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A „megszelídített Másik" féktelensége: Az elképzelt „cigány" a késő-viktoriánus gótikus irodalomban

A dolgozat fő célja, hogy az elképzelt 'cigány' alakját vizsgálja és értelmezze a brit késő-viktoriánus kontextusban, alapul véve Bram Stoker *Drakula* című (1897) regényét. Ebben a műben a 'cigány' re-lokalizációja révén átalakul, új, a gótikus irodalomra jellemző tulajdonságokat mutat. Mindez nem lenne jelentékeny, ha a regény első narrátora, Jonathan Harker nem köti össze a brit 'cigányt' az elképzelt Erdélyben található, egyértelműen idegennek felismert entitással. Ezen kapcsolat okán ugyanis a belföldi 'Másik', a 'domestic Other' jelentése, funkciója megváltozik, a 'Másik', a mindenkori 'cigány' fenyegetése az elképzelt Erdélyben betöltött szerepe alapján értelmeződik újra a Brit-szigeteken belül. A dolgozat legfontosabb, egyben leginnovatívabb eleme az, hogy az elképzelt 'cigány' ábrázolásait a re-lokalizációval, azon túl pedig a narratív táj változásával hozza összefüggésbe, és azt állítja, hogy a táj és a 'cigány' kölcsönösen alakítják egymás jelentéseit. Ehhez azonban nem csupán Bram Stoker művét használja; Edward Said foucault-i érvelése nyomán etnográfiai forrásokkal igyekszik kiegészíteni a viktoriánus képzelet 'cigányokról' alkotott képét. A dolgozat érvei mentén tehát a 'cigány' mint marginális, non-szinkronikus tényező könnyedén átalakítható nyíltan fenyegetővé abban az esetben, ha orientalizálódik és a gótikus irodalom vonásait ölti magára, alantas, állatias karaktere helyett 'abhuman', az emberi természet mögötti, annak dezintegrálása révén létrejövő entitás. A belföldi 'cigány' és az idegennek felismert alak viszonyának vizsgálata során Arthur Conan Doyle művei is említésre kerülnek, hiszen a gótikus irodalomra jellemző, azonban a hangsúlyosan brit tájképet benépesítő 'cigányok' egyértelműen különböznek 'keleti' megfelelőiktől, ily módon megmutatják, hogyan befolyásolja egymást a tájkép és a 'cigányokról' alkotott kép a viktoriánus képzeletben.

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TUDOMÁNYOS DIÁKKÖRI DOLGOZAT

Unbridling the ‘Tamed Other’: Imagining ‘the Gypsy’ in Late Victorian Gothic Fiction

Jelige: vámpír
Lezárás dátuma: 2023. 01. 10.

I. Introduction

This paper seeks to investigate late-Victorian literary depictions of the imagined 'Gypsy' via an examination of Bram Stoker's 1897 novel *Dracula*. Some of Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories, as well as the sources Stoker might have used for establishing his own reading of 'the Gypsy' will serve as tools for understanding a supposed shift from domestic to recognisably foreign in how this entity is constructed. The most crucial questions of this discussion tackle the interaction of landscape and ideology, the historical and ethnographical context of the late nineteenth century, and the general significance of 'the Gypsy' in the novel. Arguing that shifts in landscape result in shifts in meaning, this paper attempts to study the processes behind depictions of 'the Gypsy', like gothicisation and orientalisation, from a perspective that emphasises the role of marginal characters and the landscape in establishing the 'couleur locale' as well as the sinister atmosphere present in Stoker's most famous work.

Previous studies of *Dracula* have given little attention to the imagined 'Gypsy', and even when they have considered it, they often missed a capital point in their assessment. I would argue that the landscape seen in literary fiction and the way it interplays with 'the Gypsy' is paramount to both *Dracula* and other works such as Doyle's *The Adventure of the Silver Blaze* (first published in 1894) for example. By re-localising the de-localised Oriental Other, 'the Gypsy', to Eastern Europe, Stoker manages to connect both the two geographical entities and the two readings of the ethnic group: the domestic and the foreign. The domestic, 'tamed', and the foreign, 'unbridled' aspects of the figure are irreversibly linked in *Dracula* by Jonathan Harker, the first narrator of the novel: he claims that the 'Szgany' of Transylvania, the wild East, are "allied to the ordinary Gypsies all the world over". Thus, in a moment of clarity, the 'Gypsies' seen in Great Britain are recognised as enemies rather than domestic Others; their subhuman quality, the result of simple othering, changes into something beyond human – something abhuman[1]. Also, it must be emphasised that this paper attempts to discuss the imagined 'Gypsy', or the imagined group that is marked by majority society, in this case, Westerners, as 'Gypsies'. Thus, the paper must use terminology that reflects this imaginary quality, as opposed to Jonathan Harker's term 'Szgany', something that ought to legitimate, objectify a rather biased view of the group. The "political stake of nomenclature" (Trumpener

[1] 'abhuman' describes a human body that "have lost their claim to a discrete and integral identity, a fully human existence", in other words, "a Gothic body – admixed, fluctuating, abominable" (Hurley 2011, 190), the term being borrowed from William Hope Hodgson.

1992, 847) of our present time will not have a particular role in this discussion, then; it is the fictional 'Gypsy', that of the Victorian imagination, rather than the actual Gypsy, Roma, Sinti, and Traveller people of Europe that this paper is focusing on.

To properly explore the 'Gypsy' in fiction, both ethnographic and literary imagination shall be considered. Ethnographic and travelogue-style sources potentially used by or at least available to Stoker are important in this discussion because they shaped both authors and their readership. Catering to Victorian audiences was, from a twenty-first-century view, rather easy: the power of Orientalism was inimitable, both as a tool of the genre of Gothic fiction, as a form of exoticism, as well as the manifestation of Western, white domination. Combined with a general fascination with technological innovation, Orientalist views[2] were abundant in ethnographical studies, journals, travel books, and many other (pseudo-) scientific publications. The innately political Western view of the East also extended to Eastern Europe, especially to Transylvania, as it was a "whirlpool" (Stoker 2011, 2) of different nationalities, languages, and cultures, a quality that was observed by Jonathan Harker as unhealthy hybridity (Bardi 2016, 82). The intermingling of people perceived as ethno-culturally different captivated the imagination of many ethnographers and travel authors: E.C. Johnson, A.F. Crosse, William Wilkinson, and many others. Some ethnographers, like Heinrich Wlislocki, Heinrich Grellmann, or Francis Hindes Groome were keen gypsylorists who studied what they regarded as Gypsy folklore in different parts of Europe, often with a particular focus on Austria-Hungary or the Balkan region. These works, then, should be considered as the general foundation on which Stoker's Transylvania was built: an enormous body of work that contributed to the ideological and material landscape of the novel. I would argue that this landscape, while gothicised similarly to Doyle's landscapes, is unique due to its overtly 'foreign', non-Western inhabitants. The key argument of this paper is, then, that the vilification of 'the Gypsy', the attributes that this entity in this Eastern landscape may boast, and the significance of its presence suggests that the initial, familiar Other has ascended to a new level and has thus altered the domestic 'Gypsy', too.

[2] Orientalism, a term first introduced in a critical context by Edward Said (*Orientalism*, 1978), refers to Occidentals' depictions of the East, most often Asia or Eastern Europe. According to Said, Orientalism is "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident'" (1978, 2).

In the first section of this paper, the historical, ideological, ethnographical context of *Dracula* will be established. As Doyle's works are used strictly as a means to compare the Transylvanian and the domestic 'Gypsy', the main focus of this paper shall fall on Stoker's novel. Still, albeit the re-localisation process takes place in the narrative of *Dracula*, the de-localised Other of the British landscape must also be understood. Relying on the studies of Mary Burke (2005), Csaba Dupcsik (2009), and Duncan Light (2005), the potential source materials for the novel will be examined. For historical context, the paper turns to Stephen Arata (1990), and, for a more Gypsy-oriented view, David Mayall (1988) and the Gypsy Lore Society. The next section will attempt to clarify the main argument of the paper, the issue of re-localisation, and will feature an interpretation which uses the landscape theory of J. and N. Duncan (1988). Previous studies of the field will be considered and interrogated: Katie Trumpener's influential work on the notion of nonsynchronicity (1992), Abby Bardi's (2016) study on blood and property, as well as important flagstones like Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and Jacques Derrida's theory of immunity will be employed. Finally, the paper will conclude with a discussion on the relevance of the topic and the potential versatility of the theory of re-localisation.

II. The Context: Nation and ethnography

II.1 Late Victorian views on nation and nationality

The late Victorian society of Great Britain is seen by many scholars as one preoccupied with anxieties about its future. Britons' image of their country rested on ideas brought about by the Industrial Revolution and rationalism, the latter of which stood opposite to the excesses of the East (Said 1978, 57). Britain was an industrial, rational, Protestant, modern country well-ahead of its competitors both in size and in political and economic power (Spencer 1992, 213); still, recent developments have eroded this confidence in the late nineteenth century (Arata 1990, 622). Importantly, this idealistic picture of Britain was homogeneous in ethnicity, and its efficacy relied on the hierarchy established along the lines of wealth and lineage – property and blood (Bardi 2016, 78). Thus, the commonplace paranoia of the most powerful player materialises by the end of the nineteenth century because of immigration that could disturb this homogeneity, as well as due to political unrest in the colonies. According to Hurley, the genre of Gothic fiction re-emerges at times of social uncertainty and may "negotiate anxieties (…) by working through them in displaced form" (2011, 194). I would argue that 'Gypsies' highlight this displacement by remaining in the shadows of national 'normalcy', thereby constituting a valuable asset for any Gothic narrative.

The imagined 'Gypsy' comes into play as a figure that is utterly out-of-sync with Western values and notions of space and time. Katie Trumpener's view on the topic is far more expansive in tracing the evidence in English literature for what she calls "a people without history" (1992, 843) than this paper ever could be, and she arrives at the conclusion that 'Gypsies' are outside all Western constraints. The time observed by the imagined 'Gypsy' does not align with the time Westerners keep to. Then, in terms of space, as they own no property and are not confined to any given geographical space because of their nomadic way of life, they could not be more different than the British who have seen themselves as the 'hosts' of 'Gypsy' communities for centuries. For example, in Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Adventure of the Speckled Band* (first published in 1892) the murderer, Dr. Grimesby Roylott is one of those landowners who provide Gypsies with space for their encampments. In the short story, he is presented as eccentric as well as short-tempered, a man who rather belongs with the crowd he so readily embraces. This means that the British landowner might have the upper hand, but he must endure the encumbrance brought on by his tenants. Dracula, too, is a boyar whose name and land the 'Szgany' parasitise – according to Jonathan Harker's book, the 'Szgany' habitually take the name of the landowner they depend on and "attach" themselves to him (Stoker 2011, 50). Indeed, the protagonist, Jonathan's notes equally comment upon 'Gypsies' occupying the land of their superiors. Furthermore, they are amoral, and "outside all law" (50); they are presented as immune to the laws that may bind other citizens. Quite like animals, too, they are "the insensitive, brutal Szgany", as they continue singing cheerfully while completing the most heinous tasks for Dracula (Bardi 2016, 89).

In the same fashion, self-proclaimed experts of Eastern Europe and Gypsies, Heinrich Grellmann and William Wilkinson describe them as "roaming" about Europe without obvious purpose (Grellmann 1787, v), and the *Egyptians Acts* of 1530 and 1554 attempted to legally define the 'Gypsies' as a problematic, ungodly group who had to settle down or be deported at the pain of execution (Morgan 2016, 106). Thus, Gypsies, who were seen as not constrained by Western ideas of space and time, had to be regulated by law. Later, the 1824 *Vagrancy Act* and other acts concerning highways, canals and preferable lodgings sought to similarly curtail the freedoms of vagrants and Gypsies (Mayall 1988, 147). Lucassen and Willems suggest that "with the emergence of dynastic states in Early Modern Europe rulers left less room for subjects who remained out of its reach" (2003, 309). This meant that rulers like Henry VIII already saw itinerancy as vastly different from the norm and regarded any sort of vagrancy as a threat to a

sedentary society precisely because of the disruption, and because 'Gypsies' showed a disregard for the ways of the West. Finally, these three factors may be understood as the pillars of a nation: a space marked by borders, a history defined by events that relate to land-taking endeavours, and a social system built on wealth-based (and thus land-based) hierarchy and cemented by law. Gypsies are defined by nonsynchronicity, as they exist without a nation state; and, in the nineteenth century, the idea of (homogeneous) nations being "the only legitimate foundations" for building a state pervaded European minds (Brown 2002, 458). Trumpener makes the argument that 'the Gypsy' is excluded from these nation states – when a nation "take[s] stock of itself, it is only the 'Gypsies' who keep moving and who persist as interlopers" as a people existing outside Western notions of space and time (1992, 846). Damian Le Bas argues in a similar fashion that the rise of Gypso-phobia is linked to the birth of the nation state: "The nomad presented a problem to the nation state in terms of collecting taxes, because they had no fixed address. (…) Many of these prejudices (…) are not really about nomadism. They are about a group that exists simultaneously *within and outside* European society." (qtd. in Barkham, 2018, emphasis added).

Stephen Arata (1990) and Abby Bardi (2016) both argue that *Dracula* is successful in tapping into the anxiety around protecting such nation states, but it is important to add here that there is a marked difference between continental European states and the 'heart' of the Great British Empire. The latter, as it was made up of 68 countries and territories[3], and thus considered itself on an *imperial* rather than on a *national* level, feared disintegration in a way that was dissimilar to continental nation states. An empire's integrity depends on its *dominance* over its own dependents; hence, nationalism in the British psyche is somewhat more layered than in continental Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, often dubbed the century of the nation state (Brown 2002, 458). In Stoker's time, the fear of reverse colonisation, the notion that those once colonised by the empire would come to the 'motherland', either for a sort of cultural revenge or for economic purposes, reared its head due to the political problems in the colonies. Anxieties about the potential loss of property and blood contamination that would result in a heterogenous Britain coalesce in the narrative of *Dracula*, particularly in Jonathan Harker's notes.

[3] Based on information from: Chalk, Darren. "The British Empire Visualised". *The British Empire*. Accessed 5 Jan 2023. URL: https://www.britishempire.co.uk/timeline/colonies.htm

Narratives that rely on reverse colonisation as an underlying theme are "obsessed with the spectacle of the primitive and the atavistic" (Arata 1990, 624) and resemble the Orientalism of the period that captured a sort of thrill derived from "those mysteriously attractive opposites to what seem to be normal values" (Said 1978, 57). The most evident manifestation of this fascination can be seen in travelogues and travel guides that, according to scholars like Burke (2005) and Light (2005), influenced Stoker's writing. When it comes to 'Gypsies', Light does not attribute much responsibility to their role in the novel (2005, 43); Burke and Tchaprazov (2015), however, differ from Light on that point. Tchaprazov argues that 'Gypsies', along with Slovaks, underline the national anxiety of the period by acting as the servants of the absolute evil of the novel, and helping Dracula colonise the West. In her study of Bram Stoker's potential sources, Burke emphasises that 'Gypsies' were already being orientalised in the British Isles, but this process accelerated and turned from bohemian depictions to vilification as the century wore on (2005, 58-60). Consequently, then, *Dracula* serves as a sort of mirror image for societal changes in the West, with 'Gypsies'' presence and depiction being important markers in this process. 'Gypsies', as imagined by the West, are out-of-sync with Occidentals – the trains in the East are not punctual, and the local 'Gypsies' are not trustworthy, according to Jonathan, who gives them money but is still betrayed by them. They have no lands, no property, but they could easily take some through contamination, or more promptly, by immigration to the West. Like their master's, 'Gypsies'' interests lie in movement: as an itinerant people, this imaginary group is able to transport both Dracula and themselves everywhere; only, they do not have to move quite as literally as the vampire does, as their allies are already present "all the world over" (Stoker 2011, 50).

Contamination in general was on British society's radar at the time, and Stoker had personal interest in the topic, too, due to his mother's experience with the cholera plague in Sligo (Kiberd 2001, 380). Moreover, social reformers at the time sought to help 'Gypsies' move out of what was seen as unsuitable and unhygienic circumstances. The reforms George Smith of Coalville (*Gipsy Life: Being an Account of Our Gipsies and Their Children with Suggestions for Their Improvement*, 1880) advocated for and his efforts at improving the conditions of nomadic peoples like the *Canal Boats Act Amendment Bill* of 1884 attempted to move them out of their lodgings for both humanitarian and hygienic purposes. According to Kiberd (2001, 380), vampiric and parasitic entities raise the same concerns as any plague: contamination and immigration are often synonymous, and Dracula's invasion represents this "double thrust –

political and biological" (Arata 1990, 630). The scope of vampirism, then, expands from the individual body to that of the society, the body politic (Bardi 2016, 79).

At this point, it is important to mention a theoretical approach to the topic of contamination that highlights a different aspect of Dracula's Occidental project: Jacques Derrida's theory of autoimmunity. Although this approach is not vital to the largely historical argument made in this paper, it is nonetheless helpful in this attempt at understanding Western anxieties of reverse colonisation and immigration. The story of *Dracula*'s Britain is one of a country that lacks absolute immunity and is thus exposed "to the other, to what and who comes" and can thus expect that something will always happen, and someone, another, will always arrive (Timár 2014, 4). Derrida's analogy establishes a parallel between biological and political, similarly to *Dracula*'s narration – thus, it may be hypothesised that the parallel between immigration and contagion is ingrained in the social psyche and has been for centuries. What underlies the political notion of autoimmunity, then, is the "relationship between the politikon, physis, and bios or zoe, life-death" (Derrida qtd. in Timár 2014, 4), the very same connection that is fictionalised and gothicised by Stoker. On a slightly different note, however, this autoimmunity may be seen as a disease emanating from the self's body, one that enables other diseases to penetrate the body's immune system. Thus, it is this autoimmunity that political systems often try to eliminate as they attempt to institute a sort of immunity that shifts the immune system's reaction, the confrontation of the 'other disease' outside the body (and thus the West). This is what happens in *Dracula*, at least; the Westerners' group, those providing the immune reaction, displace their fight to the East. The state of Transylvania, at least in Stoker's reading, a "whirlpool" (Stoker 2011, 2) of different nationalities and cultures, is an example of what happens when a country's immunity is not perfected to a sufficient degree. The perceived hybridity and (racial and cultural) heterogeneity of Transylvania is seen as a dangerous outcome of vampirism and immigration; its Oriental chaos is what imperfect immunity may result in.

Stoker plays into the Gypso-phobia (Tchaprazov 2015, 524), the fear of migration and the Other within, and expands its significance by establishing a linear, evident bond between the exotic, the foreign, and the familiar 'Gypsy', and steers their existing representation to more xenophobic waters. For that, Jonathan's accounts provide quasi-scientific basis; continually referencing his book in the vein of a rational middle-class Briton fascinated by travel and following the general view of Anglo-American gypsylorism, namely, that the "mystery of the

Romany may be penetrated by the appropriate reading material" (Burke 61), Jonathan legitimises his statements by drawing upon scientific material that would be recognised as a valid source by (Victorian) readers. This book could be E.C. Johnson's *On the Track of the Crescent* (1885), Emily Gerard's *The Land Beyond the Forest* (1888), A.F. Crosse's *Round About the Carpathians* (1878), or even Charles Boner's *Transylvania*: *Its Products and its People* (1865), all popular travel books at the time; the main point is that Jonathan felt the need, as did Stoker, to share that it is a rational, accurate, objective account that he seeks to give the reader. The way the narrative strives for such a scientific argument highlights the plan that governs the whole novel, namely, that the reader has to be able to believe in the existence of Transylvania as painted by Stoker – Mina Harker, Jonathan's wife, even remarks when they arrive in the region that his accounts described the landscape accurately (Crișan 2016, 77).

All this preparation, also seen in Stoker's working books that tell us about his research into "folklore, myth, armchair anthropology, medieval history and magic" (Foster 1993, 226), and his general "encyclopaedic appetite" (Crișan 2016, 66) helped propel the novel to great success upon its publication, for Stoker understood his audience and their fears and fascinations very well. This appetite for scientific proof fits into Said's Foucauldian argument offered in *Orientalism* (1978), according to which sovereignty is not enough to rule over all men, instead, one must possess judgment "which means sizing up correctly the force of alien powers and expertly coming to terms with them (57), an effort that is, of course, "profoundly anti-empirical" (70). Further on, Said argues that the Western objective of this scientisation of the Orient is to "capture it, treat it, describe it, improve it, radically alter it" (95). Thus, the Occidental author (Stoker as well as E.C. Johnson or A.F. Crosse) may construct a new identity for the Orient and any group perceived as Other through narratives, be they scientific, literary, or legal.

Jonathan Harker, like the actual author, felt that he was able to penetrate the mystery of the East through books – an opinion supported by the number of works published on different nationalities and ethnicities, especially on 'Gypsies'. To lead the paper to the next section on ethnography and the different representations of the Orient and the Oriental in scientific and literary works, I would like to offer Edward Said's findings on the interconnectedness of scientific ventures, Orientalism and Western domination. According to Said, since the 1700s, there have been two main elements to the East-West relationship: constantly growing, systematic knowledge assembled by Orientalist scholars which was "reinforced by the colonial

encounter as well as by the widespread interest in the alien and unusual, exploited by the developing sciences of ethnology, comparative anatomy, philology, and history (…) [and] a sizable body of literature produced by novelists, poets, translators, and gifted travelers"; and the domination of Western, European ideas in any such discourse (1978, 39-40). Thus, the next section of this paper will attempt to explore ethnographic works relating to 'Gypsies' and Oriental Europe in an effort to understand how the world built by quasi-scientific discourse might have affected the image of 'the Gypsy' in *Dracula*.

II.2 Gypsylorism and Ethnography in the Nineteenth Century

Jonathan's account of the 'Szgany' and his general perspective throughout his travels resembles those of a folklore researcher; a white European man on a dangerous, enlightening journey, whose mission is to gather information about the nationalities of the region, including their clothes, languages, superstitions, and customs. This essentialising effort, according to Burke (2005, 61), resembles the Anglo-American gypsylorist tradition that can be seen in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, a circle of hobby ethnographers as well as genuine researchers of 'Gypsy' folklore. The tone of naivety and curiosity conceals the potentially malicious intent behind much of Jonathan's descriptions, similarly to the tone of the *JGLS*. Thus, although these writings opened the door to serious research ventures, many of which are still revered and used today, some works were, like phrenology, fashionable pseudo-scientific pastime for the white, academically minded middle class and aristocracy.

Ethnographic publications guided their readership to believe that an ethnic group can be essentialised and then researched in a rational, empiric manner, by carefully assembling folk tales, songs, studying their behaviour, and by immersing oneself in the culture and society of the group. In order to find this group, however, ethnographers had to ask for the location of the group, and that necessitated inquiries in the majority society (or at least in one that was willing to name the Other to an outsider). Without understanding who 'the Gypsy' is, such efforts would have been in vain; thus, society had to be able to recognise and name a 'Gypsy' before it could be recognised as an authentic representative of the group and its (often imagined) culture. Csaba Dupcsik, a well-known historiographer of the real-life Hungarian Roma and Gypsy society stipulates that there are multiple views on whether 'the Gypsy' as such exists or can be named; thus, even in contemporary studies of the ethnic group, we see the question 'who

is the Gypsy?'[4] appear at important crossroads. Dupcsik (2009, 274) claims that the classification is dubious, but the main views have crystallised over the decades, at least in Hungary: one prominent research party maintains that the classification of the social environment determines which persons are designated as 'Gypsies'; another group acknowledges that classification is more important from the perspective of those who have the means to classify; and others think that, if the environment's opinion is the deciding factor in this question, then we all operate on the level of social discrimination.

The question arises: why do the Gypsies remain silent in these narratives? Why do they not name themselves? As this paper is concerned with the ways this entity is construed by the authors, there is no place for self-identification, especially in the narratives of Gothic fiction and nineteenth-century ethnography. The essentialist-descriptive and the essentialist-deviance-oriented approaches (Dupcsik 2009, 16) of these discourses do not allow their construction to speak – 'the Gypsy' as identified by the majority (or Western) society is virtually mute, as in Harker's account on the pages of *Dracula*. "They speak only their own varieties of the Romany tongue", Jonathan states (Stoker 2011, 50), and they certainly do not communicate with him in any language; they cannot be contacted in a language that a Westerner would recognise. 'Gypsies', then, like in Doyle's *The Adventure of the Speckled Band* or *The Silver Blaze*, do not talk at all, leaving the field open to Western commentary on their modes of existence. Such a state of voicelessness may be likened to what is described as subaltern, although Transylvania cannot be categorised as a colony of a Western state and thus falls out of the concerns of Postcolonial Studies and possibly Gayatri Spivak's as well as Antonio Gramsci's definitions. According to the latter, the term describes a marginalised and oppressed group who are excluded from the cultural hegemony of a given society and lack agency within a colonial political system (Louai 2011, 5). Nonetheless, Gypsies, be they labelled subaltern or not, may never narrate themselves – they are always the objects of narration rather than the executors.

Stoker was, in many respects via the figure of 'the Gypsy', able to conceive of his version of Transylvania as a "gateway between East and West, exotic and familiar (…) through which

[4] This paper does not address the question in its entirety, but it is noteworthy that the question 'Who is the Gypsy?' has been a topic of scholarly debate, especially in the field of sociology. For the aims of this paper, as it does not concern strictly sociological matters, the question will be discussed only in the context of the late nineteenth century and Western, particularly British discourse. Thus, this paper tends to apply a view that 'the Gypsy' whose depiction it tries to explore is defined by the majority society and, by extension, the author. For further reading on the sociological angle, see: Ladányi, János, and Szelényi, Iván. "Ki a cigány?". *Kritika*, No. 12, pp. 3-6, 1997.

'Oriental' degeneration enters the Western European bloodstream" (Burke 2005, 60); and in this process, the re-localisation of the Oriental Other, the de-localised 'Gypsy', was essential. Stoker's construction of 'the Gypsy' runs parallel with its creation in ethnographers' circles, thus, the latter aspect must be examined first. The late nineteenth century's fascination with nations and ethnicity may be evidenced by numerous historical books, like the series of *The Story of the Nations,* of which the volume *Vedic India* (written by Zénaïde A. Ragozin and published in 1895) may be seen as the capital example. Complete with maps, linguistic, historic, and ethnographic chapters, the first being entitled "The Wonderland of the East", this book attempts to provide a sort of "synopsis at least of the great epics" (iii) of 'Vedic India'. Such a work exposes the Orientalist tendencies that became somewhat synonymous with the work of any ethnographer while Occidental sources remained the only foundation for their claims. The *JGLS* and the journal *Ethnographia* were influential publications in the English and the Hungarian worlds of science respectively, and featured many studies translated from German, the language that was used by most researchers in Central and Eastern Europe, as it was the official language of Austria-Hungary. Archduke Joseph, a very prominent member of the *JGLS* as well as an author for *Ethnographia*, was particularly interested by the 'Gypsies' of the region and discussed them in an article of *Ethnographia* (published in 1890).[5] While the Archduke Joseph often partnered with Ferenc Nagyidai Sztojka, a Hungarian Roma researcher, and gave recognition to him as a legitimate scholar and author, the GLS were less concerned with the academic reality of the people they were trying to describe. Gypsylorists were, according to Mayall, curiously silent on social inequality and discrimination when it came to their subjects of study, and generally tackled topics like language and culture in a traditionalist manner. However, after a hiatus in the publication, at the beginning of the twentieth century, gypsylorists felt compelled to address some of their political and social concerns and seemingly started to understand that 'Gypsies' "did not live in a social and political vacuum, immersed in strange taboos and ancient rites" (1988, 5).

Longer works of an ethnographic nature, sometimes called 'nation-characterology' in a Hungarian context[6], were scientific, often historiography-driven descriptions of a given nation. As the interest in nationalistic ideologies grew in the nineteenth century, or the century of the

[5] József Főherczeg: "A czigányokról". *Ethnographia*, 1890. p 12-19.
[6] Hun. 'nemzetkarakterológia'. For further reading, see: Kovács, Gábor. "Mi volt a magyar 1939-ben, és mi 2005-ben? A nemzetkarakterológia problémája tegnap és ma", *Magyar Tudomány*, no. 3, 2007. URL: http://www.matud.iif.hu/07mar/11.html

nation in continental Europe (Brown 2002, 458), such works gained in popularity. First, the earliest example of a long, detailed dissertation on 'Gypsies' as a distinct ethnic group, the *Historischer Versuch über die Zigeuner* (or *Dissertation on the Gipsies*) by Heinrich Grellmann (1787) must be considered, for it is a work that would influence ethnographers and travellers for decades. In his account, the German author painted 'Gypsies' in a rather negative light and regarded them as literal vermin or trash ("Auswurf der Menschheit") who could be distinguished by their extremely strange customs ("durch die seltsamsten Sitten") and their corrupt morals ("wegen eines unerhörten Grades von verderbter Moralität") (v-vi). According to Damian Le Bas, 'Gypsies' are "permanently trapped [in] the pincer of demonisation and romanticisation" (Barkham, 2018), and this sort of extremity is well-documented in nineteenth-century literature as well as ethnography. Despite the romanticised image of 'the Gypsy' that can be found in earlier nineteenth-century literature (William Wordsworth's 1815 *Gipsies*, Matthew Arnold's 1853 *Scholar Gipsy*, or George Borrow's 1857 *Romany Rye*), William Wilkinson's *An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia: With Various Political Observations Related to Them* (1820) does not differ that much from Grellmann's work published three decades earlier. Wilkinson emphasises that "in many respects [Gypsies] appear little superior to the brute creation" (qtd. in Tchaprazov 2015, 526) and may be used to the majority society's benefit as slaves because otherwise, they will parasitise the property and the name (lineage, blood) of the white man or the Westerner. This is clearly echoed in Jonathan Harker's description of the 'Szgany' of Transylvania: he states that his book claims that the 'Szgany' "attach themselves" to any unsuspecting aristocrat and "call themselves by his name" (Stoker 2009, 50). As in *The Adventure of the Speckled Band*, where 'Gypsies' live on the land of the once-wealthy owner who mingles with them (and eventually becomes a murderer), 'Gypsies' exist as unruly tenants entirely dependent on the aristocrat's will but somehow still largely immune to legal consequences. Therefore, for Victorian readers in Britain, the concept of 'the Gypsy' as a parasite was not new and it only needed Gothic exaggeration and a sort of blood-sucking, contagious colour to become – plainly put – not bothersome but threatening.

Such a colour is present in *The Vampire: A Roumanian Gypsy Story* that was published in English in the *JGLS* in 1890. Francis Hindes Groome, a well-known gypsylorist and ethnographer decided to publish and briefly compare it to similar stories as a basis for his hypothesis that there is a common ancestor for the folk stories. This attitude and the will to find common threads in folk tales and customs resemble historical linguists' endeavours in tracing cognates and setting up proto languages, activities that were very popular at the time. Following

Groome's logic, there may be a link established between the GLS's publications and Stoker's imaginary 'Gypsies': it has not yet been proven that Stoker used the findings related to in the journal for his novel, but the fact of the publication highlights the fascination that his contemporaries felt about such folk tales. In another story explained in an article of the journal, Heinrich Wlislocki's *The Witches of the Gypsies* (1891), a bloodsucking incident is explained. This article stipulates that Gypsy witches must always suck the blood of men with every increase of the moon in order to stay healthy (40), something that may be likened to how Dracula and his vampire cronies stay alive. The people they attack "fall into a kind of lycanthropy" and are reduced to animals, as they cannot even communicate anymore (40-41). In a way, the same fate awaits those touched by vampiric entities – monsters that prey on the innocent, much like Dracula himself. It is not difficult to see a parallel between the vampire and the immigrant: if Dracula embodies both in one person, the imagined 'Gypsies' of the East embody these notions as a group of inferior creatures in the novel as well as in ethnographic writings. Some of these works are apologetic and seem to argue that 'Gypsies', even in their primitive ways, are similar to their civilised counterparts in the West (Wlislocki 1890, 222). Nevertheless, the general tone of the *JGLS* texts recounting their folk tales steers the readers' imagination towards the abhuman, something beyond the natural, not simply below the civilised.

In this section, I sought to argue that the ethnographies and travel books of the nineteenth century were in demand because of an obsession with the concept of nation and nationality. This rested not only on prejudices, but also on a genuine fascination with science and research and what they can achieve. The world of the GLS or Grellmann, and travel books by A.F. Crosse, William Wilkinson and E.C. Johnson all served the Victorians' appetite for knowledge and a sense of power over the inferior races of the East, and their interest was based on Orientalist and imperialist ideals. Stoker's *Dracula* catered to these feelings by depicting Eastern Europe through the seemingly rational lens of ethnography, geography, and modern technology, and, similarly to the ethnographers of his time, he depicted 'Gypsies', and thus Eastern Europe as a land that was out-of-sync with the West. The domesticity and idleness of 'Gypsies' was exchanged for threateningly foreign qualities, and so their meaning and function were transformed as they were re-located to their Eastern 'home' and connected to "the ordinary gipsies all the world over" (Stoker 2011, 50).

III. The Imagined Gypsy of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*

The following section details the main argument of this paper and tries to establish how 'the Gypsy', the de-localised Other of the British landscape changes in the Transylvanian setting into a re-localised Other. I would argue that the starting point for the change of how the 'Gypsies' are depicted can be found in the basic building blocks of the Oriental Gothic genre: the de-localised Other that is Richard Marsh's monster in *The Beetle* (1897) or Dracula's character itself both exemplify movement from the Orient to the Occident. This section, then, aims to pinpoint the main processes that define Stoker's construction of the 'Szgany', his imagined 'Gypsies' of Transylvania, and how this group shapes the novel as well as the narrative's landscape as such. According to Bardi, the "delightfully exotic, albeit strange" 'Gypsies' of the West are quite different from Stoker's "sinister Szgany" (2016, 84), and Tchaprazov (2015) emphasises that this vilified image plays a crucial role in how the Count's threat to the Western values of Victorian Britain is framed and understood by the readers. However, previous works omit to discuss how exactly the 'Gypsies' are transformed into the 'Szgany', as well as the connection made between the two groups.

III.1 Time, Space, and Law: Re-localising the de-localised Other

Taking the de-localised Other further, Stoker's Dracula is presented as an abhuman vampiric figure who is capable of rational thinking to reach the Occident in spite of his "child brain" (Spencer 1992, 213). His masterplan, however, depends on other de-localised entities who are not capable of action without direction: Slovaks and 'Gypsies', sinister actors who act as his servants and are loyal to him, presumably because they are of the same 'race' – Oriental. But Slovaks are not as readily recognised as 'Gypsies' for there is no 'version' of Slovaks that has been perceived throughout centuries as itinerant and problematic in the British Isles. Due to the immigration of Jewish Slavs to Britain in the nineteenth century and especially from 1881 onwards (Rollin 1967, 202), both Slavic peoples and the Jewish minority were increasingly seen as a source of danger, but 'Gypsies' have seemingly always been there: they constituted a sort of sleeping threat within the Western realm. By moving the de-localised Other 'back' to the East, Stoker creates a clear bond between the familiar, domestic Other, and the sinister, foreign Other. This simple change is achieved through a process that declares every problematic aspect of the 'Gypsies' as seen in Britain as something more than burdensome; the idleness and the omission of work becomes industrious servitude of the devil, the rural ways of the British 'Gypsy' translate to something more than subhuman, and their connection to the

wildlife gets more articulated, or, as Johnson put it in *On the Track of the Crescent* (1885), they are "wild beasts" who are "howling like wolves" (qtd. in Tchaprazov 2015, 526). At the end of the novel, wolves follow in the wake of the 'Szgany' in an effort to present the wild animals and the itinerant people as one unit (Stoker 2011, 453) – both belong to nature, but both become something abhuman when associated with the Count.

The liminal existence of 'the Gypsy' is a key feature in how they are depicted by Stoker. As discussed in Section II.1, the nonsynchronicity of East and West is showcased in the image of 'the Gypsy', as they exist outside Western conceptions of time, space, and society (or law). As Iulia Hasdeu puts it, 'Gypsies' "belong to an orgiastic space-time out of line with normality" from a Western perspective (qtd. in Gay y Blasco 2008, 300). 'The Gypsy' is liminal: it functions as a sort of transitional state between human and animal as well as human and monster – it embodies sub- and abhuman qualities and is recognised as a sort of "gateway between East and West, exotic and familiar", similarly to Transylvania itself (Burke 2005, 60). The transitory modes of existence that 'the Gypsy' embodies, which include itinerancy as well as a position apparently outside the constraints of law and civilisation, provides fertile ground for speculation about their origins and behaviour. As 'the Gypsy' cannot be confined to Western values and ideals of time and space, they are perceived as less than human – they are, like many Gothic subjects, dehumanised in order to enhance the sinister atmosphere of a work of fiction. However, 'Gypsies' as a group imagined by Victorian society are seen as subhuman due to both their nonsynchronicity (Trumpener 1992, 847) and their racial Otherness: they are subhuman entities who exist on the brink of society, almost only as part of the 'couleur locale'[7]. The latter is also true for *Dracula*'s narrative, but it is a completely different 'couleur locale', a heterogeneous and barbaric, Eastern landscape that they help shape. As a result of gothicisation, these burdensome nomads develop into interlopers within the nation state, more bluntly put, leeches, unwanted aliens in their non-humanity. 'Gypsies' inhabit liminal spaces and liminal bodies, ones that may readily be recognised as part of the familiar British landscape or as representatives of anxiety-inducing Oriental Otherness. This liminality facilitates dehumanisation and thus the transformation of 'Gypsies' into something beyond, rather than simply below, human.

[7] as used in Hungarian scholarship on Romanticism and Mór Jókai's works in particular, whose accounts of a locality, especially when rural, often involve lengthy, detailed descriptions in an effort to produce an authentic narrative ("hosszas leírásai, halmozásai a térbeli hitelesség alátámasztását szolgálják" [Fried 2019, 213]).

Abhuman creatures are evidently the central figures of Gothic fiction, and as such, they must be built up from both human and monstrous qualities. According to Hurley, the liminality of such entities, especially that of their body, is inevitable for Gothic narratives: these creatures constitute a threat to the integrity of the human form itself due to their liminality (2011, 190), and, by extension, they endanger the body politic. This is clearly connected to the paranoia that exists around immigration and contamination at the time (cf. Derrida's notion of autoimmunity discussed in Section II.1), and the anxiety around reverse colonisation. Liminal bodies lack a clear identity and are, by definition, not homogeneous – thus, the rules of nation states cannot be enforced upon them. By extension, this means that 'Gypsies', as imagined by majority society, are "the avatar of an alien cultural movement whose characteristics threaten Western ideology and English domestic space" and are thus Dracula *by association* (Goodson 2018, 21): they abuse the purity of the nation as well as its citizens' bodies; they are degenerate, criminal entities making their way to the West. Contamination and transformation are, however, only possible if humans already possess the potential to become abhuman, just as the sexually overheated Lucy Westenra is transformed by Dracula through blood contamination. Therein lies the key to the success of Gothic fiction: the idea of the "modern abhuman subject" (Hurley 2011, 192) aroused interest and thrill that were mixed with fears of the unknown, and that were, similarly to the fascination with Oriental Others, based on ideas of Western superiority and an anxiety about liminality and instability.

There is a further unique aspect of 'the Gypsy' in literary fiction that is worth discussing. Trumpener (1992) suggests that the time frame of any given story featuring the figure is affected by the presence of the imagined 'Gypsies', that their ahistoricity can break the temporality of the story. 'The Gypsy' exists outside the Western constraints of space and time, and, as such, the time frame of *Dracula* is broken when 'Gypsies' come into view. While Jonathan is trapped in the castle of the Count, he cannot keep track of time, and all of his correspondence with civilised society halts: he enters a space-time continuum markedly different from which he originates from. Moreover, 'Gypsies' deliberately hinder his efforts at communication. The progress of time as well as history is adjourned, similarly to how trains become gradually less punctual as Jonathan reaches deeper into Eastern Europe. Technical progress is also thwarted: the superstitions of the East and the lack of proper means of transportation all point to the fact that this part of the world never entered the modernity that the characters of the narrative so readily rely on (e.g., Dr Seward's diary is kept in phonograph, and Mina Harker has a Traveller's typewriter). On the one hand, it may be suggested that it is

the so-called "'up-to-dateness'" of the novel (*The Spectator* qtd. in Arata 1990, 622) that is jeopardised by 'the Gypsy'; on the other hand, 'Gypsies' help juxtapose the modernity of the West, thereby highlighting the backwardness and barbarity of the East. In effect, this helps "erode Victorian confidence in the inevitability" (Arata 1990, 622) of the progress manifested in the Western nation state, resulting in a novel that depicts instability and the fear of decline and degeneracy on multiple levels – time and space, society and law, sub- and abhuman entities, as well as the foreign and the domestic.

'Gypsies' mark the departure from Western temporality and, essentially, reality: their presence signals that all Western laws that Jonathan would keep to are useless in the East. Following Trumpener's argument, it may be concluded that they shift "the tale itself into the different generic mode of the fairy tale" (1992, 869), corresponding with the general shift in landscape that is essential for the premise of the novel. 'Gypsies', then, "bring a magical timelessness (…) into the narrative" (869), thereby producing a unique atmosphere ripe for the supernatural and the abhuman monster. I do not claim that it is only the figure of 'the Gypsy' that facilitates this; nonetheless, their role in the narrative is defined by their obstruction of time, space, as well as morals, all of which are vital to the success of the novel. Their dubious moral position is evident in their refusal to help Jonathan in exchange for money (2011, 50) and their industriousness while digging up Transylvanian soil to be transported to the West alongside their master (2011, 53). They seem oblivious to the villainy of the Count at first, but, as Jonathan's stay progresses, he sees them more and more as genuine accomplices and servants to Dracula: they are loyal to him because of something more than riches[8], as evidenced by their betrayal of Jonathan. Like the wolves, then, they are connected to him on a deeper, supernatural level, their bond being their abhuman, amoral, beastly existence.

As the Count is de-localised in his efforts to come to the Occident (as described by Arata, he is an "Occidental tourist" in urban Britain [1990, 621]), so are the 'Gypsies' in Victorian Britain: they are perceived as Oriental Others, alien bodies in a Western land, even though they have been present for centuries. Statutes issued by Tudor monarchs, like the 1530 *Egyptians Act* mentioned above, serve as evidence for the centuries-long presence of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma people on the British Isles; still, this group has always been only on the margins of

[8] A folk tale published alongside other Gypsy tales in 1936 recounts a story that suggests that vampires provide Gypsies with a sort of immunity, possibly even the gift of life: "the gypsy did exactly as the vampire had told him, and remained alive" (Foster 1936, 289).

British society. It is not surprising, then, that their orientalised status leads to gothicisation in Stoker's narrative in a century that is so pre-occupied with the nationalistic ideologies. Stoker employs 'the Gypsy' as a marker of contamination as well as Eastern identity, but they can bear many other meanings and functions, too. Their vilification in a Gothic narrative helps the reader understand the threat they may pose and highlights their inherent Otherness, one that does not simply reinforce the norm, but actively endangers it. De-localisation is a standard element of Gothic fiction, but the re-localisation of the de-localised Other, 'the Gypsy', lends itself to a connection between two geographical spaces, two imagined landscapes. In the next section, the interplay of 'the Gypsy' and the imagined Eastern landscape, and the ways they may affect one another in Stoker's narrative will be explored.

III.2 The interplay of the 'Gypsy' and the imagined landscape

This paper argues that the change of landscape, and of geographical space undoubtedly alters the domestic 'Gypsy' within the book's realm and presumably the reader's imagination, too. As the re-localisation of the de-localised Oriental Other from the Occident to the Orient occurs, the meaning of 'the Gypsy' changes: instead of the idle, petty criminals and freeloaders of the British landscape, they become industrious servants of the abominable monster that is the abhuman vampire, Dracula, thereby 'maturing' into the villainous, Gothic role intended by Stoker. Their minor misdemeanours on British soil, one of which is the often-mentioned horse theft that came to characterise them in the minds of society, for instance in *The Adventure of the Silver Blaze*, are indeed insignificant compared to the crimes of the Count. In Transylvania, these 'Gypsies', so tame and generally harmless in Britain, are unbridled. This process can be attributed to the re-localisation effort, and the way the preconceptions of the British public intermingle with the imagined Transylvanian landscape; one that, like all other landscapes, is shaped by the dominant ideologies of its time (Duncan & Duncan 1988, 117). Additionally, Said's term 'imaginative geography' describes the general process for which plenty of examples will be given in this section, for the novel features an active construction of an Oriental landscape based on presuppositions and prejudices. This employs the arbitrary binary of "our land – barbarian land" (1978, 54); and it is the 'barbarian' landscape that interacts with the figure of 'the Gypsy' in *Dracula*, as both are outside of (civilised) society.

Although this paper has quoted and alluded to some of the key characterisations of 'Gypsies' by Jonathan Harker, the most significant passage is as follows:

> These Szgany are gipsies; I have notes of them in my *book*. They are peculiar to this part of the world, though *allied to the ordinary gipsies all the world over*. There are thousands of them in Hungary and Transylvania, who are almost *outside all law*. They *attach themselves* as a rule to some great noble or boyar, and call themselves by his name. They are *fearless and without religion*, save superstition, and they talk only their own varieties of the Romany tongue.
>
> (Stoker 2011, 50, emphases added)

The motivation behind this brief description of the 'Szgany' resembles that behind the Jonathan's accounts of the Transylvanian landscape: it aims to paint a picture that is threatening yet captivating to the audience. The possible books that Jonathan may be referencing have already been discussed in this paper, and the presence of this reference is important because it legitimises his view and lends an air of objectivity to his perspective. That the 'Szgany' are "fearless and without religion" implies that they can be considered the enemies of the Westerners, a group who will put up a fight and will not abandon their master – an allusion to the last fight between the Easterners and the Westerners in the novel. It is not the Slovaks who will actively fight the Westerners, neither is it the Count himself; rather, it is the 'Szgany', Dracula's most loyal servants. This fight is already alluded to in the word "fearless" by Jonathan, a man most sensitive to the strange occurrences in Transylvania but one who voices his concerns often in a seemingly naïve, albeit prejudiced fashion. Transylvania is a world that is devoid of proper faith and relies on fear: it houses objects that betray superstitious (Catholic) beliefs like crucifixes, and even the placenames ('Istenszék') mark that Transylvania is different from the West in terms of religion. Interestingly, the 'Szgany' are not portrayed as particularly superstitious in the novel, and they are willing to work with Dracula – a sign that, in a way, they belong to his 'race' more than to Eastern Europe. The topic of religion was not unfamiliar to Bram Stoker: his Irish heritage contributed to a complex perspective on the debates between Protestants and Catholics. Stoker was of loyalist Protestant circles but obviously felt connected to the Irish Catholic tradition and at the very least was fascinated by their seemingly (from a Protestant perspective) superstitious customs (Kiberd 2001, 383). Still, although Western notions of religion, morality and law are all challenged in *Dracula*, it is the latter two that are the most relevant to the discussion of 'Gypsies' in the novel.

Law as such plays a crucial role in the narrative: Dracula is clearly acting criminally, the 'Szgany' are aiding him through potentially illegal means, and Westerners can break any law whenever deemed necessary in the fight against 'the evil'. They break into the Count's house in London in Chapter 22, and they murder what is left of Lucy Westenra in Chapter 16, all in

an attempt to save her from the indignity of continuing her existence as a vampire. 'Gypsies' are quite different, however, as they are neither Westerners nor supernatural beings in the same fashion that Dracula is, and they are imagined by Jonathan as lowly people outside law and without principle. It has already been ascertained when studying the 1824 *Vagrancy Act*, the 1884 *Canal Boats Act Amendment Bill* or the *Egyptians Acts* (Section II.1) that 'Gypsies' had been considered trespassers, thieves, and scroungers for centuries; in *Dracula*, their collaboration with the vampire Count elevates their existence into the realm of amorality instead of immorality. Being *outside* law, being amoral, means something more dangerous than being against or at odds with law and the police, a position that British, domestic 'Gypsies' often occupy in fiction. The phrasing employed by Jonathan (and Stoker) can be connected to Trumpener's observations that see 'Gypsies' as a "people without history" (1992, 843) who operate outside the Western notions of time even in British settings (Section III.1) but become considerably more threatening when they cannot even be punished by the police or prosecuted before a jury. The shift in the settings, in landscape, and in the meaning they might bear provokes and represents a change in the meaning and function of 'the Gypsy', too. Still, the unbridled and the tamed Other are inextricably linked, as pointed out by Jonathan: the 'Szgany' are "allied to the ordinary gipsies all the world over" (Stoker 2011, 50). This apparently evident bond makes a connection between the two landscapes appear just as natural, indicating that the gruesome, criminal events that happen in the Orient are just as likely to happen in the Occident if a state of perfect immunity to outsiders, even the tamed ones, is not attained.

The change in landscapes accompanies the change of 'the Gypsy'. Put differently, the two imagined entities affect one another during their shared effort of orientalisation and gothicisation within the novel, both of which are not only furthered by the two entities, but also affect the two in separate ways. The Transylvanian landscape immerses 'the Gypsy': most interestingly, the sound of the 'Szgany' facilitates a sinister atmosphere. Jonathan writes in his diary that "in the courtyard and down the rocky way the roll of heavy wheels, the crack of whips, and the chorus of the Szgany as they pass into the distance" (Stoker 2011, 63) can be heard, with all the sounds mentioned having a violent and barbaric undertone. The presence of 'Gypsies' helps the reader grasp just how backward Transylvania is, and, as they are creeping and roaming within the natural landscape like animals, their voices combine with the howling of the wolves (Johnson qtd. in Tchaprazov 2015, 526) who fight on behalf of Dracula alongside them.

Already in A.F. Crosse's 1878 account of the Carpathians and the people of the region there is a clear indication of 'Gypsies' being different from their counterparts in the British Isles. Crosse writes that this group behaved similarly to those in England, but in the same sentence, he points out that "here they were far less civilised than with us" (2016, 143). This implies that there is a straightforward connection between the two groups, as well as that they change according to their geographical position. Simply put, as the region is less civilised than Britain, the barbarian character of 'Gypsies' is allowed to be more overt in the Orient. Once they are re-localised closer to where they may originate from, they become less disciplined: the society in which they are still only marginal players is itself less policed than Britain is, and hence it is more corrupt, giving the 'Gypsies' more freedom and potentially even some power. A connection may be made between Crosse's observations and Jonathan's iconic note on the 'Szgany' also when it comes to how this group survives as a dependent of nobility and, in general, as inferior members of society. Crosse claims that 'Gypsies' are "legally free, but they attach themselves peculiarly to the Magyars, from a profound respect they have for everything that is aristocratic" (147), a notion mirrored in British society, most notably in Doyle's *The Adventure of the Speckled Band*. Their attachment alludes to the vampiric sense of the word – Dracula attaches himself to Jonathan, using his professional abilities to move to the Occident. He acquires estates in England in order to attach himself to the land and also brings his own Transylvanian soil, thereby establishing a connection within the bounds of nature; he enlists Lucy Westenra as one of his vampire gang after attaching himself to her through blood contamination; and he also succeeds in an attachment to Mina Harker, a woman who will give birth to a child after she has become related to Dracula by blood: "flesh of [his] flesh; blood of [his] blood; kin of [his] kin" (Stoker 2011, 306). The very same contamination is raised as a possibility with 'Gypsies': they not only inhabit both landscapes, but they also always have the *character* of their Oriental form in their blood, as if importing the Oriental evil to Britain. This kind of attachment also highlights that 'Gypsies' have no individualised identity and exist exclusively, like most Oriental Others, as a group or as a trope. In this respect, however, they are different from other Oriental tropes, as they use the name of the nobleman whom they latch onto, parasitising lineage without actually contaminating the bloodline.

The 'Szgany', in addition to becoming more barbaric, are also altered in terms of activity: they become industrious servants and are more 'professionally' involved in criminality than in Britain. As typical scapegoats of the British countryside, Sherlock Holmes dismisses any suggestion that 'Gypsies' could be serious suspects in complex cases, thereby implying that

they are unable to hatch criminal plans that would engage Holmes' deductive powers. In Transylvania, they are still only accomplices rather than masterminds; nevertheless, they are neither idle nor petty criminals. The Eastern 'Gypsy' apparently has no goal in mind, their acts do not seem selfish or schemes for money; their only objective is to aid Dracula until his eventual demise and afterwards to flee as quickly as they can, disappearing into the Transylvanian landscape as soon as they lose the fight. Even in a novel that includes many different ethnic groups, the depiction of the 'Gypsies' is the least favourable, for it is the 'Szgany' who stand by Dracula the longest, showcasing their unique attachment to the Count. 'Gypsies', according to Bardi, function as "a frame for the novel's transactions", "conduits" and "catalysts" for action (2016, 90-91); therefore, their significance as labourers in the plot extends to narrative functions as well. By "transactions", Bardi means both that of the soil and that of lives. One of the Western band, the American suitor of Lucy Westenra, Quincey Morris dies at the hand of the 'Szgany', an event that may be seen as a sort of transaction of lives; it is, however, the transfer of Dracula and the essential mobility that the 'Gypsies' lend him that exemplify their role in transactions (and in landscape-change) the best. The "merry voices" of the 'Gypsies' who sing while working for the absolute evil showcase their insensitivity as well as the contradiction that is at the core of their constructed identity, evident especially when the Eastern and Western characteristics are compared. Laborious, life-threatening, parasitic, overtly evil in the East, idle, bothersome, marginal, and petty in the West, 'the Gypsy' has a unique quality as an Other in both literary and ethnographic fiction. Crosse, for instance, claims that 'Gypsies' have "an incurable habit of pilfering here as elsewhere; yet they can be trusted as messengers and carriers – indeed I do not know what people would do without them" (2016, 147), a statement that points to the heart of this contradiction. In spite of their diligence as messengers, the 'Szgany' of *Dracula* do not help Jonathan with taking his letters; instead, they serve the man they are dependent upon, easily betraying the Westerner even though he paid for their services. 'Gypsies' are also depicted as intruders and thieves by Crosse, but he does not give much significance to the matter, painting it as the 'status quo' of Eastern Europe: "never is a door left unlocked but a gipsy will steal in, to your cost" (147).

One might say that the process described in this paper is a simple projection of all the prejudices that already exist, an extreme pole of the orientalisation of 'the Gypsy', or misreading by the authors of ethnographic material and travel books, as well as misinterpretation by Stoker. All of these claims are true, of course, but 'the Gypsy' is interesting because of its layers, and it is these layers that shift completely when it interacts with a similarly gothicised and orientalised

landscape. Landscapes can be seen as texts, narratives that are transformations of ideologies into a concrete form (Duncan & Duncan 1988, 118); a landscape change, then, enables a change in ideology to become material. In the case of *Dracula*, the ideologically loaded East-West opposition that is translated into the depiction of the 'Gypsies' is also seen in the landscape, and the landscape of Transylvania endures the same violation of its idyllic identity that the 'Gypsy' does. What is more, the actual Transylvania, a landscape that has been written about and thus written *over* by the West, is irreversibly transformed. As opposed to the wilderness of rural Britain that the "roaming gypsies" inhabit in Doyle's *The Adventure of the Silver Blaze,* Transylvania is foreign, and bears the meaning of "fairytales" (Crișan 2016, 73) rather than nostalgia for pre-industrialisation Britain or dreams of a bohemian way of life.

A nation-positive nostalgia is key to several Sherlock Holmes stories that take place in the countryside; 'Gypsies' are depicted in at least four such stories: *The Adventure of the Speckled Band* (1892), *The Silver Blaze* (1894), *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902), and *The Priory School* (1904). In these works, 'Gypsies' are curiously represented in a more favourable, or at least less derogatory light than what would be expected in the nineteenth century (Goodson 2018, 17). Thus, there is a marked difference between a depiction of 'the Gypsy' in domestic setting and the figure seen in Transylvania in *Dracula,* a fact that may be accounted for by a nostalgic view of the British countryside. Consequently, it could be supposed that landscapes determine (or at least influence) the representation of 'the Gypsy': although both Doyle and Stoker paint pictures of the rural Gothic in their works, only the latter can be classified as Orientalist Gothic, as the landscapes of *Dracula* and Doyle's stories differ enormously and have dissimilar effects on the 'couleur locale' and thus 'the Gypsy', too. In Doyle's short stories, the reader does not confront the Orient through 'the Gypsy' because readerly prejudice operates within a British landscape that is clearly dominated and understood by Westerners, and 'the Gypsy' remains a de-localised Other whose Otherness in this setting is somewhat softened, tamed. The 'Gypsies' are still confined to the margins of society, but they have a place, Westerners do not have to try to communicate with them, they are virtually nothing, subhuman at most. The abhuman character that is added in the new landscape and through re-localisation is significant because it showcases in the clearest way possible what actually changes: Doyle's 'Gypsy' is utterly domestic, a petty criminal and a scapegoat who helps define the norm through its Otherness, it is quaint, idyllic, and constitutes what is known as the 'couleur locale', taking part in making the landscape appear both realistic and mysterious. Stoker's 'Gypsy', on the other hand, has a name that underlines its foreignness ('Szgany'), is

wolf-like, industrious, allied to the absolute, supernatural evil, and presents a serious threat to the Western norm, symbolising lost control as well as contamination. This imaginary contamination comes alive in the Transylvanian region which is heterogeneous in its ethnic make-up, and the corrupted landscape in which 'Gypsies' are free to roam about. When Jonathan exclaims, "away from this cursed spot, from this cursed land, where the devil and his children still walk with earthly feet!" (Stoker 2011, 63), his words betray his emotions and prejudices. It is the *land and its people* that pose the threat to the West: the 'Szgany', sometimes called 'the children of Cain', just as much as Dracula himself, are the devil, and it is Transylvania where they "still walk with earthly feet".[9]

IV. Conclusion

This paper attempted to explore the interrelations of 'the Gypsy' as imagined by ethnographers and authors of late-nineteenth-century Britain and Europe and the landscapes which 'the Gypsy' is placed in. In this process, *Dracula*'s depiction of the 'Szgany', the overtly foreign and Oriental 'Gypsies' took centre stage, and, with the help of the image created by Stoker, it has been ascertained that the Oriental, Transylvanian landscape and 'the Gypsy' constructed a unique atmosphere suitable for Gothic fiction. As a recognisably foreign entity, the 'Szgany' were able to mobilise the fertile ground of Victorian imagination and establish a seemingly accurate 'couleur locale' for the Eastern European region, and as such, the 'Szgany' have altered the meaning and function of 'the Gypsy' of the British Isles, too.

'Gypsies' as itinerant people have been present in Britain for centuries, but their reputation as petty criminals and subhuman Others excluded them from the realm of Gothic monstrosity. Through a change in landscape, they became abhuman creatures and have thus ascended to the level of the Oriental Gothic. As such, their presence in Stoker's Transylvania is paramount to the apparent danger of the region and its Oriental ways: 'Gypsies' in the Orient come to embody Westerners' fears of contamination, especially because of their involvement with the absolute evil of the novel, Count Dracula. Their newly assumed abhuman character, their

[9] One of the first accounts of Gypsies in Europe by Symon Semeonis uses negative, religiously loaded expressions like Jonathan's:

> We also saw outside this city a tribe of people, who worship according to the Greek Rite and assert themselves to be of the race of Cain. These people rarely or never stop in one place for more than thirty days but always, as if cursed by God, are nomad and outcast. After the thirtieth day they wander from field to field with small, oblong, black and low tents, like those of the Arabs, and from cave to cave, because the place inhabited by them becomes after the period of thirty days so full of vermin and other filth that it is impossible to live in the neighbourhood. (Semeonis qtd. in Murphy 2003:61)

association with Dracula and the near-supernatural wolves, and their industriousness enhance the threat they pose to Western society, especially when their potential movement is considered. Even worse for the Victorian anxieties about reverse colonisation, the 'Szgany' do not even have to move; on the one hand, their objective is to provide Dracula with the appropriate means of transport and to move his boxes of soil within Transylvania, thus, they contribute to an essential phase of Dracula's invasion of the Occident. On the other hand, and arguably more frighteningly, they are already present in the British Isles in an equally problematic, albeit less threatening form. Jonathan Harker's notes connect the recognisably foreign Others to the domestic 'Gypsies' of the West by stating that the 'Szgany' are "allied to the ordinary gipsies all the world over" (Stoker 2011, 50).

'Gypsies' have already been orientalised Others in the British landscape, "roaming" (Doyle 2009, 9) in the British moorland in *The Adventure of the Silver Blaze* or misbehaving on the land of impoverished aristocrats in *The Adventure of the Speckled Band*. However, their Oriental quality becomes more distinct as soon as they are re-localised to an Eastern European landscape. As de-localised Others, 'Gypsies' wreak havoc in the Occident; still, without their Oriental, abhuman, devilish characteristics assumed in Transylvania, they appear tame, idle, and bothersome rather than threatening. The re-localisation of the de-localised Other, then, is the key to how 'the Gypsy' is altered in Victorian imagination: through this effort, 'Gypsies' are transformed into villains appropriate for Gothic fiction. The origins of the versatility of 'Gypsies' can be found in their alleged nonsynchronicity with Western ideals of time, space, and law, for they exist on the margins, in the shadows of normalcy within the Occidental realm. They are a "people without history" (Trumpener 1992, 843), a blank space that may be filled with both domestic, familiar, and foreign, threatening qualities, depending on which side of the "our land – barbarian land" (Said 1978, 54) binary they are located on.

Ethnographers and travel writers have long been fascinated by 'Gypsies', and their interest in the ethnic group coincided with the increasing appeal of the concept of the nation state. Authors like Wilkinson, Johnson, or Crosse visited Transylvania and reported on what they identified as local 'Gypsies', a group that they observed with a rather xenophobic lens. Their accounts inspired authors of fiction like Stoker and influenced his descriptions of the 'Szgany'; moreover, Jonathan's notes on the region and its "whirlpool" (2011, 2) of nationalities and cultures reference a "book" (2011, 50), a small detail that legitimises his own biased remarks. As the Victorian national anxiety became more prominent in the nineteenth century, so did the

field of ethnography; the public wanted to know more about the Orient and its people and describe them accurately, but they were also frightened of the unknown. Therefore, it may be established that the same paradox of Gothic fiction, the combination of thrill and horror governed both the public and the ethnographic discourse. Both ethnographers and authors of fiction were eager to "capture (…), describe (…), radically alter" the Orient and the Oriental Other (Said 1978, 95); hence, 'Gypsies' and the 'Szgany' are virtually voiceless in both fictional and (pseudo-) scientific texts. In addition, gypsylorists like Wlislocki or Groome provided the public with 'Gypsy' folk tales and reports on the customs of 'Gypsies', thereby reinforcing the power of the category 'Gypsy' itself and the foreignness of the ethnic group.

To conclude, I would like to re-iterate that this paper aimed to showcase the imagined 'Gypsy', a project that had to focus on Western imagination, worldview, and principles rather than the actual Roma, Gypsy, Sinti, and Traveller people of Europe. As 'Gypsies' are re-localised to the Orient, their abhuman characters emerge; connected by Jonathan to their 'allies' in the West, their threat becomes evident: they might contaminate and thus weaken the nation, a thought that appeared very concerning in an era of political upheaval in the colonies. In Eastern Europe, 'the Gypsy' becomes unbridled, and the tamed Other of the West develops into the enemy within, the first step in the effort of reverse colonisation.

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