

Mörkrets Makter's Mini-Mysteries

Hans Corneel DE ROOS¹

The discussion about Bram Stoker's possible contribution to *Mörkrets makter*, the Swedish version of *Dracula*, and about the identity of the anonymous Swedish editor/translator, has reached no definitive conclusions yet. This paper addresses a series of minor mysteries linked to the Swedish variants: the possible connections between the Budapest, the Chicago and the Stockholm serialisations; the use of certain names (Draculitz, Mary Wood, Valentini's, Zolyva, Koromeszo); references to the Whitechapel Murders and the Thames Torso Mysteries, among others. Although these observations provide no definitive proof regarding the authorship of *Mörkrets makter*, taken together, they seem to show subtle support for the idea that these *Dracula* modifications were entirely created in Sweden.

Keywords: *Dracula*, *Makt myrkranna*, *Mörkrets makter*, Stoker, piracy.

1. Introduction

In 1986, fiction specialist Richard Dalby was the first to draw attention to the Icelandic version of *Dracula*, named *Makt myrkranna*, meaning “powers of darkness.” Under this name, it gained a certain fame among *Dracula* scholars and fans, as the Icelandic preface, translated to English by Joel H. Emerson and published by Dalby in his book *The Lair of the White Worm – A Bram Stoker Omnibus* (Dalby, 1986), contain a reference to the murders committed by Jack the Ripper, which took place in 1888 and shocked all of London; they even gained worldwide notoriety as one of the first crime streaks by an – evidently pathological – serial killer. In his *Bram Stoker Journal* of 1993 (Dalby, 1993), Dalby republished this translation of the preface. Here we read:

But the events are incontrovertible, and so many people know of them that they cannot be denied. This series of crimes has not yet passed from the memory -- a series of crimes which appear to have originated from the same source, and which at the same time created as much repugnance in people everywhere as the murders of Jack the Ripper, which came into the story a little later.

This translation suggested that the crimes by Jack the Ripper would be discussed in the Icelandic text of the novel, which Dalby believed to be an abridged translation of

¹ Independent researcher, Germany/Philippines, hanscorneelderoos@gmail.com.

Stoker's original. Hence, scholars started searching for allusions to Jack the Ripper in the 1897 edition of *Dracula*. Some even speculated that Bram Stoker possessed inside knowledge about these so-called Whitechapel Murders, and possibly knew the name of the perpetrator (Davison, 1997, 147, pointing to Haining; Storey, 2012).

But as I demonstrated in my first paper on the Icelandic version (De Roos, 2014 a), *Makt myrkranna* was no abridged translation of *Dracula* at all: it was a radical modification. In the same paper, I demonstrated that Emerson's translation was faulty; the correct translation is "... the murders of Jack the Ripper, which *happened* a little later."

Accordingly, the Icelandic preface states that the crimes featured in *Makt myrkranna* must have happened *before* the Ripper Murders. My suspicion was that the Icelandic (and now the Swedish) texts refer to the so-called "Thames Torso Murders" that started already in 1887 (see Figure 1). In his conversation with Harker, Count Drakulitz (the vampire's name in the Icelandic version) seems to hint to these crimes:

"Yes" – he said breathlessly and the fire virtually burned in his eyes, – "yes, these crimes, these terrible murders, these murdered women, these people found in sacks in the Thames, this blood, that flows, that flows and streams, while the murderer cannot be not found." (my translation from the Icelandic)

Exit Jack the Ripper: Count Draculitz (the vampire's name in the Swedish variants) and his aristocratic London entourage are introduced as the possible culprits in the equally unsolved Thames Torso Murders.



Figure 1. *Illustrated Police News*, May 28, 1887: gruesome discovery in Rainham

Since my first analysis of *Makt myrkranna*, much water has flown through the Thames. The question of Stoker's possible involvement in the Icelandic publication was addressed in this first article already, sparked by my observation that several ideas from Stoker's early notes for *Dracula* that had not made it into his final manuscript seemed to return in the Icelandic version. Since then, other authors such as Clive Bloom, David Skal, Jason Colavita, Rickard Berghorn, Katy Brundan, Melanie Jones, Benjamin Mier-Cruz and Ingmar Söhrman have joined the discussion. After the publication of *Powers of Darkness*, my English translation from the Icelandic (De Roos, 2017 a), Berghorn was the one to point to the still earlier Swedish modifications of *Dracula* that were serialised in the newspaper *Dagen* and the semi-weekly magazine *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga*, both belonging to the *Aftonbladet* group (De Roos, 2017 b). As I established, not the *Dagen* variant unearthed by Berghorn but the – shorter – *Halfvecko-upplaga* version I obtained directly from the Royal Library in Stockholm was the text that the Icelandic editor and publisher of *Fjallkonan*, Valdimar Ásmundsson, must have used to create his still shorter Icelandic story, replacing various references to European culture by allusions to the Icelandic sagas (De Roos, 2017 c). Accordingly, I stopped searching for a direct link between Stoker and Ásmundsson. My research into the backgrounds of the Nordic publications shifted to the questions (1) who might have been the Swedish editor/ translator and (2) to what extent Bram Stoker had been personally involved in the Swedish initiative.

2. Who was the Swedish editor/translator?

Regarding the first question, in March 2017 I proposed that Anders Albert Anders(s)on² Edenberg (1834-1913), a well-respected senior journalist living and working in Stockholm in the 1890s (see Figure 2), might have been the person who had used the pseudonym “A-e” for these *Dracula* modifications (De Roos, 2017 d). Anderson-Edenberg had been the Chief Editor of the monthly magazine *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, that had covered a wide range of literary, cultural and scientific topics; he worked for the magazine for 20 years (1867-1887). He also had translated various works by the later winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson from Norway. From his contributions to *Svenska Familj-Journalen* we can see that he also was able to translate from the English. In 1895, he wrote a brochure in German for the Swedish Tourist Association (Anderson-Edenberg, 1895). Interesting enough, by 1899, Anderson-Edenberg had already used the pseudonyms “A. E-g,” “Edbg,” “Eg,” “E-g” and – for his stage play translation – “A.E.” The pseudonym “A-e” would fit both his full name and these previously used acronyms.

² Various newspapers use “ss,” but in his letterhead and obituaries, he used a single “s.”



Figure 2. Anders Albert Anderson-Edenberg (1834-1913)

Moreover, Anderson-Edenberg was a co-founder and the Secretary of *Publicistklubben*, the Swedish Association of Journalists. In that quality, he worked together with Harald Sohlman, the Chief Editor of both *Dagen* and *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga*, on numerous occasions, e.g. for the *Festskrift* that was created to celebrate *Publicistklubben*'s 25th anniversary in May 1899, just a month before the serialisation of the Swedish *Dracula* variants kicked off in *Dagen* (see Figure 3).

Nyss utkommet i alla boklädor :

EKO

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

Rikt och omvexlande innehåll.
Elegant utstyrel.

Requisitioner torde insändas till C. & E. Gernandts Förlags Aktiebolag, Stockholm.

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

Artistiska bidrag af Viktor Andrén, G. Ankarcrona, Albert Engström, A. Forsberg, N. Kreuger och Carl Larsson.

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

Figure 3. *EKO Festskrift*, May 1899

Later, I found still more arguments in favour of Anderson-Edenberg: many of the cultural references used in *Mörkrets makter* were also discussed in Anderson-Edenberg's earlier contributions to *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, such as a very peculiar phrase describing two stalwart nurses from the Transylvanian convent hospital as "true Valkyries from the Bavarian highlands." Incidentally, Andersson-Edenberg had most probably been the author of an article on the Walhalla Temple near Donaustauf, Bavaria, 420 meters above sea level, with its 14 Valkyrie statues supporting the roof as caryatids, and of a poem titled "Valkyrian," signed "-ed-."

3. To what extent was Stoker himself involved in the Swedish publications?

As to the second question, I spent more than a year trying to find a connection between Bram Stoker and Valdimar Ásmundsson, either direct or via friends or acquaintances they might have in common. Although the personal networks of the two writers turned out to be intertwined at a number of points, I never found enough evidence for a communication about the “export” of *Dracula* to Iceland – a truly tantalizing experience. Why did I not give up earlier? Already in January 2014, my Icelandic colleague Ásgeir Jónsson, editor of the third Icelandic edition of *Makt myrkranna*, wrote me that the preface to the Icelandic version showed traces of a translation from another language (email of January 26, 2014). His opinion was later confirmed by a group of Icelandic language experts I contacted in January 2016. And my colleague Simone Berni from Italy, who had published a book on the first foreign editions of *Dracula* (Berni, 2014), confirmed to me that while visiting Sweden (especially Stockholm and Malmö) and other Scandinavian countries, he had not been able to find any early variants of *Dracula* in book form (messages of March 6, 2017). Berni was right, but oversaw, alas, a crucial point: In Sweden, *Mörkrets makter* indeed was never published as a book (until the 2017 republication, see Berghorn, 2017 b) – but it was serialised three times. Although this was known to a number of Swedish scholars, they never took the trouble to point it out to international academic circles that might have been interested in these variants. Only after my book *Powers of Darkness* received excited reviews in major international newspapers and magazines, Rickard Berghorn jumped the bandwagon and burdened himself with the task of finding a connection between London and Stockholm, instead of Reykjavik.



Figure 4. Bernhard Wadström (1831-1918) with his collection of prints

In spring 2018, however, I discovered that the last part of the preface to *Mörkrets makter* (the Swedish equivalent of “powers of darkness”), which had not been translated to Icelandic by Valdemar Ásmundsson, had to a large extent been copied from the memoirs of a well-known Stockholm priest, Bernhard Wadström (1831-1918) (see Figure 4). Volume 2 of Wadström’s memoirs was published in 1899, in Swedish, and contained a number of observations and comments on ghost apparitions that are echoed in the preface to *Mörkrets makter* almost *verbatim*. Volume 1 already contained a description of an encounter with a ‘White Lady’ that seems to be mirrored in Tom Harker’s journal.

Although the second volume was published as a bound book only shortly before Christmas 1899, its content had already been released in three separate booklets. Wadström’s chapter on ghost apparitions appeared in the first booklet of this series, that was announced in *Nerikestidningen* of March 29 and April 5, 1899, and in *Stockholmsstidningen* of March 30, 1899 (see Figure 5). It came to the book stores *before* the preface to *Mörkrets makter* was published in *Dagen* of June 10, 1899. (For a detailed overview of these findings, see De Roos, 2018 b.)

Nytt i bokhandeln:

Den heliga historien

af teol. och fil. dr Alfred Edersheim. Femte delen, Pris 1: 50.
Arbetet kommer fullständigt under detta år i 7 delar, hvaraf subskribenter erhåller den 7:de delen gratis. Subskription mottages fortfarande å hela verket hos alla bokhandlare, äfvensom här å Expeditionen. Kartor porträtt af författaren samt utförligt register komma att åtfölja sista delen.

Ur minnet och dagboken

af pastor B. Wadström. Andra delens första häfte. med 20 illustrationer. Pris 1 kr.

Predikningar öfver kyrkoårets nya högmessotexter.

Första årg. 5:te häftet å 50 öre. Hela årgången utkommer i 8 häften å 50 öre. Subskriptionen fortfar.

»Denna samling predikningar af omkring sjuttio lärare i vår svenska kyrka torde kunna räknas bland de bästa som utgifvits i vårt land. Predikningarnas författare äro hvar i sina stift erkändt goda förmågor såsom lärare och predikanter. Hvad som utmärker denna predikosamling är, att predikningarna äro korta, texttrogna samt genomandas af verklig kristlig hjärtevärm, där innehållet både är af öfvervägande väckande eller det andliga lifvet närande beskaffenhet. Hvad utstyrseln angår, är denna också mycket tilltalande. Arbetet är nämligen tryckt med stor vacker och lättläst stil på godt papper. Med glädje rekommenderas denna predikosamling.» Ledstjärnan.

Bref till en sörjande vän.

Öfversättning af -d-k. Häft. 25 öre.

Under tryckning:

Kristus lefver.	Minnesord till de unga	Hvardagslif af Runa.
En påsk och pingstbok af dr G. Witbrecht.	under konfirimationstiden af G. Witbrecht.	Andra upplagan.

Fosterlands-Stiftelsens Förlags-Expedition.

Nerikestidningen 1899-03-29 Bild 1 av 4

Figure 5. *Nerikestidningen* of March 29, 1899

This discovery greatly affected my appraisal of Stoker's possible personal involvement in the Swedish variants of *Dracula*. The Irishman did not understand Swedish, so that we can safely exclude the possibility that he had come across Wadström's text himself and personally committed the plagiarism. Just as implausible seems a scenario in which Stoker would have authorized a Swedish newspaper man to include Wadström's words in the preface to *Mörkrets makter*, and have it signed off with Stoker's initials. And if the preface was a purely Swedish fabrication, this might be true for the rest of the novel as well. In short, my discovery suggests that the Swedish versions were piracies. This still does not bar the possibility that such a piracy was based on an earlier draft for *Dracula* that had somehow ended up in Stockholm. At least, this is what my colleague Alan Crozier, an Irish academic translator living and working in Sweden, suggested to me in a recent email conversation (July 20, 2021).

Although Crozier's thesis would elegantly explain both the parallels with Stoker's early notes *and* the plagiarism/piracy scenario, I have serious doubts about this "early draft" theory that I had helped launch in 2014 myself.

Until now, the only known typescript of Stoker's vampire tale is the so-called Donaldson typescript, discovered in a barn in Pennsylvania in the 1980's (De Roos, 2014 b); it is believed to have been created some months before the release of the novel in May 1897. Although commercial typewriters were introduced as early as 1874, they did not become common in offices until after the mid-1880s (English Wikipedia, lemma "typewriter.") I have no information, alas, when precisely Bram Stoker started to use one; according to Tine Hreno, Stoker developed the manuscript of *Dracula* in handwriting (Hreno, 2016). A part of Stoker's research notes are typed out, however (Miller & Eighteen-Bisang, 2008, p. 199ff.). Why is this relevant? Only a typewriter allows for automatically creating a legible carbon copy; the chance that a busy man like Stoker would use carbon paper to duplicate his own handwriting seems low. Ballpoint pens had not been commercially developed yet, and with a dip pen or fountain pen, it is cumbersome to apply the necessary pressure. Without a copy being present, however, it must have been risky to mail a draft of a novel overseas, taking the chance that it would not be returned. Moreover, Bram Stoker was known for his tendency to keep control of his writing:

If nothing else, *Dracula* is a quintessential story of power and control, and Stoker's early attempts to retain legal authority over his vampire foreshadowed many struggles that would follow." (Skal, 2004, 66).

For me, it is hard to imagine that Stoker would have sent an early draft for *Dracula* to Sweden, without any binding agreement about its use and without following up to

see what had happened to the text. As an alternative, someone near to Stoker could have obtained such a draft and would have dispatched or brought it to Sweden without informing the author. Again, in light of the way Stoker tended to take control of his interests as a writer and preferred to act as his own literary agent (Stoddart, 1897), it is hard to imagine that the Irishman – a professional literary rights trader – simply would have lost sight of his drafts. The arguments both in favour and against such scenarios are based on considerations of plausibility only, however; until now, no scholar has been able to present proof for either possibility.

4. The mini-mysteries

While the identity of the Swedish editor and Stoker's own role in the Swedish serialisations may be characterised as the major mysteries surrounding *Mörkrets makter*, there also exist a number of smaller riddles whose answers, if we could find them, would shed an interesting light on these first *Dracula* modifications ever.

4.1 Lucy Western and the first U.S. serialisation in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*

A peculiar detail I noticed in the first known American serialisation of *Dracula* I discovered in spring 2017 is that in the announcement of this serial, Lucy Westenra's name was given as "Lucy Western" – exactly the same surname as used in the Swedish publications. The U.S. version ran in the Chicago *Inter Ocean* from May 7, 1899, on until June 4 of the same year, under the title *The Strange Story of Dracula; a Tale of Thrilling Adventures, Mystery and Romance*.

Watch for this story—
It's the literary sensation of the year.....

DRACULA
Or, The Human Vampire.
A Powerful Story of the Mystic, Strikingly Original
in Topic and Treatment.
BY BRAM STOKER.

First installment will be printed in
The Inter Ocean
Of Sunday, May 7,
With daily installments thereafter until completed.

THE PLOT OF DRACULA:
Dracula is the greatest of the adventures of our Jonathan Harker, a solicitor's clerk, who is sent to the castle of Count Dracula, a Transylvanian nobleman, who has bought a house in the edge of London. At the castle Harker meets with many weird and wonderful adventures and ends by discovering that the Count is a vampire—that he has been a hundred years dead, but keeps a semblance of life by sucking the blood of living people, the younger and fairer the better. At such Dracula has become accented in his own country, and has planned to remove to England. He cannot cross the water sea at certain hours, and land except at the moment of black tide. So he ships himself to England concealed in a box of earth from his castle, in which he has hung throughout the voyage, rising at night to prey upon the sailors of the ship which carries the boxes. The ship at last comes into the port of Whitby, with the captain dead at the wheel, landed dead, and holding a crucifix. Dracula, who has power to assume almost any animal form, leaps ashore as a huge dog and watches over the boxes. His lover, safely landed, goes from Whitby to his London house, Fairfax. Meantime, as a bat, he ranges the town of Whitby and fixes upon a victim, a certain sleep-walking Lucy Western, betrothed to Arthur Holmwood, and friend of Mina Murray, the betrothed of Jonathan Harker. The night's attack of the vampire, the landing together of the friends of his victim, his real destruction, and the subsequent escape of Jonathan Harker and Mina Murray make a thrilling and interesting tale.

Whitby to his London house, Fairfax. Meantime, as a bat, he ranges the town of Whitby and fixes upon a victim, a certain sleep-walking Lucy Western, betrothed to Arthur Holmwood, and friend of Mina Murray, the betrothed of Jonathan Harker.

Figure 6. Announcement in the Chicago *Inter Ocean* of May 3, 1899

The announcements appeared on May 3, 4, 5 and 6, each with the same typical error (see Figure 6), that did not show up in the instalments themselves (De Roos, 2017 e).

The rare name Westenra, probably of Dutch origin, is prone to being bastardized or “simplified.” But there are many ways to do so. In the Swedish variants, this is the only surname that has been changed (“Dracula,” as we know, is not a surname, but a patronymic). And as we may assume that the Swedish editor/translator was widely read in European cultural issues, and certainly would have had no problems with spelling an exotic word, it would be tempting to suspect that he (or she) may have got hold of a copy of the Chicago *Inter Ocean*, a good month before the *Dagen* serialisation started, and either was confused by the altered name, or – aware of the error – thought it a good idea to adopt it for his/her own adaptation. It would be a good example of the internationalisation of the press during the 1890s (De Roos, 2018 c), but more research would be needed to establish whether the *Inter Ocean* serialisation actually reached the desk of the anonymous Swedish editor.

4.2 The Hungarian connection

The Swedish publications may not only have been linked to the preceding serialisation in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*: still earlier, on January 1, 1898, the Hungarian serialisation of *Dracula* had started in the Hungarian newspaper *Budapesti Hírlap*. With a few minor deviations, this text was a genuine translation from the English, believed to have been created by the newspaper’s Chief Editor, Jenő Rákosi (De Roos, 2016) (see Figure 7).

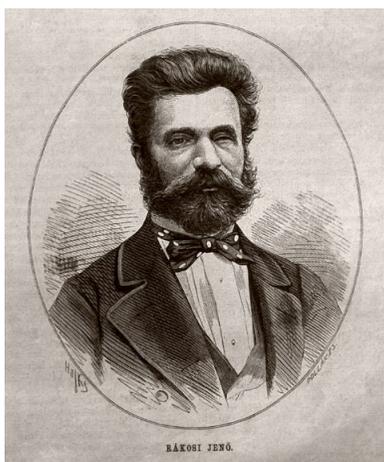


Figure 7. Jenő Rákosi (1842-1929). Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1875, p. 41.

Rákosi not only headed *Budapesti Hírlap*, but also was the president of *Otthon*, the Hungarian Press Association, which was one of the largest in Europe. At that time, Hungary was a technologically advanced nation and closely connected with the rest

of Europe; the stage plays performed in London and Paris were regularly reviewed in the Hungarian newspapers. The international cooperation of the press had progressed to the point where it is highly probable that Harald Sohlman and Jenő Rákosi were in touch with each other during the years that *Dracula* was launched and first published in their respective countries. A few examples may illustrate this:

- *Dagens Nyheter* of June 28, 1895: Viktor Rakósi, the brother of Jenő, speaks at the Copenhagen Press Meeting.
- *Aftonbladet*, June 17, 1896: *Otthon* supports Stockholm's candidacy for the next (Fourth) International Press Congress.
- *Svenska Dagbladet*, June 26, 1897. Jenő Rakósi is once more elected as Vice-President at the Fourth International Press Congress, Stockholm, June 1897. He is a prominent speaker, next to Sohlman. Anderson-Edenberg, *Publicistklubben's* Secretary, was one of the organizers of this major event.
- *Svenska Dagbladet*, June 30, 1897: Rakósi speaks (in French) at the Fourth International Press Congress, and will remain in Sweden after this event.
- *Svenska Dagbladet*, July 20, 1897: Jenő Rakósi and French colleagues visit the North Cape in northern Norway to see the midnight sun.
- *Aftonbladet*, September 18, 1897: Jenő Rakósi congratulates King Oscar per telegram, which is sent to the *Aftonbladet* office, not to the Royal Court.
- *Aftonbladet*, November 16, 1897: *Otthon* thanks *Publicistklubben* for its hospitality during the Fourth International Press Congress.
- *Dagens Nyheter*, March 2, 1898: Rákosi publishes an article in *La Presse Internationale*, Paris, about the relationship between Norway and Sweden.
- *Aftonbladet*, July 24, 1899: *Aftonbladet* launches an international press protest to support the Finnish free press; representatives of *Otthon* are among the first to sign the petition.
- *Göteborgsposten* and *Svenska Dagbladet*, November 2, 1899: Harald Sohlman will be part of the ten-person delegation of Swedish journalists to the International Press Congress in Rome. Here he meets Jenő Rakósi again.
- 1893-1900: *Aftonbladet* and *Budapesti Hirlap* quote from each other, which means that either complete newspaper copies or single news articles were exchanged between the Swedish and Hungarian capitals; *Göteborgs Aftonblad* of May 5, 1896, p. 3 and 4, contains a detailed article about the 1896 Hungarian millennial celebration authored by the newspaper's "writer and correspondent from Pest."

It therefore seems very well possible that Sohlman had copied the idea to translate and serialise *Dracula* from his colleague Rákosi.

4.3 The name Drakulitz

Swedish newspapers from the year 1893 (e.g. *Söderhamns Tidning* of February 28, 1893) mention a police constable from “Gosspodincze” named “Drakulitz,” who was framed for murder. As my colleague Niels Petersen from Denmark found out, a similar article appeared in a Danish newspaper (see Figures 8 and 9).



Figure 8 and 9. Swedish and Danish newspaper articles reporting on police constable Drakulitz

Intrigued by the name “Drakulitz,” which is as good as interchangeable with the name “Draculitz” used in *Mörkrets makter*, I tried to locate Gosspodincze. After consulting Wiesner’s *Der Feldzug der Ungarn gegen die Oesterreicher und Russen im Jahre 1848/49* (Wiesner, 1853, 265-267) and Rüstow’s *Geschichte des Ungarischen Insurrectionskrieges 1848* (Rüstow, 1860, 18-19) (see Figure 10), I believe that “Gospodincze” (modern spelling: Gospodinci) in the north of Serbia must be meant, near Csurog (Ćurug, or Serbian Cyrillic Чуруг) in the municipality of Josephsdorf or Žabalj (Hungarian: Zsablya, as it is spelled here), not Господинце or Gospodintje in Bulgaria. In 1893, this Serbian village Gosspodincze was a part of the Austrian-Hungarian Double Monarchy. This would imply that the name variant “Drakulitz” would originate from Northern Serbia, not from Transylvania. Volume II of *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (Habsburg, 1891) informs us that before the (second) Battle of Mohács, (1687), the village of

Gosspodincze was called “Boldogasszonyszalva,” meaning “Village of our Holy Mary” (Habsburg, 1891, 618).

Anstatt jedoch seinen Sieg bei Gosspodincze auf diese Weise zu benützen, versor Perzel das Ziel seiner Aufgabe aus den Augen, wandte sich in entgegengesetzter Richtung gegen Esurog und beging damit, daß er dem betäubten Feinde Zeit zur Besinnung gönnte, den ersten großen Fehler in diesem sonst schönen Feldzuge, der durch die späteren blutigen, aber vergeblichen Angriffe auf Titel nicht mehr gut zu machen war. Am 11. erst, also drei Tage nach seinem Sieg bei Gosspodincze, concentrirte er wieder sein Corps in Zsálya, dessen serbische Bewohner die Waffen abtiefen und eine Kriegskasse entrichteten mußten; den folgenden Tag schickte er sich endlich zur Vorrückung gegen Titel an.

19

Perzel selbst erreichte am 7. April um Mittag die Linde der Schanzen vor Gosspodincze. Nach einer vierstündigen Kanonade schritt er zum Sturm und die Serben verließen alsbald ihre Stellung und traten den Rückzug auf das Plateau von Titel an; verfolgt von den Husaren bis Zsófödorf (Zsálya). Der Verlust der Serben im Treffen von Gosspodincze wird auf 500 M., meist Gefangene, und 8 Geschütze angegeben.

Gál hatte bei Esurog gar keinen Widerstand gefunden; doch fanden immer noch serbische Abtheilungen bei Zsólyvár und D Vecse. Dies mochte es sein, was Perzel bewog, sich am 8. April zunächst nach Esurog zu wenden. Als er sich aber überzeugt hatte, daß von Zsólyvár her nichts zu fürchten sei, beschloß er gegen das Plateau von Titel zu marchiren.

Fig. 10. A. C. Wiesner's *Der Feldzug der Ungarn gegen die Oesterreicher und Russen im Jahre 1848/49* and W. Rüstow's *Geschichte des Ungarischen Insurrectionskrieges 1848*, both mentioning Gosspodincze.

Johann Galletti's “Allgemeines Geographisches Wörterbuch oder Alphabetische Darstellung aller Länder, Städte, Flecken, Dorfer, Ortschaften, Meere, Flüsse u.s.w.” (Galletti, 1822, Vol. I, column 731) places Gosspodincze near Peterwardein (Petrovaradin; Serbian Cyrillic: Петроварадин), then in “Slavonien” (Slawonien, Slavonia). By 1893, Slavonia was a part of Eastern Croatia, while Peterwardein was located in Northern Serbia, in the province of Vojvodina, where the mentioned Serbian Gosspodincze was also located. We can thus assume that this Serbian province of Vojvodina was the origin of the name “Drakulitz” – most Serbian surnames end with the suffix -ić (Serbian Cyrillic: -ић) ([ite]), which originally is a Slavic diminutive used to create patronymics. For the Austrians, to whose territory this region belonged, the phonetic transliteration would be “-itz.”

4.4 The six Marys and the three Browns

In the extended *Dagen* variant, Van Helsing discovers a newspaper article about the death of a young woman named Mary Wood, who worked in a factory for artificial flowers (p. 487). She was found death in the little room where she lived with a friend; as the cause of death, the coroner observed complete blood loss, although the body showed no serious wounds. The article states that there had been several of such mysterious cases now, so that medical circles had started speculating about an epidemic disease, while the police were still investigating. Mary's room-mate reported that her friend often would wake up at night and stand at the window, feeling “strange”; she believed it might be due to Mary's friendship with a “fine gentleman” who sometimes came to see her.

»Dödsfall under egendomliga omständigheter. En ung flicka, **Mary Wood**, arbetserska vid en fabrik för konstgjorda blommor, fanns i går död i den lilla vindskammaren hon en längre tid bebott tillsammans med en kamrat. Den senare märkte först på morgonen hvad som inträffat och anmälde genast dödsfallet för vederbörande myndighet. Medikolegal besigtning anställdes omedelbart, hvilken ledde till det egendomliga resultatet, att, *ehuru intet tecken till yttre våld kunde upptäckas, dödsorsaken måste anses vara en total blodbrist, sådan som endast kunde förklaras genom fullkomlig förblödning.* Emellertid syntes intet spår af

Figure 11. Fragment from the *Dagen* serialisation, p. 487

The dead girl's name is almost identical with that of Arthur's sister, Mary Holmwood, who plays a key role in the novel. Using two similar names is considered inelegant in story writing. But that is not all. Vilma's colleague who replaces her while she travels to Hungary is called "Mary Brown," and Dr. Seward's "old faithful servant" is also named "Mary." The girl from Zolyva believed to be killed by Harker bears the name "Marya Vasarhély," while the widow "Maria Brown" is the owner of the house at 15, Victoria Street. She is the *third* "Brown" in the novel, next to Mary Brown and the young doctor coming to Hillingham. That makes six characters with (almost) the same given name, and three with the same surname! I cannot quite imagine that Stoker, who took the trouble to optimise several names (Professor Windshoeffel became Professor Van Helsing, while Brutus A. Marix became Quincey Jones, etc.) would make such a *faux pas*. If "A-e" invented these six characters, he/she could easily have avoided it as well – but to him/her, it surely would have mattered less than to Stoker, who worked on *Dracula* for seven years. I suspect that these six Marys and three Browns were invented in Sweden by a copywriter who was in haste while producing the enormous mass of text needed for the extended version – but hard proof is lacking.

With the Mary Wood episode, we have another series of unexplainable crimes investigated by the police, next to the death of Lucy's mother and the housemaid: a link between the preface and the body of novel. In *Dracula*, the Count only targets Lucy and Mina, no factory girls, and the police do not investigate his crimes.

4.5 Valentini's Bakery

A few pages later (p. 491), Wilma has a conversation with Captain Barrington Jones and Professor Van Helsing about what she and Tom (Harker) witnessed at Piccadilly after the funeral of Mr. Hawkins. She describes how an elegantly clad young lady met with Baron Szekély, whom she had met in Whitby. In *Dracula*, the location of the corresponding scene is in front of Guiliano's, referring to the well-known jewellery shop of Carlo Giuliano at No. 115, Piccadilly (Klinger, 2008, 255, note 37). In *Mörkrets makter*, however, the place is described as "Valentini's Bakery" –

a business that, as far as I could check, did not exist in London at that time. If Stoker had been the author of *Mörkrets makter*, he probably would have kept to Guiliano's, a real location, just like the *Albemarle Hotel*, *The Spaniards*, or the teahouse of the Aërated Bread Company mentioned in *Dracula*. That "Guiliano's" is replaced by a fantasy name leads me to suspect that someone other than Stoker wrote this scene.

4.6 The Thames Torso Murders in the Swedish press

As both the Swedish preface and the Count's words seem to hint to the unsolved Thames Torso Murders, that shocked London during the period 1887-1889, I wondered whether the Swedish press had reported on these crimes. Already in March 2017, I found a series of articles in the Swedish press – but they do not form a complete report.

About the various remains of a woman's body were found near Rainham between May and June 1887 I found no articles published in the same year.

Göteborgsposten of October 9 and 16, 1888, reported on the female torso found at the construction site of the New Scotland Yard office in London-Whitehall, while some of the limbs were found in the Thames in Pimlico. The same incident was reported in *Norrköpings Tidningar*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Helsingborgs Dagblad*, *Höganäs Tidning* and six other Swedish newspapers.

Dagens Nyheter of November 23, 1888 and a dozen of other Swedish newspapers reported that the mutilated body of Frances Annie Hancock was found in the Thames. The newspapers referred to the Ripper as the suspected murder, however, not to a separate perpetrator who might be responsible for the Thames Mysteries.



Figure 12. *Dagens Nyheter* of November 23, 1888

On the 17th of this month, a boatman picked up a corpse of a woman from the Thames who was quite elegantly dressed and whose identity the police could establish. It was a girl by the name of Frances Annie Hancock who had been missing since October 21. The same day as she disappeared people saw her in the company of a tall man with a big, light moustache. She wore a golden necklace that was not found on her body. She was completely dressed, except for her hat and shoes. This woman had the same profession as all the other victims of Jack the Ripper but rather worked in higher circles. She frequented the wealthy districts and even had a noble “protector.” (My translation from the Swedish).

Under the heading “The Whitechapel Killer in London,” *Göteborgs Aftonblad* of June 11, 1899, extensively reported on the female body parts found in “packages” or wrapped in white linen in the Thames near Albert Bridge, Battersea Park. *Göteborgsposten*, *Skåne-halland*, and *Skånska Posten* of the same day brought a similar report. During the following ten days, 18 more newspapers reported on the Battersea events, also mentioning the female remains found at Horsleydown further east, and some of them pointing to parallels with the Whitehall incidents.

In September 1899, when police constable William Pennett found a headless and legless female torso under a railway arch at Pinchin Street, Whitechapel, *Svenska Dagbladet* (September 16, 1899, p. 3) and at least six other Swedish newspapers reported on the similarities with the events that had previously taken place in Rainham, Whitehall and Battersea – without mentioning, however, the sacks in which some of the torsos had been found.

The fact that the Swedish newspapers mentioned “packages” and “linen,” but not “sacks” – the exact word used by the Count – does not exclude the possibility, however, that the reference to the Thames Mysteries was only added in Sweden. If the Swedish editor was a journalist of the calibre of an Anderson-Edenberg, he (or she) probably had access to the London newspapers and may have taken such gruesome descriptions directly from the British press; news from the *London Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* reached the Stockholm newsrooms per telegraph every day.

4.6 Who was Dr. Oscar Marlington, and why did he disappear from history?

Who was Dr. Oscar Marlington, who reportedly confessed to have committed the Whitechapel Murders, was arrested and identified by the police as the real Jack the Ripper – and then never mentioned again in the dozens of theories about these crimes? Even in Iceland, the infamous Ripper homicides were lively discussed by

the press. While researching the backgrounds of *Makt myrkranna*, I came across a small article in *Fjallkonan* of November 11, 1899 – two months before the serialisation of the Icelandic version started in the very same newspaper.

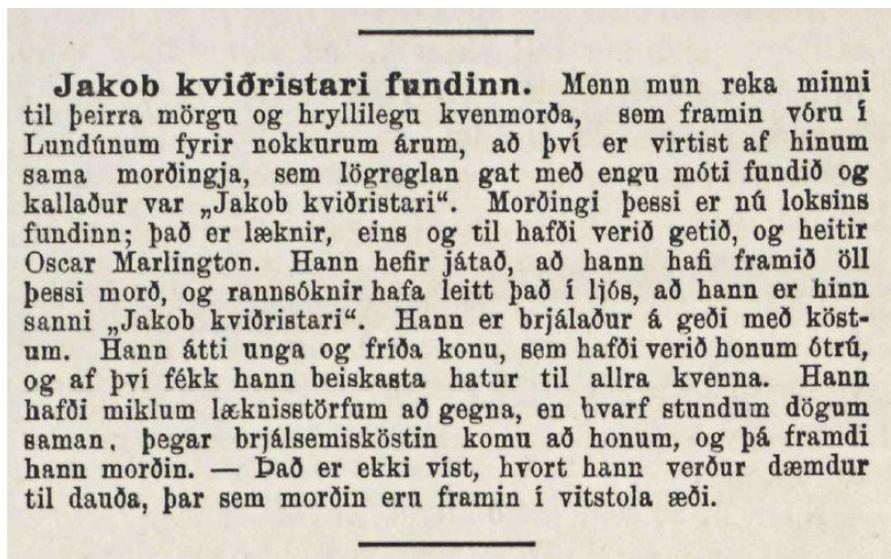


Figure 13. Article in *Fjallkonan* of November 11, 1899

Jack the Ripper found. People will remember the many and horrific murders of women that took place in London a few years ago, apparently by the same killer, called “Jack de Ripper,” whom the police could not find. This murderer has now finally been identified. It is a physician, as suspected, by the named of Oscar Marlinton. He has confessed that he has committed all these murders, and investigations have shown that he is the true “Jack the Ripper.” He suffers from attacks of mental illness. He had a young and beautiful wife, who had been unfaithful to him, and this caused him to develop a bitter hatred against all women. He had a busy doctor’s office, but sometimes disappeared for days when his fits of madness came upon him, and then he committed the murders. – It is not certain whether he will be sentenced to death, as the murders were committed in a maniacal frenzy. (My translation from the Icelandic).

I always wondered what the source of Valdimar Ásmundsson’s article had been, as Google could not find the name “Marlinton” in any other newspaper report of that time, and it is not mentioned in any of the current theories around the true identity of the Ripper. The riddle was only solved, in part, when I studied the serialisation of

Mörkrets makter in *Dagen*: Just above one instalment of the story, *Dagen* had published the news reported by Ásmundsson. Later, I came across dozens of other Swedish newspaper articles, printed between October 6 and 14, 1899, all bringing the same news and referring to *Dannebrog* (see Figure 14).

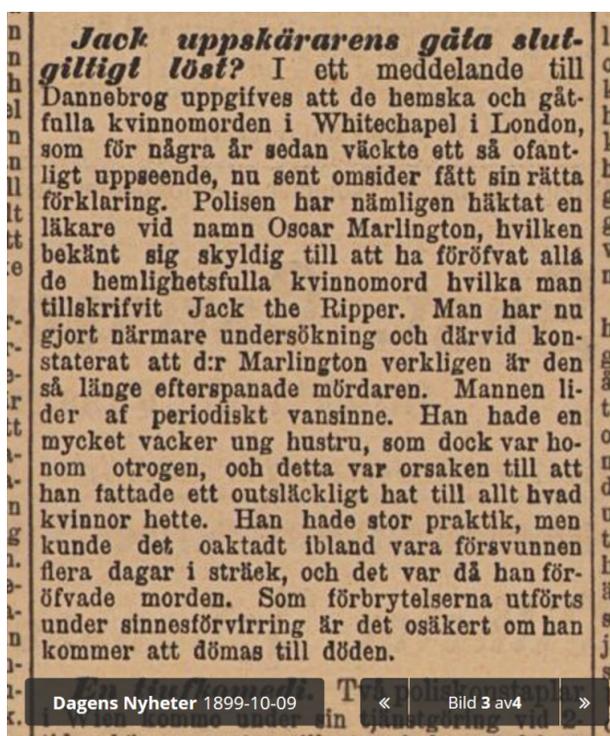


Figure 14. *Dagens Nyheter* of October 9, 1899, p. 3, on the arrest of Oscar Marlinton

Although this would explain how Ásmundsson heard of the story, it does not tell us who this Oscar Marlinton really was, why he had confessed to the Ripper Murders, and why his name was forgotten by Ripperologists.

4.6 Szolyva and Körösmező

In *Mörkrets makter*, the detective Tellet, hired by Mr. Hawkins, Tom's employer, is informed about rumours that Harker, after the Count had left for England, had been spotted in the village of Zolyva, about an hour from Castle Draculitz. Harker would have frequented a guest house that had become a meeting place for gamblers and drunkards; he was suspected of murdering the innkeeper's daughter.

I was intrigued by the origin of the place name. I suspect that “Zolyva” was derived from “Szolyva,” today named “Svalyava,” in Ukraine, approximately 185 km north-west of the Borgo Pass. Until 1919 it belonged to Hungary, which lost 70% of its territory after World War I. In the days that *Mörkrets makter* and *Makt myrkranna* were written, Transylvania was a part of Hungary as well, meaning that – theoretically – Harker could have travelled from Bistritz to Szolyva – then known as a spa town – without a passport.

Another toponym may have been used to create the surname of Prince Elemar Koromeszo, Mary Holmwood’s husband. This name may be derived from the city “Körösmező” (French: “Koromez”), today known as “Yasinia.” Just like Szolyva, Körösmező today is on Ukrainian territory, but until 1919 belonged to Hungary and thus was well connected to north-east Transylvania. It is located in the Carpathian Mountains 125 km north of Bistritz, near the strategically important Tatar Pass.

4.7 Who created the Swedish illustrations? A hidden signature?

Who was the draughtsman (or -woman) who created these artful drawings for the *Dagen serial*? I sent enquiries to the Swedish Archive of Newspaper Illustrations, but the conservators there were not able to identify the artist. The original drawings have been lost, and the sketches are unsigned. All I could find was an elegant capital letter “B” that seems to appear on the two only full-page graphics (p. 55 and p. 429). Could this be an initial? I asked Örjan Romefors, senior archivist at the *Riksarkivet*, once more, but this signature – if it even is one – was not known to him.

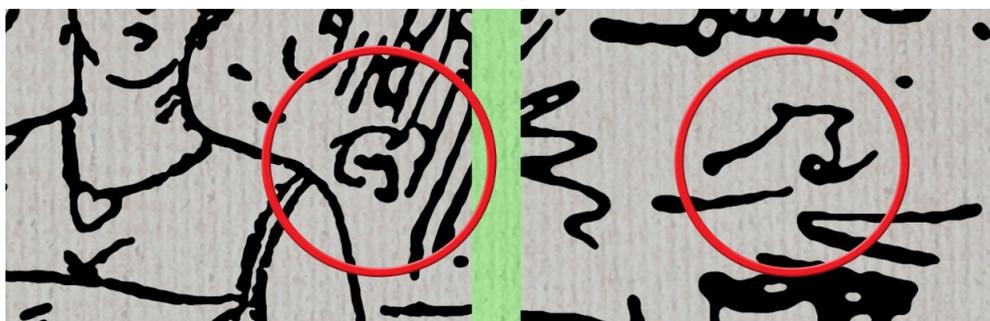


Figure 15. An obscured signature? The two examples.

There is one thing we *do* know, though: the artist must have studied the text very closely, as even small details from the Swedish *Dracula* story show up in the graphics, such as the heart-shaped diamond hanger, the straw-like hair of the Count’s apelike adepts, or the galloons on his peculiar outfit.

I also wondered whether the illustrator had ever been to Whitby – or at least had seen photos or maps of this little town: in the scene where Vilma and Lucy converse with Mr. Swales, the view from the graveyard at St Mary's Church over to the harbour, the scattered rooftops, the piers and the light tower, with Kettleness at the horizon, has an uncanny accuracy.

4.8 The Herschel principle

Recently, I came across another topic from *Mörkrets makter* that can also be found in *Svenska Familj-Journalen* (see De Roos 2018 a for an overview). In the *Dagen* version (p. 577), Dr. Seward's notes:

In general, it sometimes seems to me that for some time I have been drawn into a whirlpool of abnormal, upsetting and inexplicable phenomena, before which all my knowledge falls short and where it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to always maintain the calm and spiritual balance that a physician needs more than anyone else. Sir John Herschell (sic!) actually claims that to the scientist no phenomena are more welcome than those who seem to overthrow all accepted theories and are in conflict with all known laws, as it is these phenomena which open the field to new discoveries and broaden the intellectual horizon. I may not be a researcher enough to fully feel that way, or I may personally be too strongly affected by these events to be able to view them with the superior calm that is required above all, if experience is to be fruitful. For now, I'm content to jot down everything. - - -

Despite the spelling error, that also may have been introduced by the newspaper's typesetter, the author of this paragraph seems to be familiar with the thoughts of Sir John Frederick William Herschel (1792-1872), the English astronomer who named the four moons of Uranus and the seven moons of Saturn. In his *Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy* (1831), we find many phrases, illustrated by examples from Astronomy, Physics, Optics, Botany, etc. that express exactly the thoughts presented by Seward. I also found four articles in *Svenska Familj-Journalen* dealing with the topics explored by John Herschel and his father, William Herschel (1738-1822), the discoverer of Uran. In issue XI of Vol. 12 (1873) we find an article on the spectral analysis of sunlight and the Fraunhofer lines, signed "An." ("Populära Föredrag in Naturkunnighet," pp. 329-330). I assume that it was authored by Anderson-Edenberg. In issue XI of Vol. 15 (1876), we find two unsigned articles on colour blindness and on telescopes respectively (p. 327-328 and p. 328-330). As the subjects are related, I suspect that Anderson-Edenberg, who was to become the magazine's Editorial Secretary in May 1877, again was the author.

The 1873 article mentions William Herschel's theory that the sunlight would be created by lucid elements in the sun's atmosphere (see Herschel, 1795, 58-59) – a view refuted by Fraunhofer's research on missing lines in the sunlight's spectrum. Colour blindness was a phenomenon extensively explored by John Herschel. And the article on telescopes again mentions William Herschel's work. Finally, we find John Herschel's theories about the temperature of the lunar surface mentioned in an unsigned article about the moon in issue VIII of Vol. 16 (1877) (pages 247 and 249).

In 1899, there probably were dozens of Swedish journalists, translators and fiction writers who had heard the name "John Herschel" – just like today, educated people are familiar with the names of Marie Curie, Niels Bohr, Max Planck, Werner Heisenberg, Albert Einstein, Roger Penrose or Stephen Hawking. But having *heard* such well-known names is something else than *writing* an article about the progress in their fields of science. I therefore see these four articles as another hint (not proof) that Anderson-Edenberg was the editor of *Mörkrets makter* and personally inserted this reference to John Herschel's philosophy of science.

The Count's fascination with scientific experiments and precise observation and his belief that everything can be explained from the laws of nature (p. 253) might also be informed by Anderson-Edenberg's interest in scientific method. Professor van Helsing's remarks about humankind's limited abilities to observe and understand nature, finally, could equally be taken from Herschel's book, that opens with a quote from Bacon's *Novum Organum*: "Man, as the minister and interpreter of nature, is limited in act and understanding by his observation of the order of nature: neither his knowledge nor his power extends farther." In the rest of his discourse, Herschel repeatedly stresses how limited and often deceptive man's perception of nature through the senses is. Although Stoker's *Dracula* features a number of technological innovations (telegraph, traveller's typewriter, Kodak camera, phonograph, etc.), Van Helsing's exposé on vampirism is a mixture of folklore and wild guesses, rather than an attempt to find a rational explanation.³

³ In *Mörkrets makter*, Van Helsing explains that vampires during their life are obsessed with "evil passions – cruelty, sensuality, blood-thirst." Although they experience "the cessation of the activity of the bodily organs that we call death," this "being, defined by its passions, is not able – or does not want – to free itself from the body which is its link with earthly life. It still hangs on to it – and as a result of some law we do not know, even after some time it succeeds in taking possession of it, infusing it with a kind of new life and once again using it as a tool for the unholy pleasures which have been its highest happiness – the passions and urges which now more than ever like a raging fire devour its interior and constantly demand new nourishment." (p. 500). Although this is just a fictional explanation, at least it attempts to describe a coherent psychological mechanism, instead of pointing to the possible influence of volcanoes, harmful gases, magnetism or electricity, as Van Helsing does in *Dracula*.

4.9 “In memory of Annabell Lee”

Already on the next page (p. 578), we find another curious reference. While visiting the churchyard where the Westenra tomb is located, Seward searches and finds a stone with the epitaph “In memory of Annabell (sic!) Lee” (see Figure 16) and recognizes it as a reference to Edgar Allan Poe’s poem (Poe, 1849). He remembers the stone from the hallucinatory visions he experienced during the Carfax soirée, and wonders again what mysterious powers are playing games with him.

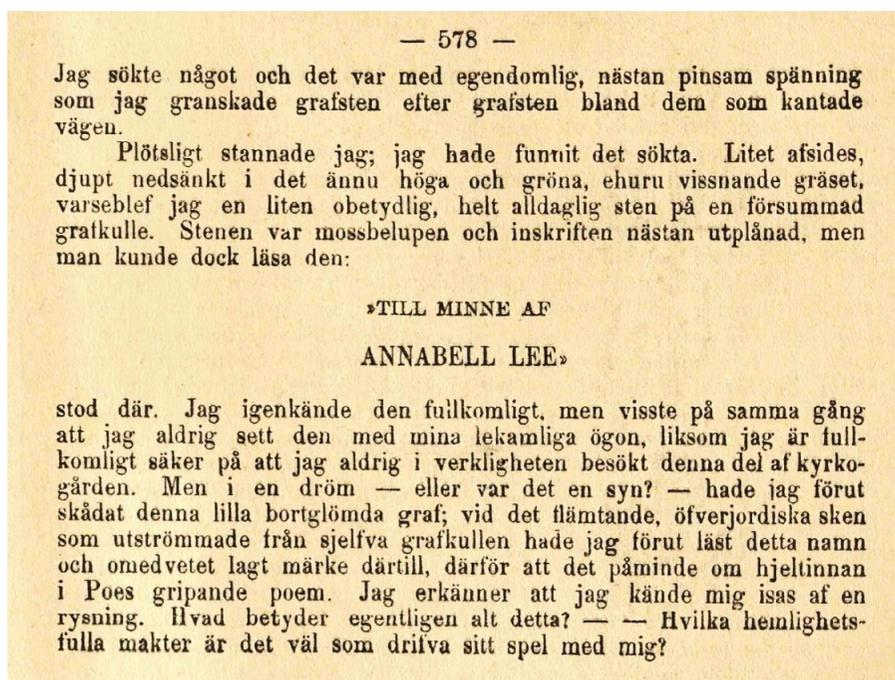


Figure 16. The *Dagen* version describing the tombstone of Annabel(l) Lee

Bram Stoker, we may assume, was familiar with Poe’s work. His 1892 short story *The Secret of the Growing Gold* deals with a man who murders his wife and buries her under the floor; her hair, however, continues to grow and haunt him. The parallels with Poe’s *Telltale Heart* are unmistakable (De Roos, 2012 b, 42). And in his story *The Squaw*, the role of the black cat as the executioner of fate clearly reminds of Poe’s eponymous black cat. More generally, Poe’s fascination with a state between life and death, the reanimation of the soul and interventions from beyond the grave (“Ligeia,” “Berenice,” “The House of Usher,” “Morella,” “The Case of M. Valdemar,” “Metzengerstein,” “Some Words with a Mummy,” “The Oblong Box,” etc.) has been a source of inspiration for all later supernatural fiction.

But nowhere in Stoker's work have I seen a direct reference to one of these tales, let alone a mentioning of Poe's name. Would "Annabel Lee," in which Poe most probably eternalised his love for his young wife Virginia Eliza Clemm (1822-1847), be an exception? Or is it another element added by Anderson-Edenberg, who at least at one occasion read and distributed his own poems at a funeral? (see "Kapten Rydells Jordfästning, in *Svenska Dagbladet* of May 27, 1900, p. 3 (see Figure 17) and "Stoftet after kapten Alb. Rydell," in *Dagen* of the next day, p. 1)?

Kapten Rydells jordfästning.

Befälhafvaren å ångfartyget Gauthiod, kapten *Albert Rydells* jordfästning, ägde rum på lördagen kl. 3 e. m. å Nya kyrkogården.

Stoftet anlände på middagen från Uppsala, där det under den gångna veckan varit bisatt, samt fördes från Norra stationen omedelbart till kyrkogården. • Vid grindarna mötte Sjömannaföreningens medlemmar under dess bägge florbehängda standar, burna af kaptenerna Lübeck och Werner.

Den långa processionen af deltagare, bland hvilka märktes ångaren Gauthiods rederis styrelse, befäl och besättning, kommandörkapten F. S. Malmberg, hamnkapten von Sydow m. fl., satte sig därpå i rörelse till den midt framför stora grafkoret belägna familjegraven, som vackert dekorerats med svart kläde och granris, där den af kransar öfversällade kistan nedsänktes.

Till griften framträdde därpå komministern i Östermalms församling, dr P. J. Th. Carlsson, som, utgående från 36 psalmens 8:e vers: "Huru stor är din godhet, Gud" etc., höll en längre dödsbeaktelse, däri erinrande om huru den affidne i den svenska sjöfartens annaler intagit ett framstående rum samt huru han genom godhet och välvilja gjort sig allmänt afhållen och högt betrodd och aktad bland dem som dela hans lefnadskall. Hvad hans vänner känna vid den så oförmodadt öppnade griften, det låter sig icke beskrivas.

Officianten kastade nu, under det standaren sänktes öfver grafven, de tre skoflarna mull öfver kistan.

Redaktören A. Andersson-Edenberg uppläste därpå af honom författade verser, som äfven utdelades till begravningsgästerna, hvarpå den högtidliga akten var ändad.

Bland den talrika mängden kransar märktes sådana från rederiaktiebolaget Sveas styrelse, kamrater, 1834 års män,

Figure 17. *Svenska Dagbladet* of May 27, 1900, p. 3

4.10 Adonai and Jokala

In *Dracula*, Stoker's reference to Jewish people is not very flattering: Mr. Immanuel Hildesheim from Galatz is described as "a Hebrew of rather the *Adelphi Theatre* type, with a nose like a sheep, and a fez." Anti-Semitism was flourishing in London at the end of the 19th century, and many of its citizens were convinced that Jack the Ripper was to be found among the Jewish immigrants that had settled in the capital. In her essay "Bloodbrothers: Dracula and Jack the Ripper," Margaret Davison discusses the notion that "Dracula and Jack the Ripper [...] figured as Jewish, a [...] signifier under whose aegis the fear of syphilis, alien invasion, sexual perversion and political subversion, stood united." (Davison, 1997, 152). For this reason, any reference to Jewish culture in *Mörkrets makter* deserves our special attention.

We find such a reference in a letter discovered by Harker on his host's writing desk, addressed to Draculitz and written by a French co-conspirator (*Dagen*, p. 153):

The letter was in French and bore as a signature a name that was well known from the political chronicle of the last few years. The writer politely acknowledged the receipt of a very significant sum of money (the amount was stated) and referred to the "honorable letter of 16 May" – which means, of the past week⁴ – in assuring that information and instructions given therein had already been shared with "the person concerned." After several obscure allusions, about which I have no clue at all at present, and with the mention of many personalities designated only by their initials, the letter ended with the following phrases:

"All preparations for the great catastrophe are progressing with untiring zeal. Our whole cause is gaining new followers every day. Everyone feels that the Chosen of Mankind have sighed for too long under the unbearable yoke imposed on them by a narrow-minded and contemptuous numerical majority. We have outgrown this slave morality and will soon have reached the point where we can proclaim the great liberating message of Jokala-Adonai. The world belongs to the Strong!" - -

"Adonai" is a Hebrew word, אֲדֹנָי, the plural form of "adon" ("Lord"). "Adonai" was (and is) used in Hebrew religion as a substitute for the Tetragrammaton (יהוה or YHWH, in English transcribed as *Yahweh*), which was considered too holy to be written or pronounced. In turn, it became a holy word itself, especially for Orthodox Jews, and in conversation was replaced by *HaShem* ("The Name").

⁴ Within the context of the story, this is significant, as the Count has claimed that all postal communication had been interrupted by the flood of melting water from the mountains.

“Jokala” corresponds to the I-participle of the Slovenian verb “jokati” (“to cry,” “to weep”), but I doubt that the author intended to employ it this way. During the ceremony in the castle’s basement, the Count’s primitive followers use it in their chant “Jokala hai – Peresche wo! – Sintala mai – Sintala ho – Jokala wo – Dracula⁵ hai! – hai! – hai! –” In her notes about the Gypsy camp in Whitby, Vilma records a similar-sounding greeting: “Peräsche wo rajtula.” And when Seward joins the circle of Ida Vårkony’s friends at Carfax, Prince Koromeszo raises a toast to their host:

“According to ancient custom, gentlemen,” repeated the prince, [...] “according to Szekely’s law – in the name we all know – we empty our glasses for her, who represents the highest ideal we worship! Jokala ho! – Peresche wo rajtula!”

After that, the whole company recites the chant sung in the castle’s basement. By lack of a better explanation, I suspect that the author employs a pseudo-language of his own invention here. Using “Adonai” in this context could mean that the author was satirising certain Jewish religious practices as being overly reverent, just like the Count’s adepts were engaging in a cult-like worship of their leader. In another chapter, however (p. 585), Seward deplors the growing influence of the Jesuits and the rise of anti-Semitism in Russia, Galicia and Southern France, which reminds him of the “darkest Middle Ages.”⁶ We may assume that Anderson-Edenberg was closely familiar with Jewish culture: in September 1899, his wife Gabriela was buried at the graveyard of the local Jewish community (see Figure 18).

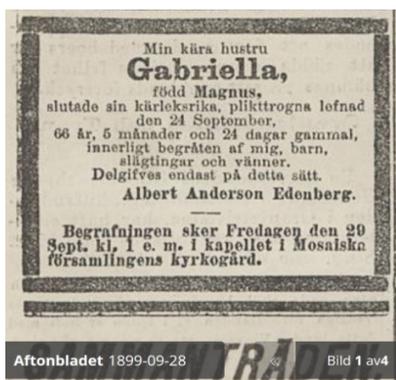


Figure 18. Funeral of Gabriella announced in *Aftonbladet* of September 28, 1899, p. 1

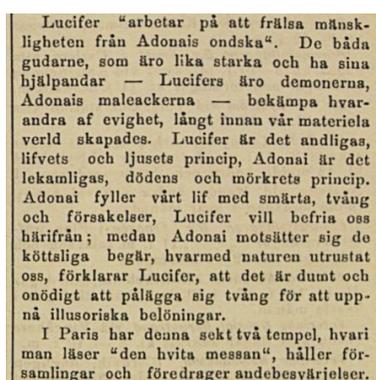


Figure 19. *Katrineholms Tidning* of September 27, 1895, p. 2 (fragment)

A more elegant explanation would be that “Adonai” refers to the god of death and darkness as worshipped by a Paris occult sect practicing “Adonism,” “Palladism” or “Satanism,” described in *Katrineholms Tidning* of September 27, 1895 (see Figure 19).

⁵ This is the only instance where the name “Dracula” is used instead of “Draculitz.”

⁶ See also Vilma’s remarks on p. 409 about Jewish people being falsely accused of crimes.

4.11 Parlez-vous français?

On all other occasions, the inhabitants and visitors of Carfax seem to prefer French. When Seward visits the house for the first time, Madame Saint-Amand, the French Ambassador's young wife with her flair of "Paris chic," welcomes him with "Madame la comtesse vous attend!" The Countess herself wears her hair in the newest "Paris style," and also addresses the physician in French. The conversations in the house are interspersed with French phrases, from "Ah, ma chère belle!" to "À votre santé, monsieur!" The reason that French is hardly used in *Dracula*⁷ seems simple: in Stoker's narrative, the Count does not cultivate an entourage of loquacious followers from the continent – he hardly speaks a word himself after Chapter 4. We may assume that whoever invented the foreign acolytes, also established the use of French as *lingua franca* among them.⁸ For this, a rudimentary knowledge of French would suffice. As far as we know, Stoker spoke some French, visiting Paris in 1874, 1875 and 1876 (Skal, 2016, 119f.), and later together with Irving. Daniel Farson even speculated that Stoker contracted syphilis there (Skal, 2016, 493; Farson, 1975, 234). As French was used for the "comptes rendus des travaux," the proceedings of the International Press Congresses, we may assume that Anderson-Edenberg, as the Secretary of *Publicistklubben*, was able to communicate in this language as well.

4.12 ты говоришь по-русски? Sailors with Slavic names

In his log, the captain of the *Demeter* calls his sailors "Petrofsky" or "Olgaren." In *Mörkrets makter*, we find "Petter Vassiljewitsch," "Fedor Michailitsch," and "Ivan Petrowitsch Olgaroff." Did Stoker improve his knowledge of Slavic languages after the first publication of *Dracula*? Or do we owe these new details to Anderson-Edenberg, whose son Erik Anders Magnus operated a trade agency in Moscow? (*Dagens Nyheter* of September 27, 1897, p. 1). On the whole, in *Mörkrets makter* Russia plays a more important role than in *Dracula*. During Leonardi's concert, a co-conspirator notes that "Russia has not spoken the last word yet." (p. 582), while Seward deplores the unholy alliance between French Liberals and "Holy Russia" (see Matheson, 2018).⁹ Van Helsing adds Russia to the list of countries where the vampire is known and feared, together with India, Java, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. Did Stoker after May 1897 extend his list? Or is this another input from Sweden?

⁷ In a letter to Mina from 17, Chatham Street, Lucy describes Dr. Seward as an "excellent *parti*," demonstrating her upper-class mastery of French vocabulary (Brundan, 2016, 11).

⁸ In *Mörkrets makter*, Vilma also describes Mr. Swales as "esprit fort" and uses "comme il faut" in her notes on the Piccadilly scene. There may be more examples I did not notice yet.

⁹ In 1899, Swedish Liberals actively opposed the Russification of Finland (p. 10 of this essay.)

4.13 Arthur as a social reformer

In *Mörkrets makter*, Lucy mentions that “Arthur is so interested in social reforms and things like that; he so desperately wants to improve the position of the workers.” (p. 257). In *Dracula*, Arthur is a typical aristocrat: not unsympathetic, but no idealist. His main contribution to the fight against *Dracula* is to open doors (e.g. when Harker needs information from a property broker) and to finance the trip to Europe (buying a steamboat on the way). We do not know who decided to add these idealist traits to his character. But sure is that his support of the working masses is likely to earn him the wrath of Draculitz, who is planning his own, anti-democratic reform.

4.14 The role of women in *Mörkrets makter*

In *Mörkrets makter*, women are far more powerful than in *Dracula*. The blond vampire girl gets the better of Tom Harker, Lucy manages to drag Arthur into the abyss with her, and Ida Vårkony bewitches Seward to the extent that he turns mad. On the anti-vampire side, Vilma successfully conducts her own investigations in Hungary and enters Castle Draculitz alone, instead of Van Helsing, while it is Mary Holmwood, not Arthur, who drives the wooden stake through Lucy’s heart. Seward notes that Mary appears much stronger than her brother (p. 570). Was Stoker’s early draft so much more feminist than his final novel, or is this due to Swedish influence?

4.15 The time frame of the novel

As I explained in March 2012 (De Roos, 2012 a), it seems that Stoker wanted to keep his readers in the dark about the novel’s exact time frame. Inserting a reference to events taking place *after* 1897, such as the anti-Semitic riots in France and Galicia or the “Orléans conspiracy” of 1898-99 (p. 585; see also Berghorn, 2017 a), clearly sabotaged this effort: the novel’s events must have taken place in one of these years, *after* the first publication of *Dracula* – most likely in 1898.¹⁰ It is unclear why Stoker would have initiated or endorsed such an overt, politically tinted update of his story.

¹⁰ Anti-Semitic riots took place in Southern France and Western Galicia early in 1898 (Wilson, 1973; Unowsky 2018). *Skåningen Eslöfs Tidning* of February 3, 1898, discussed both the French anti-Jewish riots, the rising power of the Jesuits and the ambitions of Philippe, Duke of Orléans. *Göteborgs-posten* of September 21, 1898, and other Swedish newspapers reported on Philippe’s anti-Dreyfus manifest and his proclamation to show up in Paris. *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* of October 17, 1898 reported on the Duke’s arrival in Brussels, exacerbating the threat of a royalist coup. Seward describes the crisis in October (p. 585), also citing the odd alliance between French Republicans and “Holy Russia.”

5. Some more thoughts on the “early draft” theory

Although my notes on this set of “mini-mysteries” covers a wide range of dissimilar topics, they *do* convey a certain tendency. The possible links to Chicago and Budapest show that the idea for serialising *Dracula* in Sweden must not necessarily have come from Stoker or his publisher Constable. The article about the policeman named “Drakulitz” appeared in the Scandinavian, not in the British press. The mentioning of “Veltini’s Bakery,” the six-fold use of “Mary” and the triple use of “Brown” suggest that these names did not flow from Stoker’s pen. The use of the toponym “Szolyva” is also untypical of Stoker: in *Dracula*, the names of locations are either exact (the *Albemarle Hotel*, *Jack Straw’s Castle*, *The Spaniards*, Fundu, Strasba/Strasha/Straja, Veresti, etc.), or fictional (the graveyard of “Kingstead”; No. 347, Piccadilly; No. 197, Chicksand Street, etc.), or they are omitted altogether in case the novelist wished to obscure the exact place (Mount Izvorul). But naming a village presumed to be in or near the Borgo Pass after a town 185 km further north would violate Stoker’s principle to be accurate when using real locations. The reference to Sir John Herschel reinforces my argument about Anderson-Edenberg’s possible role. And setting the novel in 1898 does neither match Stoker’s intention of obscuring the novel’s time frame, nor can it be attributed to using an early draft.

In his essay “*Dracula’s Way to Sweden*,” Berghorn (2017 a) suggested that Anne Charlotte Leffler (1849-1892) and her brother Gösta (Gustaf) Mittag-Leffler (1846-1927) might have been instrumental in bringing Stoker’s novel to Stockholm. Trying to check the plausibility of this thesis, I managed to obtain scans of a letter and a telegram that Harald Sohlman had sent to Gustaf Leffler on May 15, 1914, and February 5, 1918, respectively. The letter dealt with changes to the Swedish Parliament, the telegram with Finland’s struggle for independence. In both cases, Sohlman asked for Leffler’s political support. In neither case, *Mörkrets makter* is mentioned – which is not surprising, as the messages are short and urgent. Even if Leffler would have referred Stoker’s work to Sohlman, we could not expect this to be mentioned in these notes.¹¹

Another letter I managed to obtain was from Anderson-Edenberg to Anne Charlotte Edgren née Leffler. In his note of August 20, 1885, he asked for her photo portrait to be published in an upcoming Christmas publication (*Julkalender*) (see Figure 20). As *Dracula* was not even conceived of at that time, it could not be mentioned. All three letters demonstrate solely that during these decades, leading literary

¹¹ I am indebted to Alan Crozier for pointing out the existence of an archive of such letters to me, and for transcribing some of the texts.

personalities in Stockholm were in touch with each other – just like Bram Stoker in the 1890’s knew people who had travelled to Iceland or fostered contacts there.

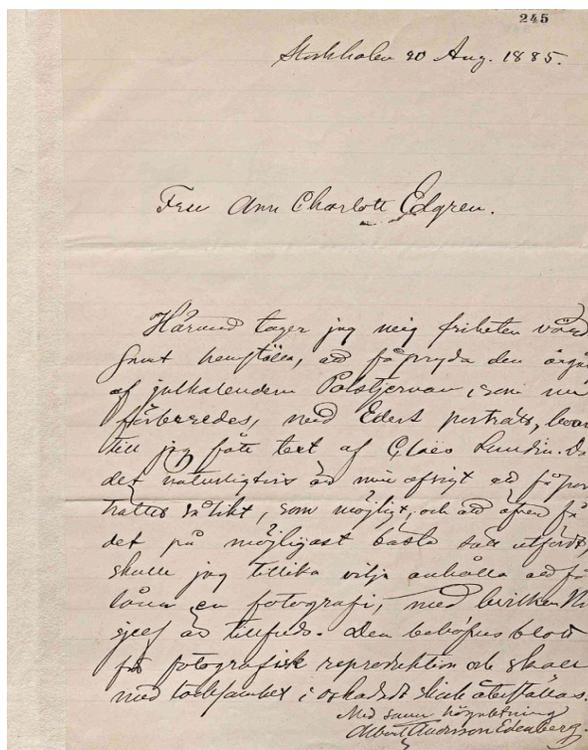


Figure 20. Letter of Anderson-Edenberg to Anne Charlotte Edgren (Leffler).

I am afraid that for Rickard Berghorn, trying to find evidence for a relevant communication between Bram Stoker and the *Aftonbladet* group may turn out to be just as exhausting as it was for me trying to find the “missing link” between *Fjallkonan* and the author of *Dracula*.¹²

All I can share from my side is a thought – or perhaps it is rather a sentiment – that gradually matured while I dealt with the questions set out in this essay. If *Mörkrets makter* is actually based on a draft written by Stoker, then why on earth would he have dropped the many interesting plot ideas we now only know from the Swedish texts: Harker’s intimate involvement with the blond vampire girl, the Count’s family history as illustrated by a portrait gallery, his leading role in an international political conspiracy, the bloody pseudo-religious rituals taking place in a secret temple

¹² According to the latest news from his Brazilian publishers (messages of August 17, 2021), Berghorn is neither conclusive about “A-e”’s identity yet, nor about Stoker’s real contribution to *Mörkrets makter*.

underneath the castle, the fortune-telling Gypsies in Whitby,¹³ Vilma's investigations in Hungary uncovering a plot to imitate Harker's appearance, her visit to the castle and her injury, the dramatic reunion at the convent,¹⁴ the hiring of two detectives, the active roles of Mr. Hawkins and Mary Holmwood, the fateful encounters between Dr. Seward and Countess Ida Vårkony, Carfax as the elegant meeting place of international guests, the Count's mental experiments, the usurpation of the asylum by Leonardi and his crew, the role of Mary Holmwood and her husband, etc. If *any* of these elements was a part of Stoker's original outline, then why did he not follow up, instead of turning his novel into a rather one-dimensional narrative about a repulsive bloodsucker who mostly hides in the shadows, has no greater ambitions than to "batten on the helpless," and has neither admirers nor minions? Or, alternatively, if *none* of these elements was included in Stoker's early drafts, then what weight does his input still carry in the end?

Another problem with the "early draft thesis" is that we must wonder why the *Aftonbladet* group would invest in reworking a draft that Stoker had already discarded, instead of adapting the published version of *Dracula*, that since its release on May 26, 1897, had proven to be quite successful. And if Sohlman had actually decided to do so, why was this not announced as a daring and exclusive literary experiment? Reworking the 1897 edition of *Dracula* posed a risk as well, of course; apparently, Sohlman must have been convinced that the changes would lead to a more attractive story. Although I have no data about how many subscribers *Dagen* and *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* were able to win or hold thanks to *Mörkrets makter*, at least regarding the multifacetedness of the plot he seems to have been right.

In 2014 Dacre Stoker ventured that his great-grand-uncle might have written a draft that was deemed too sexy for Victorian England and especially for Stoker's editor at Constable, Otto Kylman, and therefore was traded to a faraway, isolated country (De Roos, 2014 a); he upheld this opinion still in 2017 (Branagan, 2017). For two reasons, I doubt that this theory holds water. First of all, was Bram Stoker ever capable of writing a steaming erotic novel? We see no traces of this in his other work, and from his later articles about censorship in fiction and drama, we know that he believed "emotions arising [...] from sex impulses" to be "harmful in the long run" (Stoker, 1908 and 1909). It is difficult to imagine that between 1890 and 1896, the same man would have indulged in the titillating depiction of fully nude young female victims, desperately writhing under the hands of their equally stark nude, apelike tormentors while being stared at by a horde of sneering topless followers.

¹³ Stoker *did* use this topic in his short story "A Gipsy Prophecy" (Stoker, 1885). Vilma notes that the Whitby band is "wilder" than the Gypsy families long settled in England. Who wrote this?

¹⁴ Vilma fears that Tom, "like Dante, could never smile again." Who created this reference?

Second, if the prudish attitude of British publishers and readers would have stopped such a text from being published in London, it would have been easy enough to cover this nudity with some fig leaves and to lower the heat by just a few degrees, instead of completely dropping Harker's fascination with the Count's "niece," the secret rituals in the castle's basement, Lucy's ruinous influence on Arthur or Seward's desperate dependence on Ida Vårkony. In other words, I have difficulties to believe that the eroticism of the Nordic versions came from Stoker, and this also applies – sometimes more, sometimes less – to all the other elements that make *Mörkrets makter* so rich and multi-layered when compared to *Dracula*. And if an early draft by Stoker were no more than a skeleton brought to life by a Swedish wordsmith, then why should we continue to be vexed by Stoker's role at all, instead of focusing on the talent and the skills of *Mörkrets makter*'s true author. For now, it would be helpful if the advocates of the "early draft theory" would explain what exactly they believe to have been included in such an early draft, apart from the elements found in Stoker's early notes: the mute and deaf housekeeper, the Count arriving as the last guest at a party, the blood-red room, a detective investigating the case, Seward turning mad, etc. (see De Roos, 2014 a and 2017 a for more details).

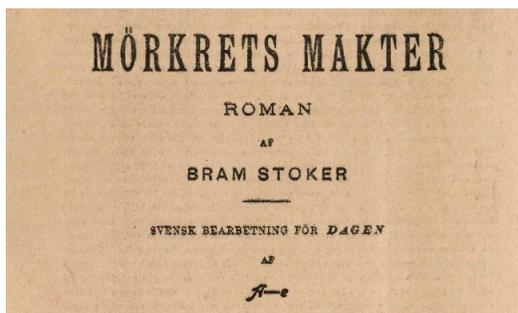


Figure 21. Title of the Swedish variants

I am happy to drop my scepticism the moment evidence of Stoker's contribution to the Swedish modifications comes to light. Proof that a draft from Stoker's hand was used would support my initial comments about his early notes for *Dracula*;¹⁵ it was not without cause that I changed my opinion, and I am ready to change it again should the facts point in a new direction. For the moment, however, I tend to believe – without definitely excluding any alternative scenarios – that Bram Stoker neither provided an early draft for the Swedish versions of *Dracula* nor endorsed or helped shape them. In the end, *Mörkrets makter* may turn out to be exactly what it claims to be in its title (see Figure 21): a novel by Bram Stoker ("Roman af Bram Stoker") in a Swedish adaptation for *Dagen* by A-e ("svensk bearbetning för *Dagen* af A-e").

¹⁵ These observations from my 2014 article were adopted and paraphrased both by David Skal (Skal, 2016, 338) and Rickard Berghorn (2017 a) without crediting the source of these particular findings.

6. Bonus: The yearnings of Inga Gjæla

Another idea that came to my mind while editing this article was to check Anderson-Edenberg's translations of the texts written by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson: wittingly or unwittingly, writers tend to return to ideas they have already worked on, and although Anderson-Edenberg merely translated these works, I can imagine that they made a lasting impression. For now, I only checked *Mellem slagene*, a historical drama from 1857, published in Anderson-Edenberg's Swedish translation under the title *Mellan drabbningarne* by Albert Bonnier in 1867 (Bjørnson, 1867). In this one-act play, Sverre, heir to the Swedish throne, disguised as Öystein, a scout working for his rival King Magnus, is the guest of Hjalvard Gjæla and his wife Inga in their cabin high up in the mountains. Hjalvard dreams of fighting at King Sverre's side, while Inga is frustrated that her husband, zealous to become a warrior, forgets about work, home, wife and child. Neither Hjalvard nor Inga recognize their guest, which gives Sverre a chance to hear their unfiltered opinion about himself.

During the play, Inga complains that she is confined to their isolated home and rarely sees guests she can talk with. I reproduce three examples here (see figure 22):

INGA.

Ej annat jag märker, så menar du att modren
skall vara sitt barns trälinna. Du har din fria gång
hela Guds långa dagen, men jag skall vara bunden
fast vid yaggan. Det är så godt om besök här på
fjället, att det blefve ett herrligt lif!

INGA.

Säg det! — Det är så stängdt kring mig på alla
sidor; — du vet inte, huru jag längtar efter ljus.

INGA.

Ack nej, jag har ingen lit till dig. Jag står
ännu här i fjälldimman och stirrar, men ser icke
36
handsbredden framför mig, och tungt lägger den sig
öfver sinnet . . . Ack, — Gud gifve jag vore död!

Figure 22. Some of Inga's lines from *Mellan drabbningarne*

Scene 7 | Inga to Hjalvard: “All I understand is that you think a mother should be her child’s slave. You can go out the whole long day if you wish so, but I shall be tied to the cradle. Great that we have so many visitors here on the mountain – it really is a wonderful life here!”¹⁶

Scene 14 | Inga to Öystein: “Yes, speak up [about your visions]! If feel like I am walled in here from all sides – you don’t know how much I long for some light!”

Scene 14 | Inga to Öystein: “No, I don’t trust you. I am still standing in the mountain fog and staring ahead. I can’t see my hand in front of my face, and it burdens my soul... O God, I wish I were dead!” (my translation from the Swedish).

Inga’s ironic remark about the (lack of) visitors and her yearning for a look beyond the walls of her house reminded me of how the blond vampire girl addresses Harker during their first encounter: that he, the stranger, is welcome to her, as it is so lonely in the mountains and it is so rare that a man – a strong man, not a weakling – comes along. She explains that she is longing (“man längtar, längtar, längtar”) for “den stora världen därborta” (the big world out there), and for human company. A few pages later, the Count warns Harker about the unhealthy mountain fumes that affect especially visitors.

Is it only my imagination, or is the relationship between Sverre/Öystein (the strong, manly stranger visiting the lonely house in the mountains), Inga (confined to her four walls and longing for company) and Hjalvard (who can leave the house whenever he wants and dreams of partaking in wars) mirrored in the relationship between Harker, the vampire girl and the Count? Of course, it can be a coincidence, but in *Dracula*, the Count’s “brides” do not complain about loneliness, nor does Harker’s host mention the mountain fog. If Andersson-Edenberg actually shaped the plot of *Mörkrets makter*, he may very well have replicated, deliberately or not, the constellation he already knew from *Mellan drabbningarne* in his adaptation of Stoker’s vampire story.



¹⁶ In the Norwegian original text, Inga scoffs that it is so *crowded* on the mountain: “Det er så *folksomt* her på fjellet, at det blev et herligt liv” (Bjørnson, 1910, 440) (my italics). The phrasing “godt om besök” (“plenty of visits” or “so many visitors”) comes from Anderson-Edenberg. The change in meaning is minimal.

REFERENCES (in alphabetical order)

- “A-e.” 1899. *Mörkrets makter* – Roman af Bram Stoker – Svensk bearbetning for *Dagen* af A-e. Serialisation in *Dagen* (June 10, 1899 - Febr. 7, 1900) and *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* (August 16, 1899 - March 31, 1900). The page numbers quoted in this article are taken from the *Dagen* serialisation.
- Anderson-Edenberg, Anders Albert. 1895. *Eine Rundfahrt mit Dampfer um und durch das südliche Schweden*. Brochure written for *Svenska Turistföreningen*.
- Berghorn, Rickard. 2017 a. “*Dracula’s Way to Sweden: A Unique Version of Stoker’s Novel.*” *Weird Webzine*, October 2017. Originally published at <https://weirdwebzine.com/draculitz.html>. Archived at <http://powersofdarkness.com/WeWe/DracSwedenOct2017.htm>.
- Berghorn, Rickard (ed). 2017 b. *Mörkrets makter: Den glömda svenska versionen av Dracula* (Swedish edition). Landsbro: Aleph Bokförlag.
- Berni, Simone. 2014. *Dracula di Bram Stoker – il mistero delle prime edizioni*. Macerata: Biblohaus/Lulu Press.
- Bjørnson, Bjørnstjerne. 1867. *Mellan drabbningarne, skådespel*, äfversatt af A. E. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag.
- Bjørnson, Bjørnstjerne. 1910. *Mellem slagerne*. In *Samlede Værker*, Vol. III, 433-456. Kristiania & Kjøbenhavn, Gyldendalske boghandel | Nordisk forlag.
- Brundan, Katy. 2016. “The Polyglot Vampire: The Politics of Translation in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*.” *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 52 (1), January 2016: 1–21. Published on 18 November 2015.
- Dalby, Richard (ed). 1986. *The Lair of the White Worm – A Bram Stoker Omnibus*. London: Foulsham, 1986.
- Dalby, Richard. 1993. “*Makt Myrkranna – Power of Darkness.*” *Bram Stoker Journal* 5 (1993): 2-8.
- Davison, Carol Margaret. 1997. “Bloodbrothers: Dracula and Jack the Ripper.” In *Bram Stoker’s Dracula – Sucking Through the Century, 1897-1997*, edited by Carol Margaret Davison, 147-172. Toronto: Dundurn Press.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2012 a. “Bram Stoker’s Vampire Trap – Vlad the Impaler and his Nameless Double.” Linköping University Electronic Press. Published on March 19, 2012.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2012 b. *The Ultimate Dracula*. Munich: Moonlake Editions.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2014 a. “*Makt Myrkranna – Mother of all Dracula Modifications?*” *Letter from Castle Dracula*, February 4, 1914: 3-20.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2014 b. “Bram Stoker’s Original Preface for *Dracula* Revealed?” *Letter from Castle Dracula*, April 18, 2014: 3-21.

- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2016. “‘Buda-Pesth seems a wonderful place’ – How a Hungarian Newspaperman Produced *Dracula*’s Very First Translation and Serialisation.” *Letter from Castle Dracula*, June 30, 2016: 2-11.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel (ed./transl.) 2017 a. *Powers of Darkness – The Lost Version of Dracula*. New York: Overlook/Abrams. With a foreword by Dacre Stoker and an afterword by John Edgar Browning.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2017 b. “First and Exclusive Interview with Rickard Berghorn.” *Children of the Night Conference Bulletin*, March 5, 2017: 8.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2017 c. “The Origin of the First *Dracula* Adaptation.” Article submitted mid-April 2017 for the *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Braşov*, Series IV: Philology and Cultural Studies, 10 (59) No. 1 – 2017. Published in October 2017.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2017 d. “Interview avec le (re-)découvreur de *Powers of Darkness* [addendum].” Hans de Roos interviewed by Adrien Party for the French online magazine *Vampirisme.com*, March 27, 2017.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2017 e. “Next Stop: Chicago! Earliest U.S. Serialisation of *Dracula* Known so Far Discovered. Was it the Source of *Mörkrets Makter*?” Vamped.org, May 26, 2017.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2018 a. “Was Albert Anders Andersson-Edenberg the First Author to Modify *Dracula*?” Vamped.org, March 26, 2017.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2018 b. “Was the Preface to the Swedish *Dracula* Version Written by a Priest? Bernhard Wadström and the ‘White Lady.’” Vamped.org, May 26, 2018.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2018 c. “Early Serialisations and Translations of *Dracula*, and the Internationalisation of the Press 1890-1900.” Presentation at the Children of the Night International *Dracula* Congress in Braşov, October 2018.
- Farson, Daniel. 1975. *The Man Who Wrote ‘Dracula.’* New York: St. Martin’s Press.
- Galletti, Johann Georg August. 1822. *Allgemeines geographisches Wörterbuch oder alphabetische Darstellung aller Länder, Städte, Flecken, Dorfer, Ortschaften, Meere, Flüsse u.s.w.* Pesth: Hartlebens Verlag.
- Habsburg, Rudolf von. 1891. *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Band II. Ungarn*. Wien: K. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.
- Herschel, John. 1831. *A Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green / John Taylor.
- Herschel, William. 1795. “On the Nature and Construction of the Sun and Fixed Stars.” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, 1795, Vol. 85 (1795): 46-72.
- Hreno, Tine. 2016. “Writers in London in the 1890s.” Blog, January 26, 2013, <http://1890swriters.blogspot.com/2013/01/stenographic-writing.html>.

- Matheson, Mary Carol. 2018. "Reframing Russia in France: 'Popular Diplomacy' and the Franco-Russian Military Alliance, 1871-1901." PhD thesis, the University Of British Columbia.
- Miller, Elizabeth, and Eighteen-Bisang, Robert (eds.). 2008. *Bram Stoker's Notes for Dracula: A Facsimile Edition*. Jefferson: McFarland.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. 1849. "Annabel Lee." *New-York Daily Tribune* of October 9, 1849; *Southern Literary Messenger*, November 1849.
- Rüstow, Wilhelm. 1860. *Geschichte des Ungarischen Insurrectionskrieges 1848*, Zürich: Friedrich Schultheiß.
- Skal, David J. 2004. *Hollywood Gothic – The Tangled Web of Dracula from Novel to Stage to Screen*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Skal, David J. 2016. *Something in the Blood: The Untold Story of Bram Stoker, the Man Who Wrote Dracula*. New York: Liveright/Norton.
- Stoddart, Jane. 1897. "Mr. Bram Stoker. A Chat with the Author of *Dracula*." *British Weekly*, July 1, 1897.
- Branagan, Mark. 2017. "'Sex and Violence' Version of *Dracula* TOO Shocking for Victorian Britain." *Express* (London), online edition, April 23, 2017.
- Storey, Neil. 2012. *The Dracula Secrets – Jack the Ripper and the Darkest Sources of Bram Stoker*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press.
- Stoker, Bram. 1885. "A Gipsy Prophecy." First published in *The Spirit of the Times*, December 26, 1885.
- Stoker, Bram. 1897. *Dracula*. London: Constable & Co.
- Stoker, Bram. 1908. "The Censorship of Fiction." *The Nineteenth Century and After* 64 (1908), September issue.
- Stoker, Bram. 1909. "The Censorship of Stage Plays." *The Nineteenth Century and After* 65 (1909), December issue.
- Unowsky, Daniel. 2018. *The Plunder – The 1898 Anti-Jewish Riots in Habsburg Galicia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wadström, Bernhard. 1898 and 1899. *Ur minnet och dagboken*, Volume I and II. Stockholm: Fosterlands Stiftelsen, 1898 and 1899.
- Wiesner, Alois Carl. 1853. *Der Feldzug der Ungarn gegen die Oesterreicher und Russen im Jahre 1848/49*. Chur: Leonh. Hitz.
- Wilson, Stephen. 1973. "The Anti-Semitic Riots in France in 1898." *The Historical Journal* 16 (4): 789-806.

REFERENCES (in chronological order)

- Herschel, William. 1795. "On the Nature and Construction of the Sun and Fixed Stars." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, 1795, Vol. 85 (1795): 46-72.
- Galletti, Johann Georg August. 1822. *Allgemeines geographisches Wörterbuch oder alphabetische Darstellung aller Länder, Städte, Flecken, Dorfer, Ortschaften, Meere, Flüsse u.s.w.* Pesth: Hartlebens Verlag.
- Herschel, John. 1831. *A Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green / John Taylor.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. 1849. "Annabel Lee." *New-York Daily Tribune* of 9 October 1849; *Southern Literary Messenger*, November 1849.
- Wiesner, Alois Carl. 1853. *Der Feldzug der Ungarn gegen die Oesterreicher und Russen im Jahre 1848/49*. Chur: Leonh. Hitz.
- Rüstow, Wilhelm. 1860. *Geschichte des Ungarischen Insurrectionskrieges 1848*, Zürich: Friedrich Schultheiß.
- Bjørnson, Bjørnstjerne. 1867. *Mellan drabbningarne, skådespel*, äfversatt af A. E. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag.
- Habsburg, Rudolf von. 1891. *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*. Band II. Ungarn. Wien: K. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.
- Stoker, Bram. 1885. "A Gipsy Prophecy." First published in *The Spirit of the Times*, December 26, 1885.
- Anderson-Edenberg, Anders Albert. 1895. *Eine Rundfahrt mit Dampfer um und durch das südliche Schweden*. Brochure written for *Svenska Turistföreningen*.
- Stoker, Bram. 1897. *Dracula*. London: Constable & Co.
- Stoddart, Jane. 1897. "Mr. Bram Stoker. A Chat with the Author of *Dracula*." *British Weekly*, July 1, 1897.
- Wadström, Bernhard. 1898 and 1899. *Ur minnet och dagboken*, Volume I and II. Stockholm: Fosterlands Stiftelsen, 1898 and 1899.
- "A-e." 1899. *Mörkrets makter* – Roman af Bram Stoker – Svensk bearbetning for *Dagen* af A-e. Serialisation in *Dagen* (June 10, 1899 - Febr. 7, 1900) and *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* (August 16, 1899 - March 31, 1900). The page numbers quoted in this article are taken from the *Dagen* serialisation.
- Stoker, Bram. 1908. "The Censorship of Fiction." *The Nineteenth Century and After* 64 (1908), September issue.
- Stoker, Bram. 1909. "The Censorship of Stage Plays." *The Nineteenth Century and After* 65 (1909), December issue.
- Bjørnson, Bjørnstjerne. 1910. *Mellem slagerne*. In *Samlede Værker*, Mindeutgave (memorial edition), Vol. III, 433-456. Kristiania & Kjøbenhavn, Gyldendalske boghandel | Nordisk forlag.

- Wilson, Stephen. 1973. "The Anti-Semitic Riots in France in 1898." *The Historical Journal* 16 (4): 789-806.
- Farson, Daniel. 1975. *The Man Who Wrote 'Dracula.'* New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Dalby, Richard (ed). 1986. *The Lair of the White Worm – A Bram Stoker Omnibus.* London: Foulsham, 1986.
- Dalby, Richard. 1993. "Makt Myrkranna – Power of Darkness." *Bram Stoker Journal* 5 (1993): 2-8.
- Davison, Carol Margaret. 1997. "Bloodbrothers: Dracula and Jack the Ripper." In *Bram Stoker's Dracula – Sucking Through the Century, 1897-1997*, edited by Carol Margaret Davison, 147-172. Toronto: Dundurn Press.
- Skal, David J. 2004. *Hollywood Gothic – The Tangled Web of Dracula from Novel to Stage to Screen.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Miller, Elizabeth, and Eighteen-Bisang, Robert (eds.). 2008. *Bram Stoker's Notes for Dracula: A Facsimile Edition.* Jefferson: McFarland.
- Storey, Neil. 2012. *The Dracula Secrets – Jack the Ripper and the Darkest Sources of Bram Stoker.* Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2012 a. "Bram Stoker's Vampire Trap – Vlad the Impaler and his Nameless Double." Linkoepping University Electronic Press. Published on March 19, 2012.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2012 b. *The Ultimate Dracula.* Munich: Moonlake Editions.
- Berni, Simone. 2014. *Dracula di Bram Stoker – il mistero delle prime edizioni.* Macerata: Biblohaus/Lulu Press.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2014 a. "Makt Myrkranna – Mother of all *Dracula* Modifications?" *Letter from Castle Dracula*, Febr. 4, 1914: 3-20.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2014 b. "Bram Stoker's Original Preface for *Dracula* Revealed?" *Letter from Castle Dracula*, April 18, 2014: 3-21.
- Hreno, Tine. 2016. "Writers in London in the 1890s." Blog, January 26, 2013, <http://1890swriters.blogspot.com/2013/01/stenographic-writing.html>
- Brundan, Katy. 2016. "The Polyglot Vampire: The Politics of Translation in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 52 (1), January 2016: 1–21. Published on 18 November 2015.
- Skal, David J. 2016. *Something in the Blood: The Untold Story of Bram Stoker, the Man Who Wrote Dracula.* New York: Liveright/Norton.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2016. "'Buda-Pesth seems a wonderful place' – How a Hungarian Newspaperman Produced *Dracula*'s Very First Translation and Serialisation." *Letter from Castle Dracula*, June 30, 2016: 2-11.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel (ed./transl.) 2017 a. *Powers of Darkness – The Lost Version of Dracula.* New York: Overlook/Abrams. With a foreword by Dacre Stoker and an afterword by John Edgar Browning. Released on February 7, 2017.

- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2017 b. "First and Exclusive Interview with Rickard Berghorn." *Children of the Night Conference Bulletin*, March 5, 2017: 8.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2017 c. "The Origin of the First *Dracula* Adaptation." Article submitted mid-April 2017 for the *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Braşov*, Series IV: Philology and Cultural Studies, 10 (59) No. 1 – 2017. Published in October 2017.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2017 d. "Interview avec le (re-)découvreur de *Powers of Darkness* [addendum]." Hans de Roos interviewed by Adrien Party for the French online magazine *Vampirisme.com*, March 27, 2017.
- Branagan, Mark. 2017. "'Sex and Violence' Version of *Dracula* TOO Shocking for Victorian Britain." *Express* (London), online edition, April 23, 2017.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2017 e. "Next Stop: Chicago! Earliest U.S. Serialisation of *Dracula* Known so Far Discovered. Was it the Source of *Mörkrets Makter*?" *Vamped.org*, May 26, 2017.
- Berghorn, Rickard. 2017 a. "*Dracula*'s Way to Sweden: A Unique Version of Stoker's Novel." *Weird Webzine*, October 2017. Originally published at <https://weirdwebzine.com/draculitz.html>. Archived at <http://powersofdarkness.com/WeWe/DracSwedenOct2017.htm>.
- Berghorn, Rickard (ed). 2017 b. *Mörkrets makter: Den glömda svenska versionen av Dracula* (Swedish edition). Landsbro: Aleph Bokförlag.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2018 a. "Was Albert Anders Andersson-Edenberg the First Author to Modify *Dracula*?" *Vamped.org*, March 26, 2017.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2018 b. "Was the Preface to the Swedish *Dracula* Version Written by a Priest? Bernhard Wadström and the 'White Lady.'" *Vamped.org*, May 26, 2018.
- De Roos, Hans Corneel. 2018 c. "Early Serialisations and Translations of *Dracula*, and the Internationalisation of the Press 1890-1900." Presentation at the Children of the Night International *Dracula* Congress in Braşov, October 2018.
- Matheson, Mary Carol. 2018. "Reframing Russia in France: 'Popular Diplomacy' and the Franco-Russian Military Alliance, 1871-1901." PhD thesis, the University Of British Columbia.
- Unowsky, Daniel. 2018. *The Plunder – The 1898 Anti-Jewish Riots in Habsburg Galicia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.