Simon Bacon
The Palgrave Handbook of the Vampire
10.1007/978-3-030-82301-6_21-1

The Euro-Vampire

Lindsay Hallam[1]

(1)University of East London, London, UK

Lindsay Hallam
Email: l.a.hallam@uel.ac.uk

Abstract

This chapter surveys European vampire films made between 1957 and 1979. It presents an overview of key films of this period, recognizing the dominance of female vampires as embodiments of the conflicting attitudes about changing gender roles occurring during this time. It also investigates the crossover between representations of the female vampire and the witch and the influence of folktales from Eastern Europe. The chapter explores how this focus on female representation leads to more explicit explorations of female sexuality and lesbian romance. The chapter also considers adaptations of *Dracula* and the influence of Murnau's *Nosferatu* (*1922*), exploring how these texts are used as vehicles to examine the effects of recent historical events and the rapid process of modernization and post-War capitalism.

KeywordsEuropean cinema -Female vampire -Dracula -Lesbian vampire -Gender -Sexuality -Italian cinema -Serbian folklore -Gothic -Folk horror -Capitalism -Nosferatu

Introduction

The 1960s and 1970s were a golden age for the European vampire film. From the heaving bosoms and bared fangs of Hammer, presided over by genre stalwarts Christopher Lee and Peter Cushing, to the erotic horror of Jean Rollin and Jess Franco, the lush visuals and graphic violence of Italian Gothic, and dreamlike Eastern European folktales, European vampire films of this period pushed the boundaries in depictions of sex and violence. Yet, with this increase in explicit images came deeper explorations of changing gender roles, sexual liberation, and political critique, commenting on the many social revolutions of the time.

The Female Vampire

While Bram Stoker's seminal text still loomed large, with several adaptations of *Dracula* filmed during this period (see further below), the female vampire came to dominate European vampire films during these decades. Franco Morretti asks: "what is the sex – in literature, naturally, not in reality – of vampires? Vampires, unlike angels, do have sex. But it changes. In one set of works (Poe, Hoffman, Baudelaire: 'elite' culture) they are women. In another (Polidori, Stoker, the cinema: 'mass' culture) they are men" (*2000*: 157). While Morretti designates cinema as part of mass culture, where vampires are primarily male, when looking at European cinema, traditionally viewed as a producer of highbrow "art" cinema, the female vampire occurs more frequently.

However, when discussing the delineations between forms of cinema that are deemed as "high" and "low" art, the European horror film sits in an uncertain middle ground. Horror, along with pornography, are deemed as "low" genres, given their focus on the baser aspects of violence and sex. Indeed, many European vampire films of this time include pornographic elements, as in Jess Franco's *Female Vampire* where fellatio becomes a vampiric act. Yet, they also incorporate elements associated with high art and avant-garde cinema. In her book *Cutting Edge: Art-Horror and the Horrific Avant-Garde*, Joan Hawkins argues that there is an intersection where high and low meet, examining the crossover in style and theme in works designated as low horror and those from the avant-garde. When discussing Franco's work, Hawkins explains how understanding his style and approach requires what Pierre Bourdieu termed "cultural accumulation" from both high and low sources. As Hawkins asserts, "To really appreciate Franco's film, it helps to know something about – or at least like – jazz (which Bourdieu links to 'aristocratic' culture, the cultural elite), the works of the Marquis de Sade, European art films, other horror movies, porn flicks… Nazi/SS exploitation films, American action movies, cop shows, and fascist history and culture" (*2000*: 112) Hawkins goes on to state that the fact that you "have to learn how to watch his movies, removes the director's work from the arena of what Adorno would call true 'mass culture'" (112).

A case can be made that the need for a certain degree of "cultural accumulation" is similarly required when examining the work of many European directors making vampire films throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Other studies of European horror and erotic cinema of this period note the blending of high and low elements within these films, most notably Cathal Tohill and Pete Tombs seminal book *Immoral Tales: European Sex and Horror Movies 1956–1984*, which highlights specific directors, such as Franco and Rollin, along with others, such as Walerian Borowczyk, Jose Larraz, and Alain Robbe-Grillet, who often come from avant-garde backgrounds but then shift into making genre films (Borowczyk dramatizes the story of Bathory in a segment of his anthology film *Contes immoraux/Immoral Tales* (*1973*), while Larraz makes *Vampyres* in *1975*, discussed further below). Tohill and Tombs begin their investigation of these "sex and horror movies" by first placing them in a lineage of European art traditions that stem from the paintings of Goya, the poetry of Lord Byron and Baudelaire, Gothic literature, and the philosophy of the Marquis de Sade. Furthermore, there are examples of notable auteurs of unequivocally "arthouse" cinema, such as Werner Herzog, making vampire films in this period, while *Valerie a týden divu/Valerie and Her Week of Wonders* (Jires *1970*) is also situated as part of the Czech New Wave film movement.

A female vampire film that most clearly traverses the divide between horror and art film is Harry Kumel's *1971* film *Les lèvres rouges/Daughters of Darkness*. While the film takes the historical figure of Elizabeth Bathory and transforms her into an immortal vampire who seduces a newlywed couple on their honeymoon, the role of Bathory is played by Delphine Seyrig, an actress known for her roles in art film classics such as Alain Resnais's *L'année dernière à Marienbad/Last Year at Marienbad* (*1961*) and Chantal Akerman's *Jeanne Dielman, 23 quai du Commerce, 1080 Bruxelles* (*1975*). In her article "Daughters of Darkness: A Lesbian Vampire Art Film," Carol Jenks argues

that “This infusion of art into the horror genre, both via the film’s director and its star… has enabled it to acquire a status as an ‘erotic’ film, as opposed to vulgar sex-exploiters like *The Vampire Lovers*, and as a progressive text in its erotic attitudes…” (*1996*: 22). Jenks points out that director Kumel comes from an academic background and goes on to cite scenes that directly reference aspects of Seyrig’s role in the Resnais film. Jenks defines the film’s central lesbian romance as progressive in that it is not designed purely to play to male fantasies and in fact omits any “masculine control figure” (22).

I Vampiri

Preceding the sexually explicit films of the 1970s, the female vampire emerges in the late 1950s, firstly in Riccardo Freda’s *I vampiri* in *1957* (a year before Hammer’s *Dracula* is released). In this film vampirism is linked to mad science, with the female vampire Giselle Du Grand (Gianna Maria Canale) receiving blood through transfusions in order to remain young. In a nod to the legend of Elizabeth Bathory, a member of the aristocracy uses the blood of lower-class women as a means to circumvent the aging process. The film’s contemporary setting also presents Gisele’s home, a crumbling old castle within the vibrant city of Paris, as a similarly decaying body. Covered in cobwebs and dust, encompassing a great hall with hidden rooms and passages, a kidnapped maiden sits imprisoned in the tower, while heinous experiments perverting the boundary between life and death take place below in the crypt. This quintessentially Gothic castle contrasts with its modern surroundings, presenting a clear dichotomy between desirable youth and repulsive old age. Giselle is eventually revealed to also be her aging aunt, assuming different identities according to when she has had her transfusions. As they wear off, she begins to age rapidly, her hair graying as lines deepen on her face.

For Giselle, the horror of aging is worse than the horror of murder. As she proclaims, “I became young again at the cost of human life. Just for that man’s love.” Giselle is determined to stay young in order to gain the love of the grandson of the man who spurned her decades earlier. Yet, while most other men call her “the most beautiful woman in Paris,” the grandson, Pierre, rebuffs her advances. In a telling statement that links Giselle with her home, he declares, “I can’t stand her. Or this castle.” For all her wealth and beauty (and her ability to cheat death), Giselle wants love. Her motivations are all driven by her desire for a man – another trait that links her with an older generation.

Although set in Paris, *I vampiri* is an Italian production, the first horror film made in Italy since the silent era. It then set off a boom in Italian horror film production, with Gothic horror films particularly successful throughout the 1960s. Several films made just after *I vampiri* share its modern setting, with examples such as *Tempi duri per i vampiri/Uncle was a Vampire* (Steno *1959*), *L’ultima preda del vampire/The Playgirls and the Vampire* (Regnoli *1960*), *L’amante del vampire/The Vampire and the Ballerina* (Polselli *1960*), and *Il monstro dell’opera/The Monster of the Opera* (Polselli *1964*) all presenting depictions of the new modern Italian woman. Andrea Bini states, “It was the horror genre that both explicitly and implicitly addressed the issue of women’s gradual emancipation within Italian society and exposed male fears around female sexuality” (*2011*: 53). The titular *Playgirls* and *Ballerinas* are all working women whose trade depends on their beautiful young bodies. Unlike lovesick Giselle, the women in these films are much more sexually liberated and independent. Roberto Curti explains how the female prey in Italian vampire films differed from those in British productions: “originally the vampire functioned as a catalyst for the

liberation of a chaotic and destructive sexual energy, which the forces of good—usually in the shape of a paternal, asexual savant who accompanied the young hero—are called upon to suppress. The vampire here becomes a punitive agent instead" (*2015*: 59). Although she is seen happily carefree at work and at play, the liberated female ultimately becomes a victim, an expression of the anxiety surrounding the changing place of women in Italian society and a warning against following these new moral codes.

As was the case across many European countries throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Italy experienced what became known as the "economic miracle" and with this growth came other forms of modernization. Women now entered the workforce, and as the influence of the Catholic Church lessened, the contraceptive pill became available and birth rates lowered. While women enjoyed their newfound freedom, traditional patriarchal forces perceived this freedom as threatening. The female vampire became an apt metaphor to demonstrate that female power was inherently dangerous and frightening. As Flavia Brizio-Skov states, "Instead of traditional male monsters and villains, sexually active women (vampire-witches) became the forces menacing the patriarchal system. The female monster is the outcome of a crisis experienced by a rural society uprooted by the economic boom and the frantic modernisation of the 1950s and the early 1960s" (*2011*, 11). This statement suggests a clear link between the rise of female vampires and anxieties about women's emerging power and agency in a time of rapid social change. At the dawn of the 1960s, a female monster was to emerge that embodied all these fears of feminine domination, in Mario Bava's *1960* film *La maschera del demonio/Black Sunday*.

Black Sunday

Mario Bava had been the cinematographer on *I vampiri*, although he took over directing duties in the final 2 days after Freda left the production. While there are also claims that Bava directed *La morte viene dallo spazio/The Day the Sky Exploded* (Heusch *1958*), *Black Sunday* is Bava's official solo directorial debut. This film marked the emergence of the female vampire as a figure that dominated not just Italian cinema but European Gothic cinema more generally, across the next two decades. The lead performance by Barbara Steele, in dual roles, has become iconic, embodying the beauty, power, and violence of the female vampire that is expressed in ways that differ from her male counterparts.

The film opens with a scene that climaxes in a moment of extreme brutality and violence. In the seventeenth century, a woman, Asa, is tied to a stake, her bare back exposed. She is accused of witchcraft by her own brother, punished through torture by being branded, burned, and adorned with "the mask of Satan." The iron mask is presented to the camera in close-up and then turned to show that the other side is covered in spikes. As the mask is brought toward her, Asa curses her brother and his bloodline: "My revenge will strike down you and your accursed house in the blood of your sons and the sons of their sons I will continue to live, immortal! I shall return to torment and destroy throughout the nights of time!" The mask is placed on Asa's face, and a large man in an executioner's hood swings his hammer toward the camera. There is an edit as the man delivers his blow, cutting to a side view of Asa's face in close-up as the hammer hits the mask to drive the nails in, blood spurting.

Made in 1960, the graphic nature of this image still manages to shock. Despite being filmed in black and white, the film's violence was more explicit than anything seen in Hammer's luridly colored output of the same period. In a further counterpoint, while the British Hammer films were led by

male stars Peter Cushing and Christopher Lee (with Lee taking on the role of Dracula in a series of Hammer films), in Italian horror, the focus, as initiated by *I vampiri*, was on the female vampire, and no star of Italian Gothic films was more prolific, or recognizable, than Barbara Steele.

Leon Hunt cites the image of the mask as a significant one in the history of Italian horror cinema, as it seems "to confirm everyone's worst fears about the horror film as a sadistic and misogynistic treatment of violence rendered onto ultrachic spectacle" (*2000*: 325). Hunt cites Carol Jenks's assertion that the scene's violence moves to "pierce the gaze of the spectator" (325) maintaining that the scene interrogates "the relationship between the gaze of the woman in the text, the gaze of the spectator, and the violence committed against both" (325). Throughout *Black Sunday* there is an emphasis on Asa's gaze; she is the one who looks, and it is through her gaze that she wields power.

Shifting to 200 years later, Asa's tomb is entered by two men, Professor Kruvajan and his assistant Andrej. They find her coffin and remove the mask, which reveals her decomposed face covered in spiders. Her eyes are missing, yet Kruvajan states that "Those empty eyes seem to be looking at me." Unbeknownst to them, the professor has cut himself, and a drop of blood falls onto Asa's corpse. As they leave they are happened upon by Katia, the daughter of the man who owns the castle, which is being allowed to go to ruin due to a family curse. Katia is Asa's descendent, again played by Barbara Steele.

The motif of doubling is central to the Gothic, embodying each person's dual nature. The double, or *doppelganger*, is a manifestation of a person's dark side, or shadow self. There is thus a clear good/bad binary, with the female vampire synonymous with the evil, transgressive parts of ourselves that must be repressed. As with *Black Sunday*, in other vampire films such as *The Playgirls and the Vampire* and *La cripta e l'incubo/Crypt of the Vampire* (Mastrocinque *1964*), the two doubles come from the same bloodline, the older vampire seeking to drain the lifeblood of their young, innocent descendent (in other examples, such as *The Monster of the Opera*, the imperiled maiden is the reincarnation of a lost love; Barbara Steele seemed to specialize in dual roles in Italian Gothic films, as in *I maniaci* (Fulci *1964*), *I lunghi capelli della morte/The Long Hair of Death* (Margheriti *1964*), and *Un angelo per Satana/An Angel for Satan* (Mastrocinque *1966*)). The evil comes from the past, haunting the present like a dark family secret passed through the generations.

This generational curse positions the female vampire as a transgressive figure who exists in opposition to maternal femininity. Rather than caring for her descendants, she seeks revenge on them. In this respect there are similarities to be found between representations of the female vampire and the witch. Throughout *Black Sunday*, Asa is referred to as a vampire and a witch interchangeably, beginning with the first scene. The opening titles state: "great was the wrath against those monstrous beings thirsty for human blood, to whom tradition has given the name VAMPIRE," yet within the scene that follows, Asa stands accused of witchcraft. Bava himself has said that he was influenced by old tales of *fattucchiere*, or witches, "since vampires and supernatural monsters do not exist in Italian folklore" (Bini *2011*: 57). The witch trials of the seventeenth century stand as testament to the long (and ongoing) history of misogyny and female oppression, with punishment meted out to women who refuse to conform to patriarchal norms.

Tales of witches often focus on her persecution of children, kidnapping them, killing them, and in many cases drinking their blood. Hence, they also transgress against ideas of women as inherently maternal. They perform spells and curses and engage in pagan rituals that often involve sexual activity, not for the purposes of reproduction but as a way to harness natural forces for her own gain. Asa stands accused not only of witchcraft but also of "monstrous love"; the portrait of Asa that hangs in the Vajda castle depicts her in the nude, a visual representation of her flouting of all conventions and propriety.

However, the witch is often shown in the guise of an old hag, who assumes the guise of a beautiful young woman in order to seduce her victims. The vampire-witch, however, can retain her youth and beauty. Asa goes through a period of transition before reaching her original state, first as an eyeless rotting corpse; then later as she regenerates, the holes in her face from the spiked mask of Satan remain. Even with these holes and immobile in her coffin, Asa still manages to seduce Kruvajan with her powerful gaze. She is not in thrall to any masculine power and in fact is the one who summons her lover Jatuvich from the grave to do her bidding.

This gaze also mesmerizes the spectator. As Asa beckons Kruvajan for a kiss, the camera assumes his point of view as she walks toward the camera parting her lips. Again, like a witch, she is able to cast a spell. This aspect of the occult further aligns the female vampire with the witch. The male vampire is often set in opposition to the Catholic Church, with Dracula presented as an Antichrist, a satanic figure often referred to as "the Prince of Darkness." The female vampire is not so much satanic as pagan, as she is connected more to natural forces. There is some conflation between paganism and Satanism though, as we will see in other vampire films such *as La tumba de la isla maldita/Hannah, Queen of the Vampires* (aka *Crypt of the Living Dead*) (Salvador and Danton *1973*) and *Crypt of the Vampire*.

Vampire-Witches and Folk Horror Goddesses

In *Hannah, Queen of the Vampires* (a Spanish-American co-production filmed in Turkey), there is a clear connection between rural spaces and a pre-Christian, pagan history. In this film the vampire queen is also a pagan goddess, brought back to life on an isolated island where inhabitants live as they did in the past, still holding on to old superstitions. The narrative follows what Adam Scovell referred to as the "folk horror chain," being set in an isolated rural location where there are skewed beliefs and a form of happening/summoning (Scovell *2017*). In this case, the summoning is of Hannah, a vampire who can also transform into a wolf. The legend has it that in the 1200s King Louis lost a ship that ended up at the island. When the ship was found, the crew had all been turned into vampires. The queen of the vampires, Hannah, was captured, but instead of being staked through the heart, she was buried alive in her coffin.

Hannah is summoned after the death of Professor Bolton, who had arrived to study the island's myths. Initially, Bolton tried to educate the islanders in the ways of science, but he soon began to believe the story himself, "getting into paganism, hedonism, and all the things the island once went in for; probably still does." The film opens with Bolton being killed when he finds Hannah's tomb, which then leads to her being released.

The film follows the arrival of Clive, Bolton's son, who comes from the city and looks very out of place in his business suit and briefcase. Clive begins investigating with the help of Peter and his sister Mary (with whom Clive begins a romantic relationship). However, Peter turns out to be an acolyte of Hannah, who worships her and hopes she will turn him into a vampire so he can achieve immortality and create "a world where the love of a brother and sister is blessed, not cursed." Peter is responsible for the death of Bolton and awaits the arrival of Hannah, who is out stalking and killing the island's inhabitants in order to drink enough blood to bring her fully back to life.

Peter refers to Hannah as a "devil goddess," and he prays to her dressed in a black robe, at an altar that appears like those used in satanic rituals. *The Crypt of the Vampire*, a film very clearly influenced by *Black Sunday*, adapts *Carmilla* but also imbues the story with similar occult

iconography as *Hannah*. Like *Black Sunday*, the Karnstein family are seemingly cursed by their ancestor, Sheena, who was accused of being a witch and (like Elizabeth Bathory) a killer of young girls. She was crucified and all remnants of her existence, such as her portrait, were destroyed. Her descendant, Laura (played by Barbara Steele lookalike, Adriana Ambesi), appears to be under her influence, having dreams and visions of both future and past events. At the beginning of the film, Laura has a dream foretelling the death of her cousin, Tilda. Later she takes part in an occult ritual with her servant, Rowena, where she lies naked face down on the floor, which is painted with a white star within a black circle. Rowena stands holding another star with a devil-like horned figure drawn on it. Rowena calls upon Sheena's spirit, and Laura sees a vision of Sheena's death. Like Laura, Sheena is also shown with her back exposed (as in the first scene of *Black Sunday*, she is strapped to a cross), but her face is obscured under a hood. Sheena pronounces that a descendant will be born "not only bearing my face but my lust for vengeance." As Sheena shouts, "Murderer!," it cuts back to Laura who awakens saying the same word.

Although we do not see Sheena's face, there seems to be a clear connection, or doubling, between her and Laura, as with Asa and Katia in *Black Sunday*. But given that the film also combines elements of *Carmilla*, a young woman, Ljuba, soon arrives at the castle, and she and Laura develop a close relationship with strong lesbian overtones. Sheena therefore also stands in for the character of Mircalla, who in the novel is Laura's ancestor but is identical to Carmilla (although *Crypt of the Vampire* suggests, at least initially, that it is Laura who must be Sheena's double, "born with her face"). In a reversal of the novel, it is Laura who appears looming over Ljuba while she sleeps, with Ljuba awakening with two bite marks on her neck. However, while all signs point to Laura being Sheena's reincarnation, a twist at the film's conclusion reveals that it is in fact Ljuba.

The other main diversion from the source novella is the addition of the occult elements, with the character of Rowena seemingly attempting to bring back Sheena from the dead. While she uses artifacts with depictions of Satan on them, at one point praying to him by name, Rowena's practices, and her status as servant, align her with pagan and folk traditions. At one point a peddler arrives at the castle and offers to sell Laura and Ljuba charms and talismans to protect them. Later they find the peddler hung in a nearby ruined church, his hand missing. It cuts to Rowena holding the hand, from each finger sits a candle. Rowena states that she found the peddler dead and removed his hand as part of a ritual to find his murderer and avenge his death. As with her attempts to contact Sheena, Rowena uses occult means in order to enact a primal form of justice.

Eastern Origins

As with *Hannah*, associations between the female vampire and the witch shift the vampire story into the area of folk horror. The vampire exists in folklore from cultures all around the world, with many vampire films drawing from these old tales. In his article "The Serbian Roots of the Vampire Family Tree," Dejan Ognjanović declares that "the vampire as understood in the West – and its countless variations – is a cultural appropriation and reinterpretation of an entity originally conceived in Eastern Europe" (*2021*: 87). Ognjanović explains that the Eastern vampire, unlike the foreign aristocrats of Western tales, is usually a peasant who feeds on those close to it, such as neighbors and family members. However, this rich folk tradition was not capitalized on by Serbian writers and filmmakers, except in a few cases. Nikolai Gogol, a Russian writer of Ukrainian descent, wrote "The Family of the Vourdalak" in 1839, which is set in a Serbian village. Following tradition, in this story, the vampire is the patriarch of a family who attacks his son and grandson. This story was

adapted to film by Mario Bava in a segment of his anthology *I tre volti della paura/Black Sabbath* (1962), then expanded to feature length, and updated to a modern day setting, in *La note dei diavoli/Night of the Devils* (Feroni *1972*).

These were both Italian productions, with the first Serbian horror film made in the former Yugoslavia, centering on a female vampire. *Leptirica/The She-Butterfly* (Kadijević *1973*) is based on the 1880 story "Posle devedeset godina/After Ninety Years" by Serbian writer Milovan Glišić but is firmly rooted in Serbian vampire lore. Kadijević diverges slightly from the original text, in the reveal of the protagonist's young virginal wife as the vampire. The film is set in a rural village, where a young man, Strahinja, asks for the hand of Radojka, the daughter of a landowner, but her father refuses to let them marry. Strahinja leaves the village and travels to find work at a flour mill that has been plagued by vampire attacks. The vampire is presented as was common in Serbian tales, covered in hair with sharp teeth and nails. After surviving the night in the mill, he finds out the vampire's name and goes to his grave and nails a stake into the (unopened) coffin, after which a butterfly flies out. Free of the vampire, the villagers bring Radojka to him, but when he sneaks into her room the night before the wedding, he discovers a hole in her chest and realizes she is the vampire who had been in the coffin. Radojka opens her eyes and transforms into the hairy monster. She jumps on Strahinja's shoulders and rides him to the grave where he finds the stake and impales her. He is found the next day lying on the ground, a butterfly on his ear.

While the vampire in *Leptirica* conforms to Serbian traditions, there are moments, like *Black Sunday* before it, where she assumes witchlike traits. For example, Ognjanović claims that Radojka has qualities associated with another creature from Serbian folklore, the *mora* (95). A mora is a witchlike creature, who at night can change shape and attacks people and sucks their blood. Further, Ognjanović argues that the scenes where Radojka rides Strahinja is taken directly from a similar scene in Gogol's tale of a witch, "Viy" (which just happens to be cited as the source material for Bava's *Black Sunday*) (95). This moment marks a violent shift from the expectation of sex to the threat of death, where the beautiful young virgin becomes a repulsive monster. As with the female vampires of the Italian Gothic, the vampire is a figure that embodies anxieties about female sexuality and independence.

Another vampire film from Eastern Europe, *Valerie and Her Week of Wonders*, also combines elements of folk horror and fantasy. While the vampire in *Leptirica* reveals herself on the eve of her wedding and sexual consummation, *Valerie…* has the vampire's arrival coincide with the onset of sexual maturity. Valerie's fluidity, being both child and woman, extends to all other characters in the film, whose identities are all unfixed. There is a Gothic doubling with Valerie's grandmother, Elsa, who later becomes young and assumes the identity of a distant cousin and then later in the film is seen as Valerie's long-lost mother. Elsa is granted her youth from drinking blood, led by a vampire who is also a priest, a constable, and possibly Valerie's father. He appears at times with a hideous white face, made up like Max Schreck from *Nosferatu* (Murnau *1922*), while at other points he is a handsome young man. The vampire torments another character, Orlik, with whom Valerie seems to share romantic feelings but who may also be her brother (other scenes between Valerie and the vampire/father also have incestuous undertones).

This uncertainty suggests a very literal "family romance," as Tanya Krzywinska states, "That all the central characters in Valerie's world do not have definitive, stable identities locates that world as subjective artifice. Valerie imagines a range of scenarios in which her family members are endowed with magical powers, their status inflated to fairytale proportions," with the use of fantasy mapping "childhood monsters onto the sphere of adult family relationships" (*2003*). The vampire here

functions as a manifestation of Oedipal desires and violence, their transgression of the boundary between life and death merging with, and perverting, the transition from one generation to the next.

Vampyres

As the 1960s progressed, the female vampire became more overtly sexualized. The lesbian undertones that were initially subtextual in *Carmilla* became central to the female vampire tale. Films that directly adapted or referenced the novella, such as *Et mourir de Plaisir/Blood and Roses* (Vadim *1960*), *The Crypt of the Vampire*, *La novia ensangrentada/The Blood-Spattered Bride* (Aranda *1972*), and Hammer's Karnstein trilogy (*The Vampire Lovers* (Baker *1970*), *Lust for a Vampire* (Sangster *1971*), and *Twins of Evil* (Hough *1971*)) foregrounded the lesbian romance, including more explicit lesbian sex scenes. That explicitness was to be pushed even further in the 1970s in the films of Franco and Rollin, and other examples such as *Daughters of Darkness*, *Der Fluch der schwarzen Schwestern/The Devil's Plaything* (Sarno 1973), and *Vampyres* .

While the *Carmilla* adaptations focused on one central lesbian relationship, these other films present female vampires as much more promiscuous and pansexual. Their voracious sexual appetites are directly linked to their appetite for blood, with sexual scenes often climaxing in violence. While male vampires seduce their victims with their words and hypnotic gaze, luring their prey toward them, the female vampire often attacks impulsively and with animalistic ferocity.

This is very much the case for the two vampires, Fran and Miriam, at the center of Jose Larraz's *Vampyres* , who satiate their thirst for blood in an orgiastic frenzy. The film begins with a scene of violence, but one in which Fran and Miriam are the victims, shot to death by an unseen assailant who interrupts them while having sex. After the opening credits, we see the arrival of Ted at a hotel. The hotel manager recognizes him, but he claims to have never been there before. Meanwhile, a couple, Harriet and John, travel in their caravan and stop outside a stately manor. Harriet sees Fran and Miriam, now seemingly alive, by the road. Fran hitches a lift from a passing car, while Miriam looks on from nearby. Later, Harriet spies them again as they walk through the graveyard, intercut with an ambulance arriving at a crashed car with a naked man inside. Harriet remarks to John that the two women "didn't look normal… they gave me a very strange feeling."

It soon becomes clear that Fran and Miriam are vampires, who lure men on the road and bring them back to the manor where they seduce and kill them. It seems that Ted is to be their next victim. Ted picks Fran up, telling her she "doesn't look like an ordinary hitchhiker" and in fact looks like someone he used to know. They go back to the house and proceed to drink copious amounts of red wine and have sex, their kisses violently passionate, almost like bites. Ted survives the night but finds a deep scratch on his arm and blood in the bed. He gets help from John and Harriet to tend to his wound but cannot seem to keep away from Fran, the days and nights passing in a drunken stupor as he keeps coming back for more.

He later joins Fran and Miriam and another man, Rupert. More sex with Fran follows, but during the act, Fran keeps licking at his wound, her mouth soon covered in blood. Fran leaves the room and finds Miriam covered in blood, and they both walk together to Rupert, who lies bleeding and groaning. They then turn savage, licking and biting at Rupert's wounds, as Fran stabs him repeatedly with a dagger. Director Larraz declares that he "imagined them like two panthers, two wild animals… I imagine my vampires turn almost to cannibalism, to eat somebody, to take the blood from anywhere, no matter if it is on the arm or on the balls! Anywhere! I can't imagine anyone

coming to suck my blood gently. It would be… very quick, with urgency… urgency because the sun rises. Urgency for the kill, urgency for the blood, because it's what they need. And that is why my film is so brutal" (Tohill and Tombs *1994*: 202). The scene of violence is followed by a scene of the two women in the shower together, washing each other and kissing. For the vampire women, the acts of sex and violence are indistinguishable.

A further shot shows them through a peephole as though they are being watched. Certainly, a lesbian shower scene is a standard scenario in a film designed to titillate a mostly heterosexual male audience, the peephole highlighting the scene as one that is made to be looked at. Andrea Weiss states that "The lesbian vampire film uses lesbianism as titillation that is at once provocative and conquerable, and equates lesbian powers with unnatural powers. It appeals to deep, dark fears of the insatiable female, the consuming mother, the devouring mother, woman as monster, the 'vagina dentata'" (*2014*: 31). Even when kissing, the vampire women (and Ted) appear to be trying to devour the other person, the act of vampirism more akin to the act of cannibalism, as Larraz intended.

That these women are depicted as attractive but ultimately monstrous due to their desire for each other conforms to Weiss's assertion that consensual lesbian relations are shown as "inherently pathological" (31). Yet, Weiss also contends that there is space for lesbian audiences to derive pleasure from these depictions. Citing examples such as *Blood and Roses*, *Daughters of Darkness*, and Tony Scott's *The Hunger* (1983), which draw "heavily on European art cinema conventions," Weiss argues that despite the vampire being destroyed, the woman she seduced is usually shown to have assumed the role as vampire herself, the soul of her lover living on in her body. And through a "camp" reading, a lesbian spectator can further "enjoy the film's exaggerated, predictable imagery and obvious theatricality," with the female vampire being both an "object of male desire" but also "an agent for female desire – dangerous, excessive, lesbian desire" (34).

In *Vampyres*, it is often Harriet who looks at Fran and Miriam, gazing at them from within the confines of her caravan she shares with her husband. With her short hair, often dressed in a wool beanie and brown jacket, Harriet looks androgynous in contrast with Fran and Harriet's more overtly sexualized femininity. Unfortunately, though, Harriet soon comes face-to-face with vampire women, who strip her before stabbing her to death and drinking her blood.

Ted manages to escape such a horrible fate, but so too do Fran and Miriam, who are not conquered and destroyed as is often the case for female vampires (indeed, this was how the film began rather than ended). However, after Fran and Miriam are last seen running through the graveyard and seemingly escape, Ted is awakened by a real estate agent showing around an old couple looking to buy the house. The agent speaks of how it is said that "the bodies of two young, unidentified women were found," remarking further that "The murderer always returns to the scene of his crime, while the ghosts of these two poor women haunt the building." It could therefore be inferred that the unseen assailant at the beginning of the film was Ted (explaining why he was recognized at the hotel) and that Fran and Miriam are ghosts (recalling Antonio Margheriti's *Danza macabre/Castle of Blood* (1964), which also had vampires trapped in an endless cycle of repetitive haunting). This interpretation repositions Fran and Miriam as victims and Ted as the perpetrator, but it is far from certain. As with the examples Weiss cited earlier, the film's use of European art cinema techniques leads to ambiguities. This ending does not provide a definitive answer; it is open and suggests an ongoing cycle. This cycle has entrapped Ted and robbed him of his power (he doesn't seem to be aware that he is repeating his previous actions), shifting control to Fran and Miriam, who not only get to continue their affair but also wreak vengeance on the entire male gender.

Legacy of Dracula

While the female vampire dominated this period, the male vampire did not disappear completely. Adaptations of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* still emerged, retelling the story from different perspectives. European adaptations from this period include the Hammer series starring Christopher Lee, Jess Franco's *Il Conde Dracula* (*1970*), *La strage dei vampir/Slaughter of the Vampires* (Mauri *1962*), *Jonathan* (Geissendorfer *1970*), and *Nosferatu: Phantom der Nacht/Nosferatu the Vampyre* (Herzog *1979*). The character of Dracula also appears in films that depart from the source material, such as *Los monstruos de terror/Dracula Versus Frankenstein* (Demichelli *1970*), *Drácula contra Frankenstein/Dracula, Prisoner of Frankenstein* (Franco *1972*), *El gran amor del conde Drácula/Count Dracula's Great Love* (Aguirre *1973*), *Vampira* (Donner *1974*), *Tendre Dracula/The Big Scare* (Grunstein *1974*), *Lady Dracula* (Gottlieb *1977*), and American director Paul Morrissey's Italian made *Blood for Dracula* (1974).

Slaughter of the Vampires is a loose adaptation, with the Dracula figure, known only as "The Vampire," seducing a young wife, Louise, while on her honeymoon. The film presents The Vampire as a romantic figure, luring Louise away from her husband, Wolfgang, who in contrast is presented as weak and ineffectual. The Vampire enters Louise's room, and she tells him to leave and go away, but after he picks her up and places her on the bed (the very bed she is supposed to share with her husband), she begins to pull him toward her, breathing heavily as the act of blood drinking becomes orgasmic. Louise sighs, telling The Vampire, "Don't ever go away." Similar to the character of Lucy in Stoker's novel, this experience unleashes her sexuality, with The Vampire later telling her that he offers "a life of passion for centuries everlasting." Like Lucy, Louise ends up dying, but reappears in vampire form, changed into a wild, untamed woman who no longer lives by societal rules. In vampire form she tries to bite Wolfgang, who asks incredulously, "What are you doing to me?" The Vampire interrupts the moment and beckons Louise to him; she obeys him immediately, demonstrating her total devotion to a man other than her husband. In a further instance of emasculation, Wolfgang is again attacked by another female vampire, the governess Corinne, in a scene that reverses the earlier scene of Louise's initial seduction. Wolfgang is now in the submissive position, lying sick in bed as Corinne looms over him, ignoring his pleas to stop. However, as she bites him, the scene ends; the vampire's bite does not unleash any pleasurable sensations for Wolfgang (indeed, Roberto Curti refers to Wolfgang as "asexual" (78)).

Order is ultimately restored by another man, the Van Helsing substitute Dr. Nietzsche, who tells Wolfgang that Louise is no longer the woman he knew and that other women and children must be spared the vampire's "contamination" (that Nietzsche identifies only women and children at risk when Wolfgang also gets attacked provides yet another example where his manhood is undermined). It is Nietzsche who kills Louise, finding her asleep in her coffin and staking her through the heart. But while Wolfgang's weakness can be viewed as an expression of the perceived threat to masculinity that came from women's increased independence and agency in the 1960s, he is allowed some redemption as he is the one who kills his romantic rival The Vampire, in the process saving the life of a child.

Wolfgang is played by Walter Brandi, often referred to as "the Italian Christopher Lee" or "the Italian Dracula." In *The Playgirls and the Vampire* and *The Vampire and the Ballerina*, Brandi shifts to playing the vampire himself, although in *Playgirls* he plays two roles, the vampire and his

modern-day descendant. This is one of the few examples of a male doubling, with the non-vampire character, Gabor, sharing many of Wolfgang's weaknesses. As Curti states, "Whereas the vampire is wild and uncontrollable, thirsty for blood and female flesh, his descendant is—as is customary with Italian Gothic's male figures— repressed and tormented, ascetic and abstinent" (59). His vampire role in *Ballerina* is similarly submissive, being in thrall to a female vampire, Countess Alda. Even though he, too, is a vampire, he is Alda's servant and thus has a lower social standing than the dominant female, often referring to himself as her "slave."

In *Ballerina* the two vampires, Alda and her servant Herman, become old and monstrous if they go too long between feedings. They die when Herman turns on Alda and bites her before they both melt in the morning sun. While the vampire is often thought of as the epitome of beauty, the first enduring representation of the vampire in European cinema, from F.W. Murnau's *1922* film *Nosferatu* , showed the vampire as a repulsive monster. The influence of *Nosferatu* continues in this period, in examples such *as Valerie and Her Week of Wonders* and most directly in Werner Herzog's remake *Nosferatu the Vampyre*.

Nosferatu the Vampyre

Although the European vampire film originated from Germany, their vampire film output was nowhere near as prolific as Italy or the United Kingdom during this period, with notable examples such as *Der Fluch der grünen Augen/Cave of the Living Dead* (Ráthonyi *1964*), *Die Schlangengrube und das Pende/The Torture Chamber of Dr. Sadism* (Reinl *1967*), *Jonathan*, *Gebissen wird nur nachts - das Happening der Vampire/The Vampire Happening* (Francis *1971*), and *Lady Dracula*. The original *Nosferatu* was based on *Dracula* but did not own the rights and so changed certain names and plot points (this film was the first vampire story to have a vampire die by sunlight). Herzog has said that he "never thought of my film *Nosferatu* as a remake," stating that "What I really sought to do was connect my *Nosferatu* with our true German cultural heritage, the silent films of the Weimar era and Murnau's work in particular" (Cronin *2002*: 151). Herzog, along with other young German filmmakers such as Rainer Werner Fassbinder, Wim Wenders, and Margarethe von Trotta, was part of the New German Cinema movement, which rejected Germany's recent Nazi past and aimed to create a new, "legitimate" cinema culture. Part of that legitimacy came from connecting to an earlier pre-Nazi period of German cinema.

Although *Nosferatu the Vampyre* is shot in color, the palette is muted, with images often appearing as though they could have been filmed in black and white. As in Weimar era films, the pace of the actor's actions is slow but also theatrical. In a startling scene when Dracula enters Lucy's room, the camera stays fixed behind Lucy (Isabelle Adjani); we see her terrified reaction in the mirror as the door opens and Dracula's shadow projects onto the walls. His image is not shown in the mirror, and Lucy's eyes widen in fear as she raises her hands slowly to her face, the shadow slowly moving closer to her until we see Dracula's fingers enter the frame and rest on Lucy's shoulder.

Dracula, as played by Klaus Kinski, has the same ghostly white complexion, bald head, pointed ears, long nails, and sharp incisors as Max Schreck's Count Orlok from the original film. However, there are some differences. As Herzog states, "In Murnau's film the creature is frightening because he is without a soul and looks like an insect. But from Kinski's vampire you get real existential anguish" (Cronin, 155). Kinski's Dracula is melancholic, his immortality becoming a curse as it means that he cannot be loved: "for me, the absence of love is the most abject pain." He envies the love between Lucy and Jonathan, especially Lucy's devotion, which defies all obstacles.

Lucy soon realizes that she is the only one who can defeat Dracula, reading that "should a woman pure of heart make him forget the cry of the cock, the first light of day will destroy him." Lucy lures Dracula to her, offering herself by lying on her bed. The scene is ripe with eroticism as Dracula feels the material of her dress and caresses the skin on her legs, before Lucy reaches her hands to his shoulders and draws him closer to her neck. As he bites, he rests his hand on her breast. At one point he lifts his head as the sun begins to rise, and Lucy gently pulls him back to her. For Isabelle Adjani, the relationship between Dracula and Lucy has a "sexual element. She is gradually attracted toward Nosferatu" (Kennedy *1978*). Although Adjani states that in this scene "a desire is born" for Lucy, it comes at the cost of her life.

Bloodsucking Bourgeoisie

Lucy is driven to these actions after a plague, brought over with Dracula, overruns her town. Scenes show the town besieged with rats, leading not only to many deaths but also a rising chaos. As Lucy walks through the streets, people throw their belongings into the street and start fires, but there is also a sense of revelry as people dance and feast. Herzog states there is "real joy" in these scenes (Cronin, 155), as people "discard their bourgeois trappings. A re-evaluation of life and its meaning takes place" (Kennedy). In this instance, the arrival of the vampire brings about societal collapse, the overthrowing of the prevailing social order depicted as both violent and freeing.

Made 9 years prior to *Nosferatu the Vampyre*, Geissendorfer's *Jonathan* similarly uses the story of *Dracula* to depict a social revolution. In *Jonathan* Dracula is the head of an oppressive aristocratic regime that rules with terror, imprisoning dissenters and engaging in dark satanic rituals. Jonathan is tasked by Professor Van Helsing to lead a mission to stop them, going ahead by himself to a castle by the sea where all the vampires are set to meet. Jonathan must infiltrate the castle to prepare for others to arrive, where they will overthrow the vampires and drive them into the ocean.

Dracula, with his severe parted hair and black clothing, bears a close resemblance to Hitler. The fanatical devotion of his red clad followers, and the sadistic actions of the Gestapo-like thugs who carry out his bidding (which includes a scene of real animal cruelty, an act that almost undermines the film's message that such brutality must not be tolerated), further the comparison to the Nazi regime. Thus, in this version, Van Helsing and Jonathan become rebel leaders. Jonathan must travel through a nightmarish hellscape, the camera tracking over scenes of elaborate tableaux (photographed by renowned cinematographer Robby Müller) depicting the chaos and death that this totalitarian regime has wrought upon its people.

Vampires similarly achieve world domination, but through economical means, in Corrado Farina's *Hanno cambiato faccia/They Have Changed Their Faces* (*1971*). Set in contemporary Italy, Farina uses vampirism as a metaphor for the bloodsucking nature of capitalism. The head vampire, Giovanni Nosferatu, is the CEO of a global corporation that controls the church, government, and media, gathering representatives from all these areas in order to devise an advertising campaign to sell LSD to the masses as a way to gain their complete compliance.

Also invited to Nosferatu's villa at that same time is Valle, an employee of Nosferatu's company, Auto Avio Motors. As Valle travels to the villa in the mountains, he passes through a village that seems to be stuck in the past. The entrance of the villa is misty and foreboding, as though he is about to enter a Gothic castle. However, the interior of the villa subverts these expectations dramatically, being ultramodern and sterile, dominated by white plastic. As Valle walks around the villa, he hears

a voiceover extolling the virtues of each product he uses. He soon encounters a hidden room where he finds books with all the employees' baby photos, revealing that each person's social standing and career trajectory are decided at birth.

Instead of using their gaze to glamour their victims and suck their blood, here vampires use the power of advertising to lure their victims to consume their products, draining them financially. The allegory is made clear in the film's dialogue, when Valle confronts Nosferatu, stating, "Myths do not die, they get transformed…. You've changed faces, but you go on drinking human blood." As Farina himself has elaborated, "I still consider a certain type of advertising – that which persuades or manipulates, rather than informing – as a flywheel to push humans in directions that are perhaps useful and positive from an economic standpoint, but dangerous and wrong from an ethical and social one" (Lines *2015*). The film presents the capitalist system as inherently monstrous, but one which we are ultimately powerless to stop. Unlike the triumphant revolution shown in *Jonathan*, after finding out the truth behind Nosferatu's evil intentions, Valle tries to defy him but, like most men in Italian Gothic cinema, eventually submits.

Genre Hybrids

The use of satire in *They Have Changed Their Faces* is not subtle, leading to a sequence where Nosferatu is presented with three possible advertisements done in the style of Jean-Luc Godard, Federico Fellini, and the Marquis de Sade, respectively. The adverts parody common conventions associated with their work (the Godard ad has a man spouting revolutionary slogans, the Fellini ad features a clown, the Sade ad presents a scene set in the eighteenth century where young women are whipped), assuming that the audience has knowledge of these figures associated with art cinema and soft-core pornography.

The use of parody and comedy is present in other vampire films of this period, starting from very early on in the cycle with *Uncle Was a Vampire*. In this film Italian vaudeville actor and singer Renato Rescel is Baron Osvaldo, who is in debt to the treasury and must sell his castle so it can be converted into a hotel. Unbeknownst to him, Osvaldo is descended from a line of vampires, a fact revealed to him when his Uncle Rodrigo arrives from Carpathia. Rodrigo is played by Christopher Lee, already parodying his vampire image just a year after taking on the Dracula role. Once Osvaldo is turned into a vampire, he becomes irresistible to women, with a comedic sequence showing him seduce all the women in the hotel. The hotel setting, right on the beach and full of color and sunlight, is atypical of the Italian Gothic films to follow in the 1960s but, as Curti states, perfectly captures the optimism and fast-paced modernization of the boom years (33).

In Britain there were also comedic takes on the vampire released concurrently with Hammer's prolific output. *The Fearless Vampire Killers* (Polanski *1967*) was advertised as a Hammer parody, set in an old Gothic castle as a bumbling professor and his meek assistant try to save a kidnapped damsel. But the film also incorporates what cinematographer Douglas Slocombe called a "Central European background" (Hallenback *2009*: 83), reflective of director Polanski's Polish roots. The film is farcical but has a bleak ending where the vampires emerge victorious, in keeping with the other downbeat endings found in most Polanski films.

The final segment of the anthology film *The House That Dripped Blood* (Duffell *1971*) presents a metatextual story with self-reflexive jokes about the current trend in vampire films. *Dr. Who* actor Jon Pertwee plays an actor, Paul, famous for starring in horror films, who is given an enchanted

cloak that changes him into a vampire for real. At one point Paul remarks that what vampire films of today is missing is realism, like when Legosi took on the role and "not this new fella," in reference to Christopher Lee (who starred in the film's previous segment). Further references to Hammer come with the casting of Ingrid Pitt as Paul's regular co-star Carla, who is revealed to be a "real" vampire, proclaiming, "We loved your films so much we wanted you to become one of us."

Vampira attempts to merge British horror with then popular Blaxploitation trend. Originally made with the title *Old Dracula* (to capitalize on the success of *Young Frankenstein* (Brooks 1974)), Dracula attempts to resurrect his long-lost love, Countess Vampira, using the blood of a Playboy bunny who comes to his castle for a photo-shoot. Among the four models, one is found to have compatible blood. The blood comes from an African American woman, so when Vampira comes back to life, she is Black. In their first scene, Dracula and Vampira overcome their shock at her change by pronouncing, to quote a popular phrase at the time, that "Black is beautiful," but this sentiment is immediately undermined as Dracula then seeks to return his wife to her former race. As this premise suggests, there is a strongly distasteful aspect to the film's racial politics, despite the best efforts of Teresa Graves, who is luminous in the Vampira role.

The motif of blood transfusions and scientific experiments dates back to *I vampiri*, with some vampire films crossing over into science fiction. *Seddok, I'erede di Satana/Atom Age Vampire* (Majano *1960*) has a mad scientist (and no actual vampires) who attempts to restore the beauty of a dancer, Jeannette, who is disfigured in a car crash, through the use of nuclear radiation (in this respect the film has more in common with two other films, *Les yeux sans visage/Eyes Without a Face* (Franju *1960*) and *Gritos en la noche/The Awful Dr Orlof* (Franco *1962*)). Mario Bava's *Terrore nello spazio/Planet of the Vampires* (*1965*) moves the vampire story into space, with a foggy, dark alien planet standing in for the usual Gothic castle. Here the aliens use bodies of the dead as hosts, acting more like parasites than traditional vampires.

Conclusion

As this survey demonstrates, the European vampire film was particularly popular during this period. A time when social roles and norms were changing, the vampire became a powerful vehicle through which to explore the fears, anxieties, and freedoms that came with sexual liberation and female empowerment. It also served as a potent allegory for the widening class divisions and inequalities exacerbated by modernization and capitalism. The merging of high art and avant-garde movements, commonly associated with modernist European art cinema, with low genre forms such as horror and soft-core pornography allowed filmmakers from different backgrounds, such as academia, the avant-garde, literature, photography, and advertising, to use the vampire as a metaphor to explore the contemporary moment. Emerging from a world that had been wracked by war but was now rapidly changing, yet still rebelling against the remnants of fascism and tyranny, the figure of the vampire was used as either a symbol of older forms of dominance and control or as the embodiment of newfound independence and freedom.

References

Akerman, Chantal, director. 1975. Jeanne Dielman, 23 quai du Commerce, 1080 Bruxelles. Paradise Films, Unité Trois.

Aranda, Vicente, director. 1972. La novia ensangrentada/The Blood-Spattered Bride. Morgana Films.

Aguirre, Javier, director. 1973. El gran amor del conde Drácula/Count Dracula's Great Love. Janus Films.

Baker, Roy Ward, director. 1970. The Vampire Lovers. Hammer Films.

Bava, Mario, director. 1960. La maschera del demonio/Black Sunday. Galatea Film, Jolly Film.

Bava, Mario, director. 1963. I tre volti della paura/Black Sabbath. Emmepi Cinematografica, Societe Cinematographique Lyre, Galatea Film.

Bava, Mario, director. 1965. Terrore nello spazio/Planet of the Vampires. Italian International Film, Castilla Cooperativa Cinematográfica.

Bini, Andrea. 2011. Horror cinema: The emancipation of women and urban anxiety. In *Popular Italian cinema: Culture and politics in a postwar society*, ed. Flavia Brizio-Skov, 53–82. London: I.B. Tauris.

Borowczyk, Walerian, director. 1973. Contes immoraux/Immoral Tales. Argos Films, Syn-Frank Enterprises.

Brizio-Skov, Flavia. 2011. Introduction. In *Popular Italian cinema: Culture and politics in a postwar society*, ed. Flavia Brizio-Skov, 1–16. London: I.B. Tauris.
CrossRef

Cronin, Paul. 2002. *Herzog on Herzog*. London: Faber and Faber.

Curti, Roberto. 2015. *Italian gothic horror films, 1957–1969*. Jefferson: McFarland.

Demichelli, Tulio, director, 1970. Los monstruos de terror/Dracula Versus Frankenstein. Eichberg-Film, International Jaguar Cinematografica, Producciones Jaime Prades.

Donner, Clive, director. 1974. Vampira. World Film Services.

Duffell, Peter. 1971. The house that dripped blood. Amicus Productions.

Franco, Jesús, director. 1970. Il Conde Dracula. Filmar Compagnia Cinematografica, Fénix Cooperativa Cinematográfica, Corona Filmproduktion, Towers of London Productions.

Farina, Corrado, director. 1971. …Hanno cambiato faccia/They Have Changed Their Faces. Film 70.

Feroni, Giorgio, director. 1972. La note dei diavoli/Night of the Devils. Filmes Cinematografica, Due Emmes Cinematografica, Copercines Coopertativa Cinematografica.

Freda, Riccardo, director. 1957. I vampiri. Titus, Athena Cinematografica.

Franco, Jesús, director. 1972. Drácula contra Frankenstein/Dracula, Prisoner of Frankenstein. Fénix Cooperativa Cinematográfica, Comptoir Français du Film Production (CFFP), Interfilme.

Francis, Freddie, director. 1971. Gebissen wird nur nachts - das Happening der Vampire/The Vampire Happening. Aquila Film Enterprises.

Franco, Jesús, director. 1962. Gritos en la noche/The Awful Dr Orlof. Hispamer Films, Leo Lax Productions, Ydex Eurociné.

Franju, Georges, director. 1960. Les yeux sans visage/ Eyes Without a Face. Champs-Élysées Productions, Lux Films.

Fulci, Lucio, director. 1964. I maniaci. Hesperia Films, Tecisa, Produzioni Associate.

Geissendörfer, Hans W., director. 1970. Jonathan. Iduna Film Produktiongesellschaft, Obelisk Film, Telepool.

Gottlieb, Franz Josef, director. 1977. Lady Dracula. IFV Produktion, TV13 Filmproduktion.

Grunstein, Pierre, director. 1974. Tendre Dracula/The Big Scare. AMLF, Les Films Christian Fechner, Renn Productions, V.M. Productions.

Hallenback, Bruce G. 2009. *Comedy-horror films: A chronological history, 1914–2008*. Jefferson: McFarland.

Hawkins, Joan. 2000. *Cutting edge: Art-horror and the horrific Avant-Garde*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Herzog, Werner, director. 1979. Nosferatu: Phantom der Nacht/Nosferatu the Vampyre. Werner Herzog Filmproduktion, Gaumont, Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF).

Heusch, Paolo, director. 1958. La morte viene dallo spazio/The Day the Sky Exploded. Royal Film, Lux Film, Lux Compagnie Cinématographique de France.

Hough, John, director. 1971. Twins of Evil. Hammer Films.

Hunt, Leon. 2000. A (sadistic) night of the opera. In *The horror reader*, ed. Ken Gelder, 324–335. London: Routledge.

Jenks, Carol. 1996. *Daughters of darkness*: A lesbian vampire art film. In *Necronomicon, book one: The journal of horror and erotic cinema*, ed. Andy Black, 22–34. London: Creation Books.

Jires, Jaromil, director. 1970. Valerie a týden divu/Valerie and Her Week of Wonders. Filmové studio Barrandov.

Kadijević, Djordje, director. 1973. Leptirica/The She-Butterfly. Radiotelevizija Beograd.

Kennedy, Harlan. 1978. “Dracula is a bourgeois nightmare, says Herzog.” *New York Times*, July 30. https://www.nytimes.com/1978/07/30/archives/dracula-is-a-bourgeois-nightmare-says-herzog-bourgeois-nightmare.html

Krzywinska, Tanya. 2003. Transgression, transformation and titillation: Jaromil Jires's *Valerie a týden divu (Valerie and her week of wonders*, 1970). *Kinoeye* 3 (9) https://www.kinoeye.org/03/09/krzywinska09.php.

Kumel, Harry, director. 1971. Les lèvres rouges/Daughters of Darkness. Showking Films, Maya Films, Roxy Film, Cine Vog Films.

Larraz, Jose, director. 1975. Vampyres. Essay Films, Lurco Films.

Lines, Craig. 2015. "Corrado Farina interview: *They have changed their face.*" *Den of Geek*, August 25. https://www.denofgeek.com/movies/corrado-farina-interview-they-have-changed-their-face/

Margheriti, Antonio, director. 1964. I lunghi capelli della morte/The Long Hair of Death. Cinegay S.p.A.

Margheriti, Antonio, director. Danza macabre/Castle of Blood. Giovanni Addessi Produzione Cinematografica, Ulysse Productions, Vulsinia Films.

Mastrocinque, Camillo, director. 1964. La cripta e l'incubo/Crypt of the Vampire. E.I. Associates Films, Hispamer Films.

Mauri, Roberto, director. 1962. La strage dei vampir/Slaughter of the Vampires. Mercurfilm.

Majano, Anton Giulio, director. 1960. Seddok, I'erede di Satana/Atom Age Vampire. Lion's Films.

Mastrocinque, Camillo, director. 1966. Un angelo per Satana/An Angel for Satan. Discobolo Film.

Moretti, Franco. 2000. Dialectic of fear (extract). In *The horror reader*, ed. Ken Gelder, 148–160. London: Routledge.

Morrissey, Paul, director. 1974. Blood for Dracula. Compagnia Cinematografica Champion, Yanne et Rassam.

Murnau, F.W., director. 1922. Nosferatu. Jofa-Atelier Berlin-Johannisthal, Prana-Film GmbH.

Ognjanović, Dejan. 2021. The Serbian roots of the vampire family tree. In *All the haunts be ours*, ed. Kier-La Janisse, 86–97. Severin Films.

Polanski, Roman, director. 1967. The Fearless Vampire Killers. Cadre Films, Filmways Pictures.

Polselli, Renato, director. 1960. L'amante del vampire/The Vampire and the Ballerina. Consorzio Italiano Film.

Polselli, Renato, director. 1964. Il monstro dell'opera/The Monster of the Opera. Nord Industrial Filmdi Ferdinando Anselmetti.

Ráthonyi, Ákos, director. 1964. Der Fluch der grünen Augen/Cave of the Living Dead. Objectiv Film, Triglav Film.

Regnoli, Piero, director. 1960. L'ultima preda del vampire/The Playgirls and the Vampire. Nord Film Italiana.

Reinl, Harald, director. 1967. Die Schlangengrube und das Pendel/The Torture Chamber of Dr Sadism. Constantin Film.

Resnais, Alain, director. 1961. L'année dernière à Marienbad/Last Year at Marienbad. Cocinor, Terra Film, Cormoran Films, Precitel, Como Films, Argos Films, Les Films Tamara, Cinetel, Silver Films, Cineriz.

Salvador, Julio & Ray Danton, directors. 1973. La tumba de la isla maldita/Hannah, Queen of the Vampires. Coast Industries Inc., Orbita Films.

Sangster, Jimmy, director. 1971. Lust for a Vampire. Hammer Films.

Sarno, Joseph W., director. 1973. Der Fluch der schwarzen Schwestern/The Devil's Plaything. Monarex, Saga Film.

Scovell, Adam. 2017. *Folk horror: Hours dreadful and things strange*. Leighton Buzzard: Auteur. CrossRef

Steno, director. 1959. Tempi duri per i vampiri/Uncle was a Vampire. Steno Film.

Tohill, Cathal, and Pete Tombs. 1994. *Immoral Tales: European sex and horror movies, 1956–1984*. New York: St Martin's Griffin.

Vadim, Roger, director. 1960. Et mourir de Plaisir/Blood and Roses. Films EGE, Documento Films.

Weiss, Andrea. 2014. The lesbian vampire film: A subgenre of horror. In *Dracula's daughters: The female vampire on film*, ed. Douglas Brode and Leah Deynecka, 21–36. Plymouth: Scarecrow Press.