence, a phenomenon never known to the author in his lifetime. Each of the philosophical concentrations of Bulgakov's work was comprised from what Mikhailov termed the "global ideas of a person and humanity, of the purpose of life, and [...] of good and evil,"⁶³⁴ expanding the possibilities of the philosophical conceptions that could be attained through vampiric symbolism.

Lukyanenko's series increased the complexity of the philosophical underpinnings behind the myth, directly discussing, as with the religious and political concerns, the philosophical conceptions of the characters themselves, particularly Anton. In the series, Anton's transition into his state as an Other and his assessments of the world around him reflected on Existentialist thought, as did the transposition of Anton's worldview with the viewpoints expressed by other characters. This interplay

⁶³³ Schastliv tol'ko tot, kto mozhet dat'.

(Gete, V. Faust: Perevod i komment. A. Sokolovskogo. SPb., 1902. S pometami M.A. Bulgakova. 192+I-IV ll. Bulgakov Archive, RGB, p. 30.)

⁶³⁴ As quoted in Kim Do Eb. *Khudozhestvennye i filosofskie printsipy kompozitsii romana M. Bulgakova "Master i Margarita."* Dissertatsiia na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk. MGU, Moskva, 2002, p. 133

resulted in an emphasis on the personal truth of one's own individual subjectivity.

Through Anton's examination of the world around him, three themes developed: the idea of the Twilight as an alternate level of reality, similar to the Matrix or Plato's Cave, the assertion that Heaven was real life, not a place devoid of sin, and, finally, Anton's eventual personal truth that the greatest threat to humanity was humanity itself.

Each of the works, in the illustration of the varying forms of man-centered philosophy, reflected a level of scepticism over man's betterment. While Afanasiev's folkloric tales did not dwell on this sceptical view, each author that followed addressed the possibility of individual change, expressing their doubts about its fruition. While Gogol expressed a pessimistic world view that man was by nature faulted and would inevitably fall sway to the allures of the world around him, Bulgakov suggested that individual change was possible. However, he noted the difficulty of instilling such change, since those involved would have to undergo great personal sacrifice in order for change to manifest itself. Lukyanenko reiterated the assertions expressed in *The Master and Margarita*, but as was seen through Anton's musings, the attainment of real change in humanity was doubted.

5.1.5 Tumultuous Times: Perceptions on Society and the Frailty of Man as Seen Through the Symbolic Vampire

In order to expose the societal context of the Russian vampiric works, each of the ideological subdivisions is considered together, combining the mythological, religious, political, and philosophical connotations of the vampiric works into a cohesive dialectic. Beginning with the folkloric tales of Afanasiev, the imagery of the Slavic vampire myth and different interrelated renderings of mythological subjects

allowed for the interplay of the vampire and society's reaction to it, creating through the vampire myth a representation of the values and concerns of Imperial society, while accentuating the individual's role in the communality of the village structure.

Afanasiev's tales hinted at external influences on Russian society, particularly targeting the Westernization of the culture of the time and exposing societally deemed vices and virtues.

Gogol created multiple different societal structures, from the practices of the Cossacks and seminarians to the socialites of St. Petersburg, each with a comparable level of tragic resolution, suggesting that the misfortunes were not due to the structure of the society in question, but to the general weaknesses of mankind and its inability to avoid the temptations presented to it, extending the pessimism granted to individual man to the general failings at a societal level.

Bulgakov's perception of the balance between individual man and society at large differed from the pessimism of Gogol. In *The Master and Margarita*, Bulgakov presents a discrepancy between the characters directly affected by Woland and his minions and the many who chose to forget their encounters with the group, continuing to live their prior lives unchanged. The disparity between the small percentage of the population who agreed to change after Woland's visit despite personal hardship and those who chose to ignore what was shown to them presents a divergence from Gogol's work, suggesting that man can be redeemed, but not at a mass level. The lack of redemptive possibilities at a societal level was not presented in a negative light, but served within Bulgakov's belief in the need of balance between Good and Evil, suggesting that while such change would be the exception rather than the rule, the reluctance to change was due to the natural disposition of man.

This conception was extended into Lukyanenko's series through Anton's recognition of humanity as being a threat to itself. Anton, while recognizing the failings of mankind, especially at the societal level, and identifying the weaknesses of any political system, is unable to ascertain any means of transcending the problems found in Russian society. However, after visiting the seventh level of the Twilight, Anton recognizes that the real world is the closest to an ideal life that man is capable of obtaining.

Whether it was Gogol's musings on the dark side of human nature and alluring beauty within the depths of St. Petersburg society, Bulgakov's depiction of Varenuška's redemption amidst the continuation of the problems exposed by Woland, or Lukyanenko's portrayal of Anton's belief in the futility of improving humanity, the transience and continuity of the problems ever present in humanity are shown. In these depictions, it appears that the corruption represented by the vampiric imagery used in these works is omnipresent, both from without and within and as such, is unavoidable.

None of the authors gave any solutions to the problems represented by their vampiric characters, presenting a skeptical, and at times pessimistic, view of the state of society and its future within the current tumultuous times in which Russia found itself.

The authors seem to mimic Woland's assessment of Muscovite society given during the magic show at the Variety:

You are right. The Muscovites have changed considerably...outwardly, I mean...as, too, has the city itself...Not just the clothes, but now they have all these...what d'you call 'em...tramways, cars [...] But naturally I am not so much interested in the buses and telephones and such like [...] as in the much more important question: have the Muscovites changed inwardly?⁶³⁵

⁶³⁵ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 232; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 143.

[...] They're people like any others. They're over-fond of money, but then they always were...Humankind loves money, no matter if it's made of leather, paper, bronze, or gold. They're thoughtless, of course...but then they sometimes feel compassion too...they're ordinary people, in fact they remind me very much of their predecessors [...]⁶³⁶

Much like Woland's description of the Muscovites, the Russian literary depiction of the vampire changed as did the religious, political, philosophical, and other cultural influences of the time, but that which it represents remained ever the same. No matter the time period, the persistence of human frailty continued to engender faults in society, providing steady subject matter for the continuing vampiric works, perhaps hinting at the reason for the vampire's persistence as a lucrative symbol and the reason for its continued significance.

5.2 The Dialectic of Russian Vampiric Works and Berdyaev

Through the examination of the vampire's symbolic utility in these texts, tracing the differing ideological subdivisions as they formed a concise societal whole, the vampire was exposed for its significance within societal criticism. In discovering the means in which the vampire was interwoven into the text, this thesis followed Greenblatt's suggestion that rather than concentrating solely on the primary story line of a work, a depth of meaning can be obtained from examining the "minor features" of the larger cultural context, which casts the works in a new light, causing a "displacement of centers."⁶³⁷ This was conducted in a two-fold manner: both in singling out the vampiric

⁶³⁶ Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*, p. 236; English translation: Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, p. 147.

⁶³⁷ Jan R. Veenstra. "The New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt: On Poetics of Culture and the Interpretation of Shakespeare." *History and Theory*, vol. 34, no. 3. (Oct., 1995), p. 188.

elements of the literary works examined in this thesis and in looking at the “minor features” of the representation of the vampire itself, identifying the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal elements encountered through the figure’s depiction and place within the plot structure of the Russian literary works. Through studying the minor features of the vampiric works as outlined in the societal themes in the previous section, an “intelligible network of signs” was formed, elucidating the breadth of the cultural matrix from which the work emerged.⁶³⁸ The act of assessing this network of signs and obtaining an understanding of the depth of the cultural roots of the vampiric texts through the interpretations of “the singular, the specific, and the individual”⁶³⁹ helped shape the “world of the text” from the interplay of the ideas and contexts of the piece.

When designing the framework of this thesis, the interrelation of the societal themes encountered in the Russian vampiric works was recognized; however, how these themes formed was shown to be related to the specifically Russian conception of a dialectic proposed by Berdyaev. The principles of Berdyaev’s dialectic were consulted and, despite Berdyaev’s emphasis on the theological concerns of Russian literature rather than the societal, his assertions on how the dialectic of Dostoevsky’s works was structured had a significant influence on this thesis’s representation of the societal dialectic of the Russian vampiric works.

Each of the authors examined in this thesis lived during turbulent times. Berdyaev described such time periods as being under the “ceaseless threat of change,” as experienced by Dostoevsky. As was mentioned earlier, both Gogol and Afanasiev

⁶³⁸ Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt. *Practicing New Historicism*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2000, pp. 7-9.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

lived during a similar time to Dostoevsky, Bulgakov during the transitory years of the post-Revolutionary Soviet Union, and Lukyanenko during the indefinite times of post-Soviet Russia, a period verging on what Berdyaev termed “an apocalyptic environment.” According to Berdyaev, under crisis man’s nature is made more apparent, as in the time of Dostoevsky and the corresponding times for the authors discussed in this thesis. This drive towards examination, instigated by the turbulent times in which the authors lived, led to a similar desire to examine humanity and the Russian people. However, all the authors in question presented larger, detailed societal images of the issues and internal turmoil of the Russian people during their respective times, expanding on a simple study of humanity. By examining their characters’ “divided minds,” much as Berdyaev describes of Dostoevsky, the Russian vampiric works were shown to possess a societal generality.

Berdyaev further discussed the concept of a formation of allied ideological issues within a literary work. In his work, Berdyaev addressed the “cursed everlasting questions” of Dostoevsky’s work, claiming that the characters in Dostoevsky are not just fictional creations, but embodiments of ideas.⁶⁴⁰ In addressing these questions, Berdyaev creates a system of ontological categories based on the three philosophical conceptions of “the God-man relationship, the subject-object relationship, and the nature of freedom” and presenting it in a core of interrelated concepts, mostly theological in nature.⁶⁴¹ While the ideological subdivisions of Berdyaev’s work may differ from those chosen in this thesis, the purpose of this work and Berdyaev’s are not dissimilar: each attempted to discover the world-view of the different respective works,

⁶⁴⁰ Berdyaev, *Dostoevsky*, p. 35.

⁶⁴¹ Edward B. Richards. “The Political Implications of Nicholas Berdyaev’s Philosophy.” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 31, no. 1. (Jan.-Mar., 1970), p. 121.

with Berdyaev's primarily dependent on the theological and this thesis emphasizing the societal. Berdyaev writes that the purpose of his study was to discover Dostoevsky's overall world view:

My aim is to display Dostoevsky's spiritual side; I want to explore in all its depth the way in which he apprehended the universe and intuitively to reconstruct out of these elements his whole "world-vision." [...] Ideas play a preponderating part in his work, and his dialectic has as big a place in it as his remarkable psychology. This dialectic is of the very essence of his art: by art he reaches to the bases of the world of ideas, and the world of ideas in its turn makes his art fruitful.⁶⁴²

By looking at Dostoevsky's individual ideas within a dialectic, Berdyaev was able to both present Dostoevsky's "world-vision" and the importance of the author to the Russian people.

Unlike the primarily theological context of Berdyaev's dialectic, this thesis was concerned with a broader societal discussion of the vampiric works, attempting to understand the socio-historical context represented by the texts' "intelligible network of signs," illustrating the symbol of the vampire's importance and permanence. To achieve this, each chapter followed the model set out by Berdyaev, addressing the progression of ideas seen in each author, namely, the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal thematics in the works of Afanasiev, Gogol, Bulgakov, and Lukyanenko. In order to transcend the individual works of each author, each ideological subdivision of the dialectic found within the vampiric works was addressed in the previous section, shifting the emphasis from the individual authors in their creation of their works and placing it on the utility of the symbol itself. Through this study, further world visions from those described in Berdyaev were discovered, illuminating a relatively unstudied form of symbolism.

⁶⁴² Berdyaev, *Dostoevsky*, p. 11.

The inherent duality of the vampire as a literary symbol, tracing back to its dualistic origin as the antithesis to the ancestral *roditeli*, endured throughout its literary transformation, shifting from a connotation of unnatural death to a means of representing moral outlooks. Through the post-Orthodox depiction of the myth, the authors were able to develop a commentary on the eccentricities of humanity and the issues inherent in society through mythological imagery. As was discussed, the works examined in this thesis utilized a cultural mythos, causing the literary discourse to adopt a mass cultural level through the use of simple language and images that are widely understood, creating an inimitable type of Aesopian language.

In the vampiric literary texts' application of folkloric Aesopian-styled symbolism, the authors crafted unique worlds in their texts comprised of both the "intentional horizon of the author"⁶⁴³ and the inscription of the author's work with external meaning derived from the intersection of the world of the text and the social structure from which it emerged, the latter being distinguishable only once distanced from its time period. This resulted in a depth of symbolic depiction within the works' socio-historical contexts, forming through the symbol's inherent dualism an "intelligible network of signs."⁶⁴⁴ This included the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal lines of discourse, each of which were found by examining the "singular, the specific, and the individual"⁶⁴⁵ of the vampire in the interpretation of the texts.

Each of the ideological subdivisions was interrelated both in their association with the characteristics of humanity and in the means from which they were expressed,

⁶⁴³ Gallagher, p. 8.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 7-9.

⁶⁴⁵ Veenstra, p. 184.

employing a common mythology for the disparate themes. Through the formation of the aforementioned “dialectic of ideas” within a literary framework, reflecting on the variant time periods in which the authors composed their works and the consequent shifts within the vampire’s inherent imagery, an “anthropology in motion,”⁶⁴⁶ took shape, illustrating that while certain issues were constant within social discourse, such as the concepts of man’s betterment and of the efficacy of the church, their position and the manner in which they were encountered differed within separate historical times faced with the “ceaseless threat of change.”

However, before concluding it should be noted, that the formation of the societal dialectic encountered within Russian literature was not disconnected from the symbol itself. Aside from the dialectical nature associated with the Russian literary works, the vampire itself was shown to be dialectical in nature in its ability to embody the seemingly disparate ideas of the works. As was indicated by the transitory thematics elucidated above, the consistency of its usage in embodying manifold societal concerns throughout the works of multiple authors suggests that the dialectics of the works were not solely due to the creativity of the author. Rather, the symbol itself allowed for the formation of the dialectic in its ability to illustrate societal concerns due to its own inherent duality, causing it to serve as a lucrative literary tool.

The symbolic vampire’s utility in embodying the societal dialectic extended beyond the intentions of the Russian authors, serving also within the interplay of those ideas deliberately chosen by the author of each work and those which formed through the unpremeditated depiction of phenomena specifically related to the author’s time. The secondary meaning of the work largely formed due to this complex web connecting

⁶⁴⁶ Berdyaev, *Dostoievsky*, pp. 5-6.

the writer and the reader. The context from which the piece derived allowed not only for the examination of the “intentional horizon of the author” comprised of the issues within the work that were consciously emphasized, but also the inscription of the author’s work with external meaning. Veenstra summarized this idea in her description of Greenblatt’s poetics, stating “the author’s first order reference is so much inferred by the social context that it transcends his intentionality.”⁶⁴⁷ Thus one can suggest that the text of these vampiric works surpassed the conscious intentions of the author, reflecting an enrichment of the text’s meaning due, according to Greenblatt, to the historical distance of the reader from the author’s work, deriving a depth of depiction from areas that “the authors we study would not have had sufficient distance upon themselves and their own era to grasp.”⁶⁴⁸

By combining the balance of the intentional and unintentional societal thematics with the dialectical nature of the symbol of the vampire, the myth forms a complex system of symbolic imagery, through its unique ability to embody concepts ranging from the religious and moralistic to the intricacies of society formed from the historic and philosophical shifts of diverse time periods. Through its unique adaptability to a series of differing purposes, the vampire has formed a permanence in its utility that served not just through the centuries spanned by the works of this thesis, but continues as an apt symbol within the continually turbulent time experienced in Russia today.

⁶⁴⁷ Veenstra, p. 184.

⁶⁴⁸ Gallagher, p. 8.

5.3 The Vampire as a Looking Glass: Additional Themes in Russian Vampiric Works

Aside from the societal dialectic addressed throughout this thesis, there are a number of themes that arose, each transcending the primary ideological subdivisions. The basic structural composition of the vampiric works examined in this thesis possessed similar characteristics external to the societal dialectic, creating a number of additional themes that, while not the specific emphasis of this thesis, illustrate the further utility of the symbol. The vampiric works examined in this thesis were comparable both in the overarching precepts expressed in the works and in the general tone in which each work was written. These themes will be discussed in brief, noting their importance.

Each of the works illustrated a set of assertions related to both the vampire itself and the challenges faced by the human protagonists. The first assertion relates to the vampire itself. In each of the works, the vampire possesses a dual-dimensionality to its influence on those around it, representing both an ever-present external evil and the internal corruption inherent in man. While this phenomenon was alluded to primarily in the discussion of Gogol's religious framework, it was shown in the vampiric characters of each author's works. By its nature within the post-Orthodox conception of the myth and the manifold modifications appended since its formation, the vampire served both as an embodiment of the concerns of the storyteller or author and as a looking glass for those matters afflicting the victims themselves, creating a composite image of external evil and internal corruption, as seen through the interplay of the vampiric figures and faulted protagonists like Khoma Brut and Varenuvka.

This composite image led to the development of a further assertion, connected to the embodied corruption itself. Since the corruption represented by the vampiric imagery used in these works is omnipresent, both internally and externally, it is shown to be both permanent and unavoidable. No matter the time period, setting, or the distinct shifts in imagery, the composite forms of corruption found in the depiction of the vampire continued, both from author to author, illustrating its permanence in time.

While the means of representing the negative influences and eventual pitfalls encountered by the literary characters possessed a fluidity of imagery throughout variant authors and their differing time periods, the vices portrayed remained ever-present, as did man's own internal struggle. While certain authors described this struggle as being fruitful at an individual level, each author consistently exemplified the permanence of vice amongst man at a societal level, suggesting that, according to the authors' works, with the exception of Gogol's tales, it is possible for man to overcome that which is represented by the vampire, but only at the individual level.

The balance between individual man and mankind generates the final assertion revealed in these works, namely, that due to both the omnipresence of the corruption that the vampiric characters embody and its permanence at the macro level, no definitive answer can be given for the problems addressed in these works. The inability to overcome man's flaws at a societal level is shown to be as permanent as the existence of vampirically represented corruption itself.

The Russian vampiric works examined in this thesis, while expressing a few explicit suppositions about the characteristics of humanity, avoided definitive solutions to the problems represented by their vampiric characters. In the inconclusiveness of these works' description of the issues facing mankind, ranging from religious and

political problems to larger overarching philosophical and societal issues, the symbolism developed as a tool of both criticism and discussion of humanity, that, while perhaps presenting a pessimistic view of the state of mankind within the indefinite and tumultuous times in which Russia found itself, engaged the reader in a discussion of problems that during the authors' times directly affected those around them.

5.4 Into the Future: The Continuance of the Symbolic Vampire in Current Russian Literature

The utility and permanence of the vampire myth in Russian literature did not end with Lukyanenko's *Dozor* series. Along with the increase in post-Soviet literature, numerous vampiric literary works have been published in the past two years, illustrating a marked increase even from when Lukyanenko's works were published. This included the 2006 publications of *Empire V* by Viktor Pelevin and the 2007 release of Aleks Kosh's vampire series, including *Esli by ia byl vampirom* and *Vecherinka v stile vamp*. These works were followed by Natalia Kuznetsova's *Poedinok s vampirom, ili Voronezhskie kanikuly* and Vadim Deruzhinskii's "non-fiction" compilation *Kniga vampirov* in 2008.

In Pelevin's *Empire V*, the protagonist, Roman Shtorkin, becomes a vampire after meeting Bram, a suicidal vampire who, before his death, passes on the tongue, itself an immortal being residing in a formerly human body. Roman's new conversion results in his ability, through the tongue, to read thoughts by the digestion of a victim's blood. The book follows Roman's education into the ways of the vampire, learning the arts of glamour and discourse from his elders in an elaborate corporate vampiric culture.

Throughout the novel, Roman attempts to come to terms with his existence, much like Anton in the *Dozor Series*, debating the nature of death, truth, God, and the meaning of life.⁶⁴⁹

Kosh's vampire series continues the modernized and multifaceted fantasy creations of his predecessors, creating a world similar in complexity to that of Lukyanenko's *Dozor Series*. In his novels, Kosh creates a similar system of supernatural characters to that of Lukyanenko, following the battle between so-called "higher beings" and vampires. Each novel of the series differs in its means of composition, from *Vecherinka v stile vamp*⁶⁵⁰ in which the higher beings' claim over the lesser vampires is questioned, resulting in the rise of the vampire czar, to *Esli by ia byl vampirom*,⁶⁵¹ in which the line between vampirism and humanity is repeatedly questioned. As with Lukyanenko, Kosh also provides significant insight into the creation of his works by publishing information about his creative endeavours on his personal website⁶⁵² and his own world views in his Livejournal.⁶⁵³

Natalia Kuznetsova creatively combines attributes of multiple genres into her recently published young adult novel *Poedinok s vampirom, ili Voronezhskie kanikuly*.⁶⁵⁴ In the series, three children attempt to solve the mystery of a hidden treasure, encountering a vampiric figure both on the train to Voronezh and during a

⁶⁴⁹ Viktor Pelevin. *Ampir V*. Eksmo, Moskva, 2006.

⁶⁵⁰ Aleks Kosh. *Vecherinka v stile "vamp."* Armada, Moskva, 2007.

⁶⁵¹ Aleks Kosh. *Esli by ia byl vampirom*. Armada, Moskva, 2007.

⁶⁵² Aleks Kosh. *Aleks Kosh: Nuzhno prosto verit'*: *Ofitsial'nyi sait*. <http://www.alexkosh.ru/>, 9 Sept. 2008.

⁶⁵³ Aleks Kosh. "Nuzhno prosto verit," *ili stranichka odnogo mechtatelja*. <http://alex-kosh.livejournal.com/>, 9 Sept. 2008.

⁶⁵⁴ Nataliia Kuznetsova. *Poedinok s vampirom, ili voronezhskie kanikuly*. Vagrius, Moskva, 2008.

series of surprising events, a figure who exhibited the attributes of the more folkloric vampire mythology. However, it is revealed in the novel's conclusion that, as in the children's show *Scooby Doo*,⁶⁵⁵ the supernatural figure was merely a man in a mask.

In Deruzhinskii's study *Kniga vampirov*,⁶⁵⁶ the researcher attempts to combine the historical evidence behind vampiric mythology, from excerpts in Voltaire to nineteenth century reports during the supposed vampire epidemic. Deruzhinskii attempts to unearth the secrets of vampirism, delving into further supernatural beliefs, such as poltergeists, zombies, and ancient disease theory.

Conclusion

In this chapter the societal dialectic of the individual authors' vampiric works described in the initial four chapters of this thesis were considered as a composite whole, elucidating the progression of ideas amongst the works. First, the similarities in the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal themes of the works were examined, asserting the vampire's presence as a continuing symbol of societal concerns. After exposing each subdivision, the nature of the societal dialectic of the vampiric works was explicated, comparing it to the dialectic formed in Berdyaev's *Dostoevsky*. Through this assessment, the works themselves were shown to not only possess their own independent societal dialectics, but it was also revealed that their combined use of vampiric symbolism and the continuance of the works' examination of societal themes reflected that the symbol of the vampire itself is also dialectical in

⁶⁵⁵ Howard Swift, dir. *Scooby Doo, Where Are You!* CBS, 1969-1970.

⁶⁵⁶ V.V. Deruzhinskii. *Kniga vampirov*. Eksmo, Moskva, 2008.

nature. This was followed by a brief discussion of a few additional themes found in Russian vampiric literature and was concluded with an overview of the vampire's continuance in Russian literary works published after the conception of this thesis.

Conclusion

In this thesis, the Slavic vampire myth was revealed to have been a continuous, yet little explored symbol within Russian literature. It was further shown that the imagery of the vampire displayed a dialectical nature, allowing for a depth of societal examination to the works comparable to that of Russian man-centered philosophical novels. Through the examination of the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal elements of the works of four Russian writers, a unique societal dialectic was formed. The nature of the ideological underpinnings of the Russian vampiric works was exposed, confirming the symbol's usage within the realm of societal commentary, and revealing both the themes' prominence and the symbol of the vampire's inherent dialectical nature.

In order to exhibit the presence of the vampire myth within Russian literary works and demonstrate the progression of the ideological subdivisions examined within this thesis, the vampiric works of Afanasiev, Gogol, Bulgakov, and Lukyanenko were chosen, due to their stylistic and historical progression, allowing for a literary timeline of vampiric symbolism. Beginning with a folkloric reference point in the tales of Afanasiev, the chapters progressed to the vampiric literary works of Gogol during the Golden Age of Russian literature, the Soviet Era works of Bulgakov, and the vampiric series by the post-Soviet author Lukyanenko.

In examining each author's works, this thesis elucidated the structure of the societal dialectic exposed through the vampire myth, concentrating on the "minor feature" of the vampire and creating what Greenblatt termed a displacement of centers

in which the “singular, specific, and individual”⁶⁵⁷ of the vampiric symbolism encountered within each work revealed a cultural matrix, exposing the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal connotations of the vampire.

In revealing the cultural matrix in the form of a societal dialectic in this thesis, the transitional nature of this symbolism was shown to exemplify Berdyaev’s concept of an “anthropology in motion,”⁶⁵⁸ reflecting on the fluidity of the questions of man as was seen in Berdyaev’s formation of the Dostoevskian dialectic. Berdyaev’s claim that certain questions about humanity were fluid within the changing nature of society, despite their seemingly static nature, was illustrated within the societal dialectic of these vampiric works, with each of the ideological subdivisions gaining both different levels and variant forms of prominence within the progression of the literary works.

Unlike the theological precepts of Berdyaev’s work, this thesis was concerned with the societal contexts of the vampiric works, examining the network of signs formed from the symbolic elements of the vampiric imagery of each author’s compositions, that, when considered as a composite whole, illustrated the importance and permanence of the vampire as a lucrative form of symbolism. Representations of each of the ideological subdivisions were found in the texts, depicted through Aesopian-styled vampiric symbolism within each work’s fictional world. However, the internal symbolisms were not all deliberately expressed by the authors—the inscription of meaning was derived from the intersection of the created world of the text within the intentional horizon of the author and the social influences unintentionally ascribed to the text, which were distinguishable only once distanced from the time period in which the

⁶⁵⁷ Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt. *Practicing New Historicism*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2000, p. 6.

⁶⁵⁸ Frederick C. Copleston. *Philosophy in Russia: From Herzen to Lenin and Berdyaev*. Search Press, University of Notre Dame, 1986, p. 145.

literary work was created. Through the interplay of the intentional and the unintentional horizons of the Russian writers and through the consideration of the vampiric works examined in this thesis as one body of literature, the societal dialectic encountered within the individual works was shown to apply to Russian vampiric literature in general. The broad applicability of the societal dialectic to vampiric literary works illustrated that the formation of the societal dialectic in the works was not due purely to the literary choices of the Russian authors, but also due to the nature of vampiric symbolism in its ability to embody the ideas found within the dialectic.

The general tone of the works as a concise whole was of a skeptical view of the state of society and its future within the current tumultuous times in Russia. The persistence of this level of skepticism on the part of the writers suggests that the symbol of the vampire itself will continue to serve as an apt symbol within the turbulent time in which Russia finds itself today. The vampiric works examined in this thesis suggest that the persistence of human frailty will continue to engender faults in society, thus providing steady subject matter for future vampiric works. Due to the vampire's natural adaptability as a folkloric symbol, the density with which it can express man-centered conceptions, and the symbol's adaptation to increasingly complex works, it will undoubtedly remain a lucrative form of societal symbolism.

The subject matter and methodology of this thesis would serve well within many fields of cultural studies. The societal dialectic inspired by the works of Berdyaev and Greenblatt could also be applied to future studies of supernatural symbolisms and to examinations of the vampire's role within non-Russian sources, such as its usage within Western literature or modern popular culture. Furthermore, the examinations of the

individual Russian authors within each chapter contributed to the understanding of each author's literary works and can be employed within further studies on the symbolic underpinnings of the Russian writers' literary endeavors.

However, this thesis's most significant applicability lies in the further study of the Slavic vampire myth in Russian culture. Having uncovered the literary significance of the mythology, a similar study could follow, examining the folkloric continuance of the myth in order to reveal to what extent the belief has remained within public consciousness and how it has shifted from the early folkloric recordings. This would entail both an examination of existing folkloric records taken from different periods in Russian history and a new study to be conducted in post-Soviet Russia.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁹ One possible study is described in Appendix 6: Sample Folkloric Study.

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Appendix 1: Term List

Methodological Terms

Dialectic—For the purpose of this thesis, Berdyaev's conception of a dialectic is followed, namely that a dialectic is a structure formed from the interrelation of seemingly disparate ideas within a concise theoretical framework that aims to find how each of the ideas relate as a whole. In the case of this thesis, the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal ideas are considered, relating them to the expression of societal commentary. (See both Berdyaev, *Dostoevsky*, pp. 11-37; and Copleston, pp. 144-145.)

Dialectical nature—Dialectical nature refers to the ability of a symbol to embody the seemingly disparate ideas of a work, as found in a dialectic.

Displacement of centers—A shift in the interpretation of a text from the main plot to the margins, or subplot. (Veenstra, p. 188.)

Ideological subdivision—A category within the dialectic

Intelligible network of signs—A phenomenon in the study of a minor feature in a work, in which the trace ideas represented by the minor feature begin to take a distinctive form (sometimes described by Greenblatt as a matrix—similar to the conception of the dialectic of this thesis). (Gallagher, pp. 7-9)

Internal consistencies—Similarities within one ideological subdivision

Minor features—A seemingly insignificant feature within a work that when considered within a broader cultural context, gains a larger meaning. (Veenstra, p. 188)

Societal dialectic—The dialectic formed from the mythological, religious, political, philosophical, and societal themes of a text, that when considered together, reveal a larger societal context.

Russian Terms

Dnevnoi Dozor—Day Watch

Dvoeverie—Double belief

Eretik—Heretic

Koldun—Wizard, or magician

Nechistaia sila—Unclean forces

Nochnoi Dozor—Night Watch

Poslednii Dozor—Last Watch

Sobornost'—Wholeness (obtained from being a part of a community)

Sumerechnyi Dozor—Twilight Watch

Sumrak—Twilight

Starosta (stariki)—Elder (elders)

Upyr'—Early Slavic term for vampire

Zmitka—An unbaptized deceased child who returns to its parents to ask for a name

Znakhar'—Similar to a *koldun*. Literally “one who knows.” (W.F. Ryan, p. 82.)

Appendix 2: Timeline of Works Examined

| | |
|------------|---|
| 1832: | Gogol: "A Terrible Vengeance" in <i>Evenings on a Farmstead Near Dikanka</i> , volume 2 |
| 1835: | Gogol: "Vii" in <i>Mirgorod</i> and "Nevskii Prospekt" in <i>Arabesques</i> |
| 1855-1863: | Afanasiev: <i>Russian Fairy Tales</i> |
| 1865-1869: | Afanasiev: <i>Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature</i> |
| 1925: | Bulgakov: "When the Dead Rise from the Grave" |
| 1928-1940: | Bulgakov: Composed <i>The Master and Margarita</i> |
| 1966-1967: | Bulgakov: Censored version of <i>The Master and Margarita</i> |
| 1989: | Bulgakov: Canonized edition of <i>The Master and Margarita</i> |
| 1998: | Lukyanenko: <i>Nochnoi Dozor</i> |
| 2000: | Lukyanenko: <i>Dnevnoi Dozor</i> |
| 2003: | Lukyanenko: <i>Sumerechnyi Dozor</i> |
| 2006: | Lukyanenko: <i>Poslednii Dozor</i> |

Appendix 3: The Slavic Pantheon

While the earliest religious influences on the Slavs cannot be traced, in most modern historical studies, Slavic Paganism's roots are attributed with three different periods of Persian influence. This began with the Scythians from 750 to 200 BCE and the Sarmatians from 200 BCE to 400 AD, both attributed as multinational states, including various peoples and tribes chronicled by Greek and Latin writers.⁶⁶⁰ However no distinct record of the ethnic composition was given until the first and second centuries AD, during the spread of a third Persian movement, entitled Mithraism, or Iranian Zoroastrianism.⁶⁶¹ During this third period, the religious influence spread "as far north as the Carpathian Mountains, as far east as the Black Sea, and as far west as the Rhine."⁶⁶² More detailed records were not recounted until the sixth century AD; however, according to Vernadsky, there "cannot be any doubt that several groups of Slavs lived in Western Eurasia, including the Pontic steppes, in the Scytho-Sarmatian era."⁶⁶³ Mithraism was associated with solar deities in which "sol invictus" or Mithra was the supreme god.

⁶⁶⁰ George Vernadsky. *Kievan Russia*. Yale University Press, London, 1948, pp. 56-57.

⁶⁶¹ Jan Perkowski. *The Darkling: A Treatise on Slavic Vampirism*. Slavica Publishers, Inc. Columbus, 1989, p. 24.

⁶⁶² Ibid.

⁶⁶³ Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 56-57.

As in Mithraism, sun-worship comprised the basis of the old Slavic religion.⁶⁶⁴ Vernadsky attributes the importance of the sun to the choice of names used in the designations of the old Slavic peoples Rus, Khorvat, and Sever,⁶⁶⁵ while Ralston refers to a more geographic designation in dividing the Eastern Slavs into the *Drevliane* and *Polyane*.⁶⁶⁶ Although sources disagree over the existence of temples or a regular class of priests devoted to the Mithraic system, the affinity for Mithraism could be seen in depictions of the sun as a “fire-wheel” in peasant art of the period.⁶⁶⁷

The sun was often imbued with the characteristics of an overarching concept of Good, and it was believed that the course of the sun affected the fortune of man.⁶⁶⁸ The sun god was known as Dazhbog, or Khors, the son of Svarog, or the god of light. He was also termed the “giving god” or “czar sun” and, despite the inaccuracy of referring the god to the Greek pantheon, was often translated as Helios in early Russian texts.⁶⁶⁹ An idol of Dazhbog, along with those of Perun, Stribog, Simargl, and Mokosh, is recorded to have been erected by Vladimir in Kiev.⁶⁷⁰

Dazhbog’s father, Svarog, was described as the god of light, given to repose, who often deputed the tasks of ruling the universe to his sons.⁶⁷¹ He was also considered the patron saint of the art of forging weapons. He was often depicted in treatises as a

⁶⁶⁴ Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 108.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁶ W.R.S. Ralston. *The Songs of the Russian People: An Illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life*. Haskell House Publishers, New York, 1970, p. 82-83.

⁶⁶⁷ Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 101.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 110.

⁶⁶⁹ Jan Perkowski. *Vampires of the Slavs*. Slavica Publishers, Inc. Columbus, 1976, p. 66.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 67-68.

⁶⁷¹ Ralston, p. 85.

weapon. The Russia-Byzantine Treaty of 907 ended with a pledge to weaponry before Perun and Volos. This symbol of the naked sword signifying Svarog was duplicated in Igor's treaty with Byzantium in 944.⁶⁷² Jan Perkowski states that Svarog was reputed as the founder of legal marriage, demanding that a husband have only one wife and a wife have only one husband, or else be cast into the hearth.⁶⁷³ Svarog had a second son named Svarozhich, or Ogon'. Although less is known of Svarozhich, it is believed that he served as the fire god.

A number of lesser deities also served in the Slavic pantheon. The twin deity Veles-Volos acted as the god of poetry and of flocks, and was held in high honor during the signing of treaties.⁶⁷⁴ Stribog, or Svantovit, is described as having four heads, symbolizing the cardinal winds. He was attributed with the ability to manipulate frost and influence the four seasons.⁶⁷⁵ Mokosh, the only female deity, was entitled Mother Moist Earth and was the patron of spinning and weaving.⁶⁷⁶ Another deity, Lel, served as the spirit of spring and love.⁶⁷⁷

Despite the multitude of deities in the old Slavic Pagan system, with Svarog as the originator, there was a notion of the "universality of godhood."⁶⁷⁸ According to the Byzantine historian Procopius, the Slavs believed that one god, the maker of lightning,

⁶⁷² Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 120.

⁶⁷³ Perkowski, *Vampires of the Slavs*, p. 67.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 68; Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 122.

⁶⁷⁵ Perkowski, *Vampires of the Slavs*, p. 68.

⁶⁷⁶ Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 123.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 124.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 119.

was “lord of all things.”⁶⁷⁹ This god, also called the god of thunder and war, was named Perun, a title derived from “the root *per-* (“to strike”) with the ending *-un*, denoting the agent of an action.”⁶⁸⁰ Perun, or the thunderer, was held as being armed with lightning, sending the rain, creating the plants, and maintaining justice.⁶⁸¹ His existence is perceived in early treaties with the Greeks, in which the representatives swore by Perun and Volos, Slavic and Scandinavian gods respectively. The concept of Perun is analogous to the outlook of the Mithraic system, in which there is a supreme godhead, similar to Svarog, and a number of other deities, with Mithra at the head, who served as a link between the godhead and the earthly world.⁶⁸²

The gods in the old Slavic Pagan system are written about “with more imagination than evidence” and, while the deities may have been reduced to mere names, the lesser beings of the belief have maintained greater permanence,⁶⁸³ and thus, provide a more extensive and reliable conduit of information. This includes a substrata of supernatural beings that inhabited this system which included wood spirits (*leshie*), water spirits (*vodianye*), air creatures (*vozdushnye*), domestic spirits (*domovye*), and spirits of the dead (such as *upyri*).⁶⁸⁴

However, the higher deities’ influence remains in the celebration of seasonal festivals. One such festival was the vernal equinox, or *Maslianitsa*, which is still

⁶⁷⁹ As quoted in Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 119.

⁶⁸⁰ Perkowski, *Vampires of the Slavs*, p. 65.

⁶⁸¹ Ralston, p. 86.

⁶⁸² Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 119.

⁶⁸³ W.F. Ryan. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 1999, pp. 36-37.

⁶⁸⁴ Ralston, pp. 106-107.

celebrated to this day. The primary symbol employed during the holiday is the pancake (*blin*), which symbolizes the sun.⁶⁸⁵

There were two ancient festivals during summer, one just after the summer solstice termed *Semik*, and the other following it, called *Kupala*, or *Ivan Kupala*.⁶⁸⁶ *Semik* was dedicated to the dead, but was intended as a celebration of youth and pre-matrimonial love. *Ivan Kupala* began with the lighting of an enormous bonfire, usually at the bank of a body of water. This would be followed by rolling a large wooden wheel from the top of a hill, symbolizing the imminent turn of the sun after the solstice. Men and women danced around and jumped over the fire in an attempt to imbibe its purifying properties. At night, two effigies were burnt, one portrayed as a man named *Iarilo* and the other a woman, *Kupala*.⁶⁸⁷

A variety of spirits inhabited this system. Some primarily inhabited the woods, and were called *leshie*, some the water, called *vodianye*. There also existed spirits who would ride whirlwinds and direct storms called *vozdushnye*, and some, labeled *domovye*, even attached themselves to houses.⁶⁸⁸ These were considered to be the ethereal owners of the household and were often perceived positively.⁶⁸⁹

Spirits, however, were not the only creatures who could influence the world around them. In Pre-Kievan Russia every village had either a local wizard or witch,⁶⁹⁰ who was employed in controlling the elements, including the provocation of the clouds

⁶⁸⁵ Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 112.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 113.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 113-114.

⁶⁸⁸ Ralston, p. 106.

⁶⁸⁹ W.F. Ryan, p. 37.

⁶⁹⁰ Ralston, p. 378.

to rain and the imploring of the sun to “gladden the earth with its rays”. With the exception of times of drought and famine when conjurors, soothsayers, witches, and others of magical employ were executed for their inability to prevent such natural calamities, the “divining profession” held a certain level of repute among the local communities.⁶⁹¹

There were various classes of magically inclined inhabitants in pre-Christian Slavic villages. One such type was the *ved'ma*, from *veshchaia zhenshina*, or the “knowing woman”, who served as “a prophetess, poetess, medicine woman,” and as a controller of the elements.⁶⁹² The *volkhv* was a shamanic sorcerer who was not distinguished from a medical doctor.⁶⁹³ Two other types of magical followers were the *charovnik*, or spell-caster, and the *znakhar'*, who engages in folk medicine and dream interpretation.⁶⁹⁴

The *koldun* also held a wide knowledge of folk medicine, but was a more sinister figure, and was attributed with the use of the evil eye.⁶⁹⁵ Because of his appellations to darker forces, the *koldun* needed to pass on the burden of his knowledge in order to avoid an agonizing death, since it was believed the soul of a *koldun* had horns which impeded its departure from the body. One method of performing this task was through his hiding under the stove and groaning with one hand held out, so that anyone who would take his hand in pity would unwillingly take the burden unto him or

⁶⁹¹ Ralston, p. 168.

⁶⁹² Ibid.

⁶⁹³ W.F. Ryan, p. 70.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 74.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 72.

herself. As soon as this act was committed, the *koldun*'s soul would be seen scurrying away in the shape of a small black animal.⁶⁹⁶

Along with their elemental abilities, witches and those who were magically inclined in some other fashion were attributed with clairvoyance and the ability both to turn themselves into animals and to transform others into various manifestations.⁶⁹⁷ A person thus transformed was termed an *oboroten* ' from the verb *oborotit* ', or to turn.⁶⁹⁸

The method of transformation in Russian folk belief fluctuates among the various accounts, but is always attributed with some form of spell or act that causes the transformation. For instance in W.F. Ryan's *The Bathhouse at Midnight*, there is a spell for turning into what in Western culture is termed a werewolf, which reads:

In the ocean sea, on the island of Buian, in the open plain, shines the moon upon an aspen stump, into the green wood, into the spreading vale. Around the stump goes the shaggy wolf; under his teeth are the horned cattle; but into the wood the wolf goes not, in the vale the wolf does not roam. Moon, moon! Golden horns! Melt the bullet, blunt the knife, rot the cudgel, strike fear into man, beast and reptile, so that they may not seize the grey wolf, nor tear from him his warm hide. My word is firm, firmer than sleep or the strength of heroes.⁶⁹⁹

A more frequently encountered form of self-transformation is performed by finding a tree stump in the forest, driving a knife into it, and jumping over the knife—a process, which is reversed by returning over the knife in the alternate direction.⁷⁰⁰ However, if in the meantime the knife has been removed, the person performing the ritual will eternally

⁶⁹⁶ W.F. Ryan, p. 73.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 76.

⁶⁹⁸ Ralston, p. 403.

⁶⁹⁹ W.F. Ryan, p. 76.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 77.

remain a wolf.⁷⁰¹ Once having taken on the attributes of a shape shifter, it was believed that a werewolf could be known by bristles under the tongue.⁷⁰²

Among Tikhonravov's list of works banned by the Church is the *Charovnik*, or book of spells that, according to W. F. Ryan, has twelve chapters giving instruction on methods of leaving your body as if dead and flying like an eagle, hawk, crow, magpie, owl, or serpent or running like a panther, savage beast, wolf, or bear.⁷⁰³

Forced transformation was sometimes performed by malevolent sorcerers, usually at wedding parties, where the bridegroom and other men would be turned into wolves, the bride into a cuckoo, and the remaining women into magpies.⁷⁰⁴

However, this was not the only form of punishment reputed to have been performed by malevolent witches and sorcerers. They were also said to possess the "evil eye", associated with *porcha* (spoiling), which was thought to be the cause of sickness of man and livestock, brought forth by malefic magic, and requiring a specialist to produce a successful counter spell.⁷⁰⁵ One such instance was recorded by Petr Bogatyrev, where a man stated that his father was killed by the evil eye, and that his mother likewise died of the same cause when a stomach worm "bit her heart and she died of it."⁷⁰⁶ According to W.F. Ryan, the earliest specific reference to the Slavic belief in the evil eye was included in Reginald Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*.⁷⁰⁷ Those

⁷⁰¹ W.F. Ryan, p. 77.

⁷⁰² Ralston, p. 404.

⁷⁰³ W.F. Ryan, p. 77.

⁷⁰⁴ Ralston, p. 407.

⁷⁰⁵ W.F. Ryan, p. 184.

⁷⁰⁶ Bogatyrev, p. 77.

⁷⁰⁷ W.F. Ryan, p. 32.

reported to possess the evil eye include “any witch or wizard; anyone with black, deep-set, protruding, crossed, or in some other way distinctive eyes or otherwise of peculiar appearance, including foreigners,” although the evil eye could also be cast inadvertently by making a remark that tempts fate or laughing or yawning at an inappropriate time, termed “apotropaic expectionation.”⁷⁰⁸

In order to protect oneself from a malefic *koldun*, one would use an amulet or protective spell. One type of homemade amulet was comprised of a knot from an old tree. A spell that employed a similar methodology to the wooden knot amulet entailed the pressing of one’s ring finger against the knot on a tree and spitting in the magician’s face, which would cause him to temporarily lose his power. One could also employ the burning of the *neodolim-trava*, or “unconquerable herb” to protect one’s house and cattle.⁷⁰⁹

Not all magic was strictly performed by a witch or sorcerer. There were overarching mystical concepts that were believed to be understood by the general populace. One such use of magic which was prevalent at the time was the determining of a person’s fate. Fate within the context of Russian folk belief entails that the events in one’s life are influenced by good and bad forces that act on one’s future, and are not caused primarily by one’s own actions. A person’s fate in life is decided from the moment of birth, illustrated by the Russian proverb “Such was written on his birth”.⁷¹⁰ In Russian, the word for fate “sud'ba” comes from “sudia bozh'iago”, or the judgment

⁷⁰⁸ W.F. Ryan, p. 33.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 43

⁷¹⁰ A. Afanasiev. *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia slavian' na prirodu, Sbranie v trekh tomakh*. Mouton, Paris, 1970, vol. 2, p. 368

of the gods.⁷¹¹ This concept is also found in the Russian proverb *ot rodu ne v vodu*, or “you cannot escape your prenatal destiny even if you plunge into water.” Through this concept of fate was associated the “cult of rozhanitsy,” who would assign each child his or her fate at birth.⁷¹²

⁷¹¹ Afanasiev, vol. 1, p. 411.

⁷¹² Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 118.

Appendix 4: Death and the Undead in Slavic Folklore

Tantamount to the concept of fate during life was that of a person after death. A person's lifestyle or merely the fate granted to them had a direct effect on the form taken upon death. One's perusal of the supernatural or even the nature of the person's death itself would affect whether or not their presence when visiting the land of the living would be perceived with negativity.

The religion of the Eastern Slavs showed reverence to the spirits of the dead. The conception of life and death was divided into three realities: Heaven, Earth, and the Netherworld, a representation derived from the three shamanic "cosmic zones."⁷¹³ However, death was not always perceived with the finality of today's religious systems. Rather, the ancient Slavs maintained an ambivalent world-view of death,⁷¹⁴ resulting in a de-emphasis on its consequences, such as in tales of being restored to life by spells and spring rain, an occurrence which was considered especially life-giving.⁷¹⁵ There were even unconscious states that were believed to be akin to death, such as in a deep sleep, when it was thought a person could travel to the Netherworld and return alive.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹³ George Vernadsky. *Kievan Russia*. Yale University Press, London, 1948, p. 119.

⁷¹⁴ Elizabeth Warner. *Russian Myths*. The British Museum Press, London, 2002, p. 45.

⁷¹⁵ W.R.S. Ralston. *The Songs of the Russian People: An Illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life*. Haskell House Publishers, New York, 1970, pp. 96-97.

⁷¹⁶ Warner, p. 45.

This exchange had a corollary where the bed on which a dying person had lain was burnt in order to avoid the grave's claiming another victim.⁷¹⁷

The representation of Death itself took a variety of forms. In Russian folklore, it was typically depicted as carrying a scythe, sickle, or rake. This caused the later use of a plough to prevent epidemics and epizootics.⁷¹⁸ Some other representations were quoted by Haase in Paul Barber's *Vampires, Burial, and Death* "as an old woman with a torch in the left hand and a scythe in the right; as an old woman in a white robe with a sickle and a rake; as a skeleton with exposed teeth and without a nose."⁷¹⁹ When the onset of death became imminent, a candle would be lit in order to guide the dying person on its path to the afterlife.⁷²⁰

After the onset of death, the different groups of Slavs disposed of the corpses in one of two methods: burial or cremation.⁷²¹ The choice of cremation among many of the Slavs reflected the importance of fire in the Slavic pantheon.⁷²² Earlier accounts note that the ashes of the dead were kept in a communal repository called "the house of the dead." However, after the eighth century, the act of burying the ashes or the body of the deceased in individual graves occurred to a greater degree.⁷²³

⁷¹⁷ Montague Summers. *Vampire in Europe*. Headly Brothers, London, 1929, p. 284.

⁷¹⁸ Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 133.

⁷¹⁹ Paul Barber. *Vampires, Burial, and Death: Folklore and Reality*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, p. 51.

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁷²¹ Summers, *Vampire in Europe*, p. 284.

⁷²² Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 111.

⁷²³ *Ibid.*, 145

In the case of burials, the funeral rite began with ritual bathing of the deceased, intended to ensure the well-being of the body and soul.⁷²⁴ This was followed by the dressing of the corpse in clean clothes and the spreading of sawdust or grass on the bottom of the coffin in order to prevent the difficulty of the corpse's sleeping on "a hard object."⁷²⁵

The coffin was perceived as a new living space for the dead, hence the name *domovina*, described by Warner as "a dark chamber, without windows, without doors." The *domovina* was typically provided with food, drink, and favorite items of the deceased, such as a pipe. Tools used often during life were also included, such as spinning implements or sickles for women and axes or scythes for men, so that the dead could continue their work in the afterlife.⁷²⁶ This was due to the absence of the ideal of the afterlife as a place where misery was alleviated, rather, it was perceived as a continuance of life, where the deceased continued their social roles.⁷²⁷

The dead were customarily transported to the burial site on a sledge drawn by oxen in both summer and winter, a custom explained by the belief that any other mode of transport would cause the dead person to be unsettled.⁷²⁸ Upon arrival of the body, the burial rites would begin. The funeral was considered a community event, with the participation of the majority of the village inhabitants. One source cites the use of "wailing rites" from the moment of death, including the recitation of a lament during the

⁷²⁴ Petr Bogatyrev. *Vampires in the Carpathians: Magical Acts, Rites, and Beliefs in Subcarpathian Rus'*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1998, p. 112.

⁷²⁵ Ibid.

⁷²⁶ Warner, p. 56; Barber, p. 50.

⁷²⁷ Ralston, p. 114.

⁷²⁸ Bogatyrev, p. 113.

washing and covering of the corpse with a shroud. This lament was in the form of questions addressed to the deceased, which were answered by the designated weeper, a woman who was recognized as being particularly adept at music and held a meticulous memory of the inhabitants of the community. The wife herself would recite a chant “bemoaning her fate”, and other assigned laments were vocalized when the coffin or ashes were lowered into the grave, at the return from the funeral, on entering the house, and for each of the forty days following the ceremony.⁷²⁹ Vernadsky refers to the funeral lament as one of the oldest forms of oral literature in Slavic culture.⁷³⁰ However, Barber claims that the early Slavs in what is now Bulgaria advised against crying during a person’s death since, “Crying, they say, tears the soul, and the sick person is tortured.”⁷³¹ Whether or not this variance is due to the timing of the mourning or to the regions in question is imperceptible.

When the deceased was unmarried at the time of death, a second ceremony was performed in which a nuptiality was conducted at the funeral. This pertained both to bachelors and to children who died before finding a spouse, since it was believed that those united with a nuptial bond were destined to live together in the world to come.⁷³² This belief is replicated in early records of funerals where wives were induced to kill themselves upon the death of their husband.⁷³³

Caring for the dead did not cease after the ceremony. This concern for the deceased during the burial was analogous to that shown for the deceased’s journey to

⁷²⁹ Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, pp. 145-146.

⁷³⁰ Ibid., p. 144.

⁷³¹ Barber, p. 52.

⁷³² Ralston, p. 309.

⁷³³ Ibid., p. 114

the netherworld. It was believed that the soul did not begin its journey for forty days after death, so family members would provide sustenance, including a glass of vodka on the windowsill, a towel with a bowl of water for washing, and sometimes some bread on or in the tomb. On the fortieth day, the bathhouse would be heated for the deceased and the dead person's soul would be symbolically accompanied along the road to the burial site and told to be on its way.⁷³⁴ The process of the journey varied in different regions. Some believed it involved crossing water, climbing a steep mountain, or simply embarking on a long walk.⁷³⁵ In the case of crossing the sea, the corpse was left with coins in order to pay for its passage.⁷³⁶ A corpse making passage by foot would be provided with boots.⁷³⁷ Before setting off on any of these journeys, the soul would first have to rise from its grave, so it was provided with a small ladder or plaited leather thongs.⁷³⁸

Alongside the tradition of the prolonged journey to a land of the dead existed a tradition of belief in the grave itself as being the home of the departed. Ralston notes a response to the state of their otherworldly environs of "Dark and joyless is our prison house [...] stone and earth lie heavy on our hearts, our eyes are fast closed, our hands and feet are frozen by the cold."⁷³⁹ This belief in the coffin as the dead's home entailed a series of ceremonies to commemorate the deceased and to clean and care for the site,

⁷³⁴ Warner, p. 51.

⁷³⁵ Ibid.

⁷³⁶ Ralston, p. 107.

⁷³⁷ Ibid., p. 108.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., p. 110.

⁷³⁹ Ibid., p. 114.

including ones on the third, seventh, twentieth, and fortieth days after the funeral, and half a year and a year afterwards.⁷⁴⁰

Descriptions of the soul when appearing to the living during the first forty days or any of the commemorative periods usually take the form of fire or a flying animal. The depiction of the soul as a flame is representative of the conviction that it was “a spark of heavenly fire, kindled in the human body by the thunder-god.”⁷⁴¹ This led to stories of ethereal flames glistening over the tombs in a burial site. A slight variant of this is the soul’s representation as either smoke or a current of air, stemming from the belief that a man’s soul occupies his windpipe.⁷⁴² Sometimes the soul is described as the pictorial silhouette of fire, or the person’s shadow.

However, the most prevalent depiction of the soul in the old Slavic belief system is that of a moth or butterfly. This led to one description of the butterfly as *dushichka*, a diminutive of *dusha*, or soul.⁷⁴³ After a person’s death, it was believed that his or her soul would fly around the room in this shape in order to give final comfort to loved ones. A recent example of this is recorded in the description of the death of the Russian writer, Chekhov:

Fever had made Chekhov delirious. He went on about a sailor or asked about the Japanese, his eyes shining. But when Olga tried to place an ice bag on his chest, he suddenly regained consciousness and said, “Don’t put ice on an empty stomach.”

The windows were wide open, but he could not stop panting; his temples were bathed in sweat. Dr. Schwöhrer arrived at two o’clock. When Chekhov saw him, he sat up, leaned back against the pillows, and, in a final reflex of courtesy, mustered his weak

⁷⁴⁰ Perkowski, *Vampires of the Slavs*, p. 27.

⁷⁴¹ Ralston, p. 116.

⁷⁴² Ibid., p. 117.

⁷⁴³ Ibid.

German and said, “Ich sterbe.” Schwöhrer immediately gave him a campion injection, but his heart failed to react. He was about to send for an oxygen pillow when Chekhov, lucid to the end, protested in a broken voice, “What’s the use. Before it arrives, I’ll be a corpse.” So Dr. Schwöhrer sent for a bottle of champagne.

When it came, Chekhov took a glass and, turning to Olga, said with a smile, “It’s been so long since I’ve had champagne.” He emptied the glass slowly and lay down on his left side. A few moments later he stopped breathing. He had passed from life to death with characteristic simplicity.

It was July 2, 1904, three o’clock in the morning. A large black-winged moth had flown in through the window and was banging wildly against the lamp. The muffled sound soon grew maddeningly distracting. Dr. Schwöhrer withdrew after a few words of consolation. All at once there was a joyous explosion: the cork had popped out of the champagne bottle and foam was fizzing out after it. The moth found its way out of the window and disappeared into the sultry night. Silence returned. When day broke at last, Olga was still sitting and staring into her husband’s face. It was peaceful smiling, knowing. “There were no human voices, no everyday sounds,” she wrote. “There was only beauty, peace, and the grandeur of death.”⁷⁴⁴

Olga described the appearance of the moth as a sign from her deceased husband not to mourn his death. She viewed it as an offer of comfort in the traditional nature of the moth-like representation of the soul.

After the departure of the soul in this manner, the deceased would take various manifestations. The very nature of a person’s death affected the sort of spirit that the deceased would become. This lead to a dualist notion of death in which there were two forms: good, or natural, and bad, or premature, illustrated by *roditeli* and *zalozhnye*.⁷⁴⁵

Roditeli are those who died in old age at the time appointed to them. In some translations *roditeli* were called ancestors and were attributed with protecting the homestead of their descendants.⁷⁴⁶ They typically were not expected to visit the living, unless if excessive grief was shown towards them, if someone wished the person alive

⁷⁴⁴ Henri Troyat. *Chekhov*, trans. Henry Heime. Hamish Hamilton Ltd, London, 1986, pp. 332-333.

⁷⁴⁵ Alternately called *mertviaki* by Warner

⁷⁴⁶ Bogatyrev, p. 111.

again, if the person was buried in dirty or inappropriate clothes, or if the vodka for the memorial was drunken beforehand.⁷⁴⁷ The former inhabitants of old Yaroslavl believed that the *roditeli* resided in a sacred city hidden beneath the sea, to which only those who were ready could gain access.

Zalozhnye, sometimes translated as hostages, are those who died a premature or unnatural death, including victims of murder or epidemics, accidental deaths, and suicides.⁷⁴⁸ They are characteristically thought of as the dangerous, often malevolent, dead and are associated with all manner of vexations to the living.⁷⁴⁹ The most common substrata are the *upyri*, or vampires.

Uyri were first mentioned in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* of 1047 AD; however, the term was used as a person's surname and the genesis is unknown because of the scarcity of written sources from the time. The term itself was first recorded in French, English, and Latin texts that were referring to Poland, Russia, and Macedonia.⁷⁵⁰ Since they referred to Slavic folk beliefs, it is generally believed that its genesis was in Eastern Europe and that the term merely gained popularity in the West after a supposed epidemic in Serbia from 1725 to 1732.⁷⁵¹ Despite this dearth of early documentation, Slavic folklorists usually agree that the origin of the vampire myth is much older than the 1047 record, with some even referring to the earliest ancestors, such as Afanasiev's assertion that:

⁷⁴⁷ Warner, p. 46.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 47.

⁷⁴⁹ Bogatyrev, p. 111.

⁷⁵⁰ Wilson, p. 577.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., p. 583.

Originally our ancestors must have understood by the name vampire a terrible demon who sucks storm clouds and drinks up all the moisture in them, because in the ancient myths, rain was like blood flowing in the veins of cloud spirits and animals [...] The winter cold which freezes rain-clouds plunges the creative forces of nature into sleep, death, damnation. The thunder god and lightning spirits are equated to suckers of rain who hide in cloud caves and fall asleep in cloud-graves.⁷⁵²

Although this description utilizes what Jan Perkowski terms “F. Max Muller’s discredited solarist school of mythology and Adalbert Kuhn’s derivative meteorological school,” it does allow for a sense of perspective on the age of the myth.⁷⁵³

Despite the disagreement over the origin of the vampire as a folkloric concept, the essential core of the myth remains reasonably consistent. While attempts at a general definition of “vampire” or *upyr* within the realm of Slavic folklore vary in their depiction of the myth, the most consistent and accurate description appears to be that given by Aleksandr Afanasiev in *Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature*, in which he depicts vampires as:

...corpses who during their lifetime had been sorcerers, werewolves [...] suicides, drunkards, heretics, apostates, and those cursed by their parents...At the dead of midnight, leaving their graves where they lie as undecayed corpses, the vampires take on various forms. They...raise Cain and frighten travelers or they enter the peasants’ cottages and suck the blood from those sleeping, who always die from it afterwards...The pre-dawn cock’s crow compels the vampire to disappear instantaneously or forces him to the ground.⁷⁵⁴

A more brutal, and less frequently recorded, description was given by Ralston, describing the Slavic conception of the vampire as “supernatural man-eaters” capable of ingesting all but the bones of a person.⁷⁵⁵ Usually a vampire is characterized by a lack

⁷⁵² Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 22.

⁷⁵³ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁴ Afanasiev, vol. 3, p. 552, as translated by Jan Perkowski in *Vampires of the Slavs*, p. 19

⁷⁵⁵ Ralston, p. 414.

of decomposition, a ruddy complexion, and sometimes is described as being surrounded in a pool of blood in its coffin, taken from its victims. In most of the older tales, the vampire is either unseen or it is described as wearing the shroud in which it was buried.⁷⁵⁶

Although the depiction of the vampire itself is relatively homogeneous, the pretexts for the development of vampirism are numerous. In the Ukraine, vampires were thought to be the children of witches and shape shifters.⁷⁵⁷ Those who died of an epidemic or some other form of accidental or premature death, such as that sustained in childbirth or during a duel, were also associated with the undead.⁷⁵⁸ After death, if the funeral proceedings were carried out improperly, if the corpse's mouth was left open, or if a cat jumped over the body before the funeral, the corpse would show vampiric tendencies.⁷⁵⁹ This was also the case if a boy or bird went over the corpse or if a strong wind blew over it.⁷⁶⁰ Some people were believed to be fated to become vampires, such as those that were born with a caul or split upper lip.⁷⁶¹ However, most accounts are congruent with Afanasiev's description of vampires having been suicides, sorcerers, alcoholics, and others who died unnaturally.

There are a number of different theories over the purpose of the myth within the context of the folk-understanding of various tragic events. Although Paul Barber claims

⁷⁵⁶ For more details on the appearance of the vampire and individual tales, see A. Afanasiev. *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia slavian' na prirodu, Sobraie v trekh tomakh*. Mouton, Paris, 1970, vol. 3, pp. 557-587.

⁷⁵⁷ W.F. Ryan, p. 74.

⁷⁵⁸ Warner, p. 46.

⁷⁵⁹ Barber, p. 36.

⁷⁶⁰ Ralston, p. 412.

⁷⁶¹ Barber, p. 31.

that, in general, vampire lore “proves to be in a large part an elaborate folk-hypothesis designed to account for seemingly inexplicable events associated with death and decomposition,”⁷⁶² the ambivalence towards death in Slavic folk-culture indicates a deeper foundation to the myth, enveloping a plethora of natural calamities tied with the vampire. The vampire and other forms of malevolent dead were viewed as the reason for the outbreak of epidemics, for the premature death of loved ones, and for natural tragedies that occurred in the community. In the early Slavic villages, vampires were attributed as having a negative effect on daily life, despite the death of the person in question, that would serve as the cause of unwanted weather, such as droughts, hailstorms, famines, and cattle-plagues.⁷⁶³ Those suspected of negatively influencing the elements would be exhumed.⁷⁶⁴ This illustrates that the myth was not viewed merely as an explanation for the unexplainable processes of death and decomposition; rather, it was used as the rationalization of nearly any tragedy that occurred within the village and served as a manifestation of unrelenting, inescapable tribulations affecting the livelihood of the people. The vampire was not merely an explanation of death; rather, it was a physical embodiment of the tragedies exacted on the community.

Aside from those associated with elemental damage, the depiction of the vampire more familiar to a Western audience was said to sit on its tombs, wailing, before assuming another shape and drinking the blood of a person, thus, slowly destroying him. However, if the cock’s crow was approaching, the vampire was said to

⁷⁶² Barber, p. 3.

⁷⁶³ Warner, p. 48; Ralston, p. 411.

⁷⁶⁴ Ralston, p. 424.

attack animals, thus returning to the role highlighted above by causing epidemics of cattle plagues.⁷⁶⁵

Vampires were not always attributed with such mischievous and malevolent acts. Sometimes the arrival of a vampire illustrated a cultural taboo, such as the instance of a woman who was “incompetent enough to die in childbirth” emerging from the grave for six weeks in order to feed her newborn child.⁷⁶⁶ The baby would refuse nourishment during the day, but at night the father would hear the sound of it being fed and rocked in its cradle. This would result in the child’s death, despite the appearance of good intentions.⁷⁶⁷ Other less nefarious appearances would occur when a friend who had sworn to attend the other’s wedding “dead or alive” would return for the ceremony, or a groom or bride who died before the wedding would return to claim his or her fiancée. However, the result of such seemingly positive visits was always tragic. As Warner noted “even these well motivated dead may seem horribly changed—their eyes gleam threateningly, they grind their teeth—and good rarely follows their intervention: the baby dies, the widow visited by her dead husband withers away, the girl claimed by her lover is found lying dead across his grave.”⁷⁶⁸

In all these tales, the theme of blood may occur, but it does not serve the role of unnatural liquid nourishment like in most Western tales; rather, it maintains a more metaphoric role as an illustration of “life force.”⁷⁶⁹ As with the bed on which a dying

⁷⁶⁵ Jan Machal in Jan Perkowski’s *Vampires of the Slavs*, p. 25.

⁷⁶⁶ W.F. Ryan, p. 73.

⁷⁶⁷ Warner, p. 48.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁹ Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 124.

person has lain, the unnaturally deceased would drain the life of those to whom it was connected before death.

In order to avoid the development of vampiric attributes in the dead, a barrier of either thorn-bushes or stinging nettles were planted along the river bank to discourage vampires and other malicious spirits from returning to the land of the living.⁷⁷⁰ Those believed to display vampiric tendencies were not disposed of in the traditional manner; rather, they were thrown into ditches, drowned in water, or covered in branches, rocks, and other debris.⁷⁷¹ In the case of a suicide, the deceased was buried at the place at which the act was performed or at the crossroads. During the burial, stones were thrown at the tomb as punishment for killing oneself.⁷⁷² The Slavic peoples who employed cremation in burial rites would place a sharp object, such as a knife, needle, or awl, in the urn with the cremated remains. The urn itself was then buried upside-down.⁷⁷³

When these preventative measures were unsuccessful, a number of protective measures were devised, such as folk methods of stalling a vampire when encountered. In one account documented by Afanasiev, it was stated that a vampire would ask questions and, in order to live, the pursued would need to answer the questions until the cock's crow, when the vampire would be rendered motionless.⁷⁷⁴ The most frequently encountered inhibitive method exploited the vampire's obsession with counting. Since the vampire was believed to be a compulsive counter, all one needed to do was drop a

⁷⁷⁰ Warner, p. 51.

⁷⁷¹ Barber, p. 73; Warner, p. 48.

⁷⁷² Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 112.

⁷⁷³ Barber, p. 52.

⁷⁷⁴ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskiia vozzreniia slavian' na prirodu*, vol. 2, pp. 138-139.

handful of millet seeds or grains and the creature would be compelled to count them.⁷⁷⁵

This method was also employed in the actual burial, when aspen shavings would be left in the tomb, along with coals to write with.⁷⁷⁶

In order to dispose of a vampire, flour was first left in the corner of the house so that the dead would leave tracks back to the tomb.⁷⁷⁷ The actual methods of disinterring the dead vary; however, all of them incorporate the use of aspen because it was thought to be an efficacious material in combating vampires, spirits, witches, and sorcerers.⁷⁷⁸ In Bogatyrev's account, the vampire was disinterred, the tomb lined with aspen shavings, and the corpse nailed in the foot with briars, beheaded, and turned upside-down.⁷⁷⁹ Afanasiev believed that the vampire was nailed through the heart with an aspen stake and burnt in a funeral pyre of aspen wood.⁷⁸⁰ Ralston stated that during the actual staking of the vampire, it had to be performed in one swift stroke, since a second blow would only reanimate it.⁷⁸¹ The most brutal decimation of the suspected corpse was recorded in Sub Carpathian Rus' where the vampire was disinterred, his head cut off

⁷⁷⁵ Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 124.

⁷⁷⁶ Bogatyrev, pp. 119-120.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ Valentina G. Brougher. "The Demonic in the Short Stories of Grigorii Petrov, Anatolii Kurchatkin, and Oleg Ermakov." *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. 41, no. 2 (Jun. 1999), Academic Research Library, p. 149.

Valentina G. Brougher. "Werewolves and Vampires, Historical Questions and Symbolic Answers in Petr Aleshkovsky's *Vladimir Chigrintsev*." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 45, no. 3 (Autumn 2001), p. 494.

Afanasiev, *Poeticheskii vozzreniia*, vol. 2, pp. 306-307.

⁷⁷⁹ Bogatyrev, pp. 119-120.

⁷⁸⁰ Afanasiev, *Poeticheskii vozzreniia*, vol. 2, p. 307.

⁷⁸¹ Ralston, p. 413.

and placed between his legs, and then the body dissected into little pieces.⁷⁸² By finally disposing of the vampire, it was believed that the calamities set about by it would finish, the epidemic would cease to spread, or the drought would end.

⁷⁸² W.F. Ryan, p. 73.

Appendix 5: *Dvoeverie*

Many of the Pagan beliefs associated with the minor beings of the spiritual world maintained an element of elasticity after the rise of Orthodoxy by consistently serving alongside the changing religious and social systems. Attempts were made to eradicate the former belief, but most were largely external. Vladimir's choice of Orthodoxy over Catholicism is even viewed as a political move because it allowed for adaptation of the prior beliefs into the new religion, which would appease the peasantry. This included the continuation of the lesser myths and the Manichaeic concept of duality and led to the development of the phenomenon of "double belief" or *dvoeverie*.

In order to illustrate the development of *dvoeverie* and demonstrate how the myth of the *upyr*' or vampire serves as a representation of such a development, this appendix will give an overview of the establishment of Russian Orthodoxy, reflecting the Byzantine missionary efforts and the foundation of Kievan Rus'. This will then be analyzed for its relation to the development of the concept of *dvoeverie* in general, followed by the specific permutations of Christian belief into the vampire myth.

The Birth of Russian Orthodoxy

The conversion of Russia to Orthodoxy in 988 occurred during a period of fervent missionary efforts by Constantinople during the time of Hesachysm.⁷⁸³ After

⁷⁸³ John Meyendorff. *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, p. 272.

having ended the struggle with the Iconoclasts in the mid-ninth century,⁷⁸⁴ the Byzantine Church concentrated its efforts on the conversion of the Pagan Slavs along the outskirts of the Empire such as the Moravians, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Russians. The first mission was focused towards the Moravians. Photius, the first Patriarch of Constantinople, appointed two brothers, Constantine, or Cyril and Methodius. Originally from Thessalonica, Cyril and Methodius were versed in Hebrew, Arabic, the Samaritan dialect, and the dialect of the Slavs around Thessalonica. In 863, they went to Moravia in response to a request from Prince Rostislav, who appealed to Byzantium for Christian missionaries with the ability to preach to the people in Slavonic. Since Slavonic services required a Bible and service books to be composed in the dialect, the brothers began to devise a suitable Slavonic alphabet, based on the Macedonian dialect of the Slavs around Thessalonica, thus the development of this dialect into Church Slavonic.⁷⁸⁵

After completion of the Slavonic Bible, the brothers, despite the existing schism between the Catholic and Orthodox churches, appealed to the Pope for the entitlement of Slavonic as the official church language of Macedonia. The Pope granted approval, but the Germans present in the country ignored the decision and, after the death of the second brother, Methodius, expelled the brothers' followers from the country. It seemed that the work had been unsuccessful until the expelled disciples escaped to Bulgaria and successfully founded a church there.⁷⁸⁶

⁷⁸⁴ Iconoclasm was a movement by Byzantine leaders, such as Emperor Leo III, to destroy religious relics.

⁷⁸⁵ Timothy Ware. *The Orthodox Church*. Penguin Books, Ringwood, Victoria, Australia, 1982, p. 82.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

Analogous efforts in Russia were initiated with an attempt by Photius in 864, which was reversed by Oleg upon his accession to power in 878. Despite this unsuccessful effort, Christian influence from Byzantium, Scandinavia, and Bulgaria slowly percolated into Russia, resulting in the foundation of a church in Kiev in 945. The Russian Princess Ol'ga was one of the first to be baptized, but her son Sviatoslav refused, asserting that it would demean him in the eyes of the people. In 988, Ol'ga's grandson, Vladimir, decided to adopt the Orthodox faith, partially for the political viability of its adaptability to the current belief system.⁷⁸⁷ Vladimir was himself baptized in 988, and solidified the relation to Byzantium by marrying the sister of the Byzantine Emperor, Anna.⁷⁸⁸ He adopted the Byzantine state structure which was manifested in the country's history. Russia officially became a metropolitanate of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and remained so until the expulsion of the last Greek Metropolitan of "Kiev and all Russia", Isidore, for his signing of the Union of Florence in 1439.⁷⁸⁹ The Russian Orthodox Church officially became a separate entity and, upon the fall of Constantinople, was declared the Third Rome, causing the Prince of Moscow to be promoted to the position of Emperor or "Tsar of all Russia" under Ivan III in 1547.⁷⁹⁰

Despite these attempts to Christianize Russia, Kievan Rus saw the restriction of the church to the cities, with the majority of the countryside remaining Pagan until the

⁷⁸⁷ W.F. Ryan. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 1999, p. 14.

⁷⁸⁸ Anthony-Emil N Tachiaos. *Greeks and Slavs: Cultural, Ecclesiastical and Literary Relations*. Kyriakidis Brothers, Thessaloniki, 1997, p. 412.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 176.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 177.

fourteenth to fifteenth centuries.⁷⁹¹ One of the first missionaries to attempt an appeal to the Russian villages was Sergius of Radonezh, who lived from 1314 to 1392. He began a network of “religious houses” which spread across northern Russia, forming fifty communities of his disciples within his lifetime. Called “explorer monks”, Sergius’s followers targeted “the wild Pagan tribes in the forests around them.”⁷⁹²

The Development of the Concept of Dvoeverie

Evidence of Paganism and magical practice in Russia during this time can be found in Russian chronicles, ecclesiastic texts, and lists of banned books.⁷⁹³ Despite these distinctive sources and the still present love of folklore in Russia, folktales often were not recorded because of the clergy’s belief that oral poetry and folklore carried “the rudiments of heathen ideology.”⁷⁹⁴ However, starting with the Second South Slavonic Influence in the fifteenth century, an escalation of apocalyptical modes of thought and an increase in popular divinatory texts emerged.⁷⁹⁵ One such ecclesiastic text was the list of official church decrees documented in the *Stoglav*, or *Hundred Chapters*. This was a compilation of the deliberations of a 1551 Moscow church council. It consisted of questions of the Tsar regarding superstitions, irreligious

⁷⁹¹ Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, p. 88.

⁷⁹² Ibid., pp. 94-95.

⁷⁹³ W.F. Ryan, p. 15.

⁷⁹⁴ Felix J. Oinas. “Folklore Activities in Russia.” *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 74, no. 294, Folklore Research around the World: A North American Point of View (Oct.-Dec., 1961), p. 362

⁷⁹⁵ W.F. Ryan, p. 11.

practices, and issues within the church, such as the banning of the practice of leaving cauls of newborn infants on the church alter for six weeks.⁷⁹⁶

Attempts were made to eradicate Pagan superstition, including those of Maxime Grek, a monk from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, who was outspoken against obscurantism and superstition, which he believed caused Russian society to be “enmeshed in the toils of stagnation and spiritual darkness.”⁷⁹⁷ When Prince Vladimir of Kiev accepted Christianity, he issued a decree for the destruction of all idols of Perun. Interestingly, this was not intended entirely as an extermination of the belief in the deity, but as punishment of the “demon who had deceived man in this guise, that he might receive chastisement at the hands of men.”⁷⁹⁸ This concept of deception was retransferred to the people in the *Third Pskovian Chronicle* of 1570, which stated that Russians are “deceivers and prone to witchcraft.”⁷⁹⁹ This marks a shift in the religious system in Russia after the adoption of Orthodoxy, in which a state of double belief, or *dvoeverie*, developed, causing a parallelism of belief among the people with Christianity and the old Slavic Pagan religion. The two systems began to coexist, forming “parallel *dvoeverie*.”

As the explorer monks became more successful in their endeavors to spread Christianity to the villages, a second form of *dvoeverie* developed, “dualist *dvoeverie*” in which the inhabitants continued to follow the practices of their old religion, but also utilized Orthodoxy, forming a dualistic stream of thought in which the two separate

⁷⁹⁶ W.F. Ryan, p. 19.

⁷⁹⁷ Tachiaos, pp. 416-417

⁷⁹⁸ Jan Perkowski. *The Darkling: A Treatise on Slavic Vampirism*. Slavica Publishers, Inc. Columbus, 1989, p. 23

⁷⁹⁹ W.F. Ryan, p. 11.

systems of belief were drawn upon in distinctive situations without necessarily engendering an overt contradiction of the disparate systems.⁸⁰⁰

While the overarching systems of the beliefs may have at least temporarily remained dualistic, the individual tenets became an amalgamation of the two religions, forming a syncretistic form of *dvoeverie*, where a figure in one belief took on the attributes of the other. For instance, in the Olonets region of northern Russia, it was thought that Michael the Archangel banished the rebellious angels from heaven, causing some of them to enter hell and become demons, and others to fall into the forests and rivers, becoming wood and water spirits.⁸⁰¹ This is shifted by Vladimir's destruction of the Kievan statue of Perun, which symbolized the transformation of perception of the former gods into demons in the eyes of Christian Russians.⁸⁰²

While Ralston asserts that in regards to the "inferior inhabitants" of the spirit world, "The Church has waged war against their expression for centuries, and has degraded and disfigured many of them,"⁸⁰³ the *Russian Primary Chronicle* indicates that rulers of Kievan Rus' were not entirely in contention with magicians, the primary holders of the Pagan religious beliefs, who were once held in high regard for their roles in the Russian communities. One entry recounts the story of Prince Oleg of Kiev who received a prophecy that he would "die by his horse." Upon the horse's death, he assumed that the prophecy had been incorrect, only to be contradicted when a snake

⁸⁰⁰ Petr Bogatyrev. *Vampires in the Carpathians: Magical Acts, Rites, and Beliefs in Subcarpathian Rus'*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1998, p. 31.

⁸⁰¹ W.F. Ryan, p. 37.

⁸⁰² Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 23

⁸⁰³ W.R.S. Ralston. *The Songs of the Russian People: An Illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life*. Haskell House Publishers, New York, 1970, p. 106.

appeared from inside the horse's skull and killed him.⁸⁰⁴ In the *Chronicle* entry for 1044, it states that Prince Vseslav of Polotsk was born with a caul. His mother was instructed by a sorcerer to have him wear it for the rest of his life by binding it to the back of his head. Vseslav was also attributed with the ability to turn into a wolf in the *Tale of Prince Igor*⁸⁰⁵, resulting in a reference to him as Volkh Vseslav'evic. He was further attributed with having worn a Pagan amulet his entire life and to having displayed vampiric tendencies upon his death.⁸⁰⁶

The False Dmitri was associated with dealings in witchcraft, and when a great frost set in after his death, the populace exhumed his body and proceeded to burn it and shoot the ashes from gun turrets.⁸⁰⁷ Dmitri's wife was fabled to have escaped from Moscow as a magpie.⁸⁰⁸ Even Ivan the Terrible, who was associated with campaigns for the extermination of sorcery, including one where the suspected witches were reputed to have flown away as magpies from Red Square, viewed the appearance of a comet as a sign of his impending death and appealed to sixty wizards for an interpretation of this sign. They prophesied his death on the 18th of March 1584, which occurred from a heart attack during a game of chess.⁸⁰⁹ From the employment of a sorcerer named Nicolaus Bulow under Ivan III, all rulers of Russia up to Peter the Great were held to have had an

⁸⁰⁴ W.F. Ryan, p. 12.

⁸⁰⁵ Cited in W. F. Ryan, p. 13.

⁸⁰⁶ Roman Jakobson. *Selected Writings, Volumes IV and VI*. Mouton & Co. The Hague, Paris. 1966, p. 302.

⁸⁰⁷ Ralston, p. 425.

⁸⁰⁸ W.F. Ryan, p. 81.

⁸⁰⁹ Ralston, p. 421.

interest in some form of magic.⁸¹⁰ This illustrates that syncretistic *dvoeverie* was not isolated merely to the peasantry, rather, even the royalty were attributed with the employment of elements of both religions.

Even the adopted Orthodox holidays were imbued with former Pagan rituals. Three such holidays were documented in the *Stoglav* and reflect the reverence for the dead that was fundamental to the Pagan belief system:

Chapter 41, Question and answer 23. On Trinity Saturday⁸¹¹ people gather at cemeteries and lament, and entertainers dance and sing satanic songs. This is condemned.

Chapter 41, Question and answer 24. On the eves of St. John, Christmas Day, and the Epiphany people gather at night and dance and sing satanic songs and bathe in the river. The fathers of the Council recommend that the tsar should send an order to all priests in every town and village to instruct their flocks to desist from these ancient Hellenic devilries. [...]

Chapter 41, Question and answer 26. On Thursday of Passion Week people burn straw and call up the dead, and on this day ignorant priests put salt under the altar, which they then keep until the seventh Thursday after Easter, when it becomes a cure for sick men or beasts. The Council replies that this is a Hellene seduction and heresy and any priest involved in this is to be excluded from the priesthood.⁸¹²

Despite the assertion by the Council that such celebrations were condemned, they were allowed to persist and were still documented in a twentieth century study conducted by Petr Bogatyrev. He observed the following corollary celebration during his anthropological field work:

The right of lighting fires on the evening of Holy Saturday is connected with the cult of the dead in some localities: "On the night of Holy Saturday until Easter Day, the souls of the dead rise and go to pray in church; that is why they burn fires at the cemetery by the church." A similar rite may have existed formerly in Russia, consisting of lighting fires before matins on Friday or Saturday of Holy Week [...].⁸¹³

⁸¹⁰ W.F. Ryan, p. 22.

⁸¹¹ The day before Easter on the Orthodox calendar, also called Holy Saturday.

⁸¹² W.F. Ryan, p. 19.

⁸¹³ Bogatyrev, p. 68.

This not only illustrates the ambivalence of the church and ruling class towards the subsistence of Pagan celebrations, it exemplifies the longevity of the practice.

One significant transformation did transpire in the perception of the role of magical inhabitants of the community. Many of the classifications of wizards and witches held positions of prestige in the Pagan communities, but after the adoption of Orthodoxy, the power of magicians became associated with the demonic.⁸¹⁴ While in Western Europe this association of magic with the demonic was considered an “invention of the Renaissance period”, the Russian Church quickly acquired an imprecise nature towards demonology and the depictions of evil.⁸¹⁵ This led to the development of a subsequent problem, caused by a linguistic ambiguity, of whether or not such magical people were associated with *a* devil or *the* Devil.⁸¹⁶ The *Koldun*, who always was associated with malevolent actions, became associated with a pact with the Devil and was said to have influence over evil spirits. The magic associated with the *koldun* was stylized into “anti-prayers”, which were spells said to involve “removing crosses or covering icons” and employ demons for the efficacy of one’s desired action, culminating in “the rejection of Christ and placing the cross under one’s (left) heel.”⁸¹⁷

⁸¹⁴ W.F. Ryan, p. 12.

⁸¹⁵ Ibid., p. 40.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid.

Ryan describes the issue that “There is no definite or indefinite article in Russian so that one cannot always know whether a text is speaking of *a* devil, i.e. any kind of demonic force, or *the* Devil, i.e. Lucifer the fallen angel, the promoter of evil, tempter of mankind, and ruler of hell and lesser imps, and just as often there will be references to other evil forces under a variety of names. Church Slavonic and Russian *bes* regularly translates Greek *daimon*, the term used in patristic texts for all pagan gods and supernatural beings; *diiavol* is found for Greek *diabolos* from the earliest translations of the Gospels onwards; *sotona* (Russian *satana*) is found for both *satanas* and *diabolos* in Greek; and *chert*, *chort* is probably the commonest name in colloquial Russian, and in popular belief the Devil’s own preferred name for himself.”

⁸¹⁷ Ibid., p. 42.

The *koldun* remained associated with a transformation into an *upyr*’ after its death, but the reason for becoming one was shifted from the *koldun*’s employment of unnatural magic to its associations with either devils or the Devil. Such a belief was graphically recounted by W.F. Ryan that, “The Devil enters the body of the dead *koldun*, through his mouth, flays him and eats his flesh before donning his skin.”⁸¹⁸

Incorporation of Christian Themes into the Vampire Myth

The *koldun*’s return as a vampire was not the only aspect of the old Pagan vampire myth that retained its permanence after the adoption of Orthodoxy. The care of the departed soul continued to be observed for the forty days after a person’s death, water was placed on the windowsill, the window remained open immediately afterwards to allow the soul to pass through, still depicted in its moth-like form.

The significance of the cock’s crow in averting the vampire is documented in the *Volkhovnik*, or *Book of the Wizard*, under dangerous omens. The use of poppy-seeds as an appellation to a vampire’s obsession with counting remained even during the most recent studies, as did the use of aspen shavings in the coffin, the inclusion of poppies and coal, and the use of flower to track the path of the dead.⁸¹⁹ The conventional internment methods were also maintained. Even the undead’s association with negatively affecting the elements was retained at least through Ralston’s study in the early twentieth century.⁸²⁰

⁸¹⁸ W.F. Ryan, p. 73.

⁸¹⁹ Bogatyrev, pp. 119-120.

⁸²⁰ Ralston, p. 424.

However the myth did incorporate a significant concentration of Orthodox symbolism. This adoption of Christian themes reveals a pertinent example of the syncretistic process of *dvoeverie*. W.F. Ryan even asserts that while the beginning of the development of syncretistic *dvoeverie* cannot be adequately traced, the references to *upyri* are documented from early times and are illustrative of a “persistent feature in Slavonic folk-belief.”⁸²¹ This persistence illustrates that despite the fluid nature of the representation of the *upyr*, its core retained a permanence not seen by some of the other Pagan beliefs, such as the upper echelon of the gods.

Most of the additions to the myth correspond to the alteration of the perception of witches and wizards, where the connection with demons, the Devil, and heresy became associated with the concept of unnatural death. This is represented by the addition to Afanasiev’s definition of an *upyr*’ to include “people excommunicated by the church, such as suicides, drunkards, heretics, apostates, and those cursed by their parents.”⁸²² This addendum was replicated by W.R.S. Ralston, with the supplementation of a broad condemnation of those who use magic, namely “persons who were wizards, witches, and werewolves.”⁸²³ The discernment of who was condemned by the church, and thus likely to exhibit vampiric tendencies was expanded to include anyone who could fit the broad classification of a “sinner”, such as the prior listing of alcoholics.⁸²⁴

⁸²¹ W.F. Ryan, p. 41.

⁸²² Perkowski, *The Darkling*, p. 19.

⁸²³ Ralston, p. 409. “[...] dead persons who were wizards, witches, and werewolves, or people who became outcasts from the Church and its rites, by committing suicide, for instance, or by drinking themselves to death; or heretics and apostates, or victims of a parental curse.”

⁸²⁴ Paul Barber. *Vampires, Burial, and Death: Folklore and Reality*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, pp. 29-30.

One unique development of the Orthodox understanding of what constituted an unnatural death was the legend of the *zmitka*. A *zmitka* was a baby who died unbaptized that would return to the home of its parents for seven years, demanding that it receive a name. One account received by Petr Bogatyrev details that:

If a mother brings into the world a baby stillborn and unbaptized, it is called a *zmitka* and is regarded as a demon. It is necessary, then, to prepare a sickle, a flail, a rake, a broom, and all sorts of objects, so that it will have work. These objects are made of wood, of chips. If they are put in the coffin, the *zmitka* will not return to its mother.⁸²⁵

The placing of items such as a sickle and broom provides a correlation to the belief that a person's work in life continued after death documented. In this case it seems that even those who failed to survive long enough to fulfill their place in life would be forced to work in the afterlife.

Another cause of vampirism was appended to the accidental causes of vampirism, such as a cat jumping over the body and improper behavior towards the corpse, namely the omission of some part of the Orthodox funeral etiquette. This could include the overlooking of reciting the Psalter for three days and nights following the person's death.⁸²⁶

The prevention and extermination of vampires also incorporated some of the idiosyncrasies of Orthodoxy. The stinging nettles said to prevent the return of malevolent spirits from the Netherworld became associated with the deterrence of witches and demons.⁸²⁷ Aspen used to make the stakes employed to impale those suspected of vampirism began to be known as an effective means of fighting the

⁸²⁵ Bogatyrev, p. 92.

⁸²⁶ Elizabeth Warner. *Russian Myths*. The British Museum Press, London, 2002, p. 51.

⁸²⁷ Ibid.

“unclean spirit.”⁸²⁸ This was extended to include a Biblical reference to aspen, which became known as “the Devil’s tree”, in a folk legend interpretation of it as being the “wood on which Christ was crucified and the tree on which Judas hanged himself.”⁸²⁹ Preventative amulets even began to reflect a certain level of dualism, such as the *zmeeviki* that displayed a Christian symbol on one side and a Pagan serpent on the other.⁸³⁰

Aside from the prior preventative measures that took a syncretistic air under the development of Orthodoxy, some uniquely Christian apotropaic methods emerged, including the use of magic prayers, crosses, religious relics, holy water, incense, and the speaking of Church Slavonic.⁸³¹ This comes from the belief that the Devil fears magic circles (such as demonifuges and talismans), crosses, blessing, incense, the name of God, and the cock’s crow.⁸³²

The association of the vampire with the Devil even went so far as to have the terms *upyr’* and *koldun* become nearly synonymous with *eretik*, or heretic. One such example of this heterogeneous utilization of the term heretic is recounted by Efimenko in Oinas’s “Heretics as Vampires and Demons in Russia”:

There were such people, who roamed around at night in villages, captured people and ate them. The *eretiki* were not alive, but dead. Therefore, if they really got on the nerves of people, the people gathered at the grave of the one who was known as a sorcerer during his

⁸²⁸ Valentina G. Brougher. “Werewolves and Vampires, Historical Questions and Symbolic Answers in Petr Aleshkovsky’s *Vladimir Chigrintsev*.” *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 45, no. 3 (Autumn 2001), p. 494.

⁸²⁹ Valentina G. Brougher. “The Demonic in the Short Stories of Grigorii Petrov, Anatolii Kurchatkin, and Oleg Ermakov.” *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. 41, no. 2 (Jun. 1999), Academic Research Library, p. 149.

⁸³⁰ W.F. Ryan, p. 229.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁸³² *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46

lifetime, opened it up with stakes, took out the *eretik* who was lying with his face downwards, and burned him in a bonfire or pierced his back with an aspen stick... The person—magician (*kudesnik*), wizard (*znaxar'*) or harmer (*porcelnik*)—who was called a “sorcerer” (*koldun*) in his lifetime, would become an *eretik* after his death, if he walks around at night and begins to eat people, as it has been going on for centuries.⁸³³

This reflects the connection between the *koldun* and the *upyr'*, which coalesced into one homogenous myth of a live or dead *eretik*. A variant of this was given by Rybnikov:

Evil sorcerers do not give peace to Christians even after their deaths and become *erestuny* (or *xloptuny*, *kloxtuny*, *soptuny*); they seize the moment when a neighbor is near his death and, as soon as the soul has left the body, they enter the deceased. After that, unpleasant things happen to the family. There are *erestuny* who “transform themselves,” i.e., acquire another person’s face and endeavour to sneak into their own or into another family. Such an *erestun* lives, it seems, as is fitting for a good peasant, but soon people in the family or in the village begin to disappear one after another; the *erestun* devours them. In order to destroy the transformed sorcerer, it is necessary to take the whip used for a heavily loaded horse and give him a thorough thrashing. Then he will fall down and give up his ghost. In order to prevent him from coming to life in the grave, it is necessary to drive an aspen stake into his back between the shoulders.⁸³⁴

This presents an alternative to the original stipulation that the *upyr'* would return home to its relatives because of its connection during life. Rather than having the tragic occurrences after the family member’s death be due to the nature of their unnatural death, such events are the result of an external force—the *eretik*.

In either example, the correlation between the myth of the *upyr'* and that of the *eretik* is apparent. Oinas asserts that this transference of the attributes of the *upyr'* to the term *eretik* may be the reason for the shift in the labelling of the myth to *eretik* and the later need to employ the Western term “vampire.”⁸³⁵

⁸³³ As quoted in Felix Oinas. “Heretics as Vampires and Demons in Russia.” *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 22, no. 4 (Winter, 1978), p. 433.

⁸³⁴ Ibid., p. 434.

⁸³⁵ Ibid., p. 437.

Appendix 6: Sample Folkloric Study

The field research for this suggested project consists of interviews of approximately seventy people in towns lying along the Trans-Siberian railway and in selected centres in Moscow, to be determined by the interviewer. Centers should be chosen to give an adequate representation of the regions and populations of Russia. The interviews will employ a detailed qualitative interviewing technique loosely based on the methods described by Jennifer Mason in *Qualitative Researching*⁸³⁶ and the format of Alfred Kinsey's studies.⁸³⁷ Kinsey's study was chosen as the format for this work because of its non-threatening, unbiased, broad approach to seemingly personal issues. Sample question topics will be composed in advance, in order to prevent any possible language difficulties, but the method will imply a degree of leniency in adapting the interview to the individual interviewees. The questions themselves will ascribe the method of "funneling"⁸³⁸, by beginning with more generalized questions and slowly narrowing down to the specific information, which is the goal of this study. This is intended to avoid any discomforts that could arise during the interviewing process.

The interview will be tape-recorded and transcribed at a later time, but notes on external qualities, such as sudden sign of discomfort/sadness/etc. will be recorded by the interviewer. Also, the topics that provided significant information will be marked in a grid, with boxes corresponding to the specific topics.

Appropriate ethical considerations will be employed, such as a form detailing willingness to participate and the disbursement of future interviewer contact forms, in case any issues arise after the interview.

⁸³⁶ Jennifer Mason. *Qualitative Researching*. Sage Publications, London, 2002, pp. 62-83.

⁸³⁷ Joan Scherer Brewer, ed. *The Kinsey Interview Kit*. The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Inc. 1985.

⁸³⁸ Viktor Minichiello. *In-depth interviewing : principles, techniques, analysis*, second edition. Longman, Melbourne, 1985, p. 84.

Interview Topics

Question Types

First the participants will be asked where they are originally from, where their age fits in a general age range (20s-30s, 40s-50s, 60s-70s, 70+), and what they consider their religion to be. The interview will then proceed to questions about general knowledge of the subject points listed below, using the following question types:

Question Types for Bullets:

- First bullets: What do you know/ What can you tell me about ____?
- Second bullets: Have you ever heard of ____?

Question for holiday section:

- Do you celebrate ____? If yes, how do you celebrate ____?

Question for literary sections:

- Have you read ____? (In the case of Lukyanenko, Have you seen ____?)
 - If yes, what was your perception of ____?

Question for vampire section bullets (aside from use of above questions):

- Did you ever hear that ____ while growing up? When? From whom? Please elaborate.

Ending question:

- Is there anything you would like to add?

Topics

Folk Belief

- Gods
 - Perun
 - Svarog
 - Dazhbog

- Ogon'
 - Veles
 - Stribog
- Talismans
- Zagovori
- Evil eye
- Devils
- Demons
- Fairies
- Kitezh
- Witches
- Wizards
- Werewolves
- Shapeshifters

Holidays

- Ivan Kupala
- Maslenitsa

Disease

- Stench of body
- Bed on which a dying person has lain
- Disease prevention
 - Aspen stakes
 - Strong-smelling substances (such as garlic)
- Image of Cholera
- Image of Small pox
- Image of Plague
- Wasting disease

Death (Perception)

- Burial practices

- Domovina
- Soul remaining on earth for 40 days
- Placing of deceased person's favourite items in coffin
- Ubrus (shroud)
- Visiting the tomb of a deceased loved one
 - How often?
 - What items/actions do you bring/perform? Why?
- Lower beings
 - Predki, zalozhnye
- Upyri
- Vampires

Vampires

- Types of people that become vampires
 - Suicides
 - Alcoholics
 - Heretics
 - Those born with a caul
 - Those born with teeth
 - Curse
 - Murder victims
 - Accidental deaths
 - Victims of epidemics
 - Cat jumping over corpse
 - Children born with a split lower lip
 - Excessive showing of grief at the funeral
 - Inappropriate behaviour towards the dead
 - Burying the dead in dirty clothes
 - Drinking the vodka before the burial feast
 - Sorcerers
- Blood
- Cock's crow

- Burial shroud
- Seen or unseen
- Corpse with an open mouth
- Counting
- Disposal
 - Throwing body into the river
 - Throwing body into ditch
 - Covering body in branches, stones, or debris
 - Stake
 - Aspen
 - Single stroke
- Psychic vampires

Literature (The list of literary works should be amended shortly before the study, accounting for recent publications.)

- Gogol
 - *Vii, A Terrible Vengeance, Nevskii Prospekt*
- A.K. Tolstoi
 - “Upr”, “La famille du vourdulak”
- Petr Aleshkovsky
 - *Vladimir Chigrintsev*

Lukyanenko’s Series

- *Nochnoi Dozor*
 - Film
 - Book
- *Dnevnoi Dozor*
 - Film
 - Book
- *Sumerechnyi Dozor*
- *Poslednii Dozor*
- Fate

- Shapeshifters
 - Tigrenok
 - Medved
 - Ol'ga
- Good v. Evil
- Sumrak
- Mind reading
- Depiction of vampires

Modern Spiritualism

- Religious shows
- Mass hypnotists
- Folk healers
- Astrology
- Shamanism
- Reaction to statement
 - 148-Petrov statement in "Roza and Fialka" representing Russian duality:
 - "Everything in the world is interwoven. Light and darkness, life and death, right and left. These are brothers. You cannot divide them. And thus it turns out that even the good is not good, and the bad is not bad, and life is not life, and death is not death."

Sample Grid
(x if mentioned, √ if significant information given)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|
| B.Place | Age | Religion | Gods | Perun | Svarog | Dazhbog | Ogon' | Veles | Stribog |
| Talismans | Zagovori | Evil Eye | Devils | Demons | Fairies | Kitezh | Witches | Wizards | Werewolves |
| S.shifters | I. Kupala | M.tsa | Stench | Bed | DP | Aspen | SSS | Cholera | Small Pox |
| Plague | Wa. Dis. | Death P. | Bur. Prac. | D.vina | Soul 40 days | Fav. Items | Ubrus | Vis. Tomb | How often |
| Items/ actions | Predki | Zalozhnye | Upyri | Vamp. | Types of people | Suicides | Alco. | Her. | Caul |
| Born w/ teeth | Curse | Murder Victims | Accid. Deaths | Vict. of Epidemic | Cat | Split lip | Grief | Behaviour | Dirty C. |
| Vodka | Sorcer | Blood | Cock's crow | Bur. Sh. | S or U | Open M. | Counting | Disposal | River |
| Ditch | Covering | Stake | Aspen | Single S. | Psychic V. | "Vij" | "A T V" | "Upyr" | "LfdV" |
| Vladimir Ch. | Nochnoi Dozor | Film | Book | Dnevnoi Dozor | Film | Book | Sum. Dozor | Fate | Sh.shifters |
| Tigrenok | Medved | Olga | G v. E | Sumrak | Mind Reading | Dep. Of v. | Rel. shows | Mass hypnotists | Folk healers |
| Astrology | Sh.ism | Statement | Other: | | | | | | |