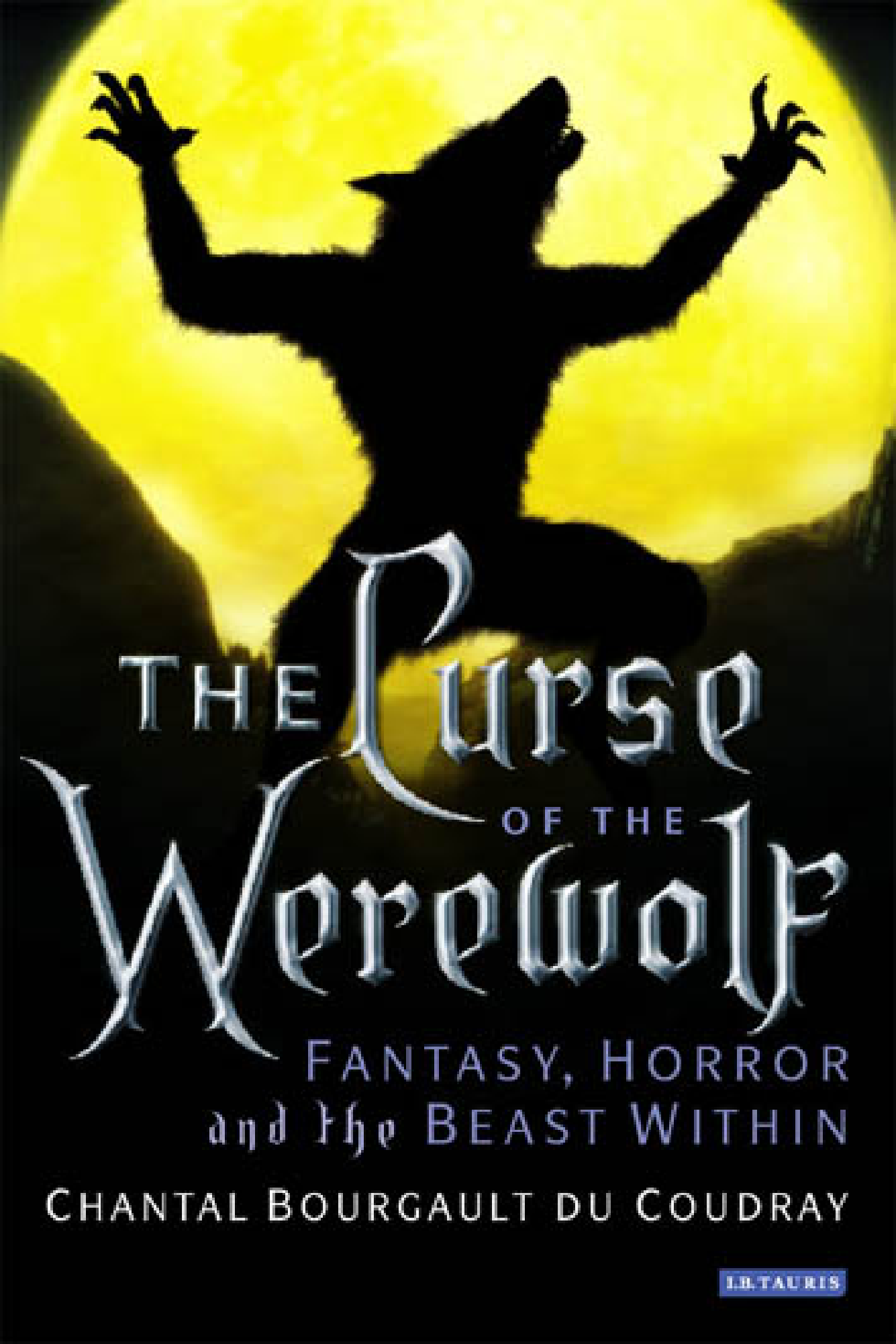

The Curse of the Werewolf

Fantasy, Horror and the Beast Within

Chantal Bourgault du Coudray

I.B.Tauris


THE Curse
OF THE
Werewolf

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Preface

I have to confess that in the course of writing this book I learned to dread the inevitable question, 'What is your research about?' Anyone working in the arts or humanities knows the difficulty of justifying projects in these fields to people who want to know what is being produced in material, economically quantifiable terms, and the spectacle of a woman writing a book on werewolves, in its apparently blatant disregard for such values, has been guaranteed to evoke indignation and incredulity from some quarters. Even those professing a nostalgically humanist commitment to nurturing the arts and humanities have often raised an eyebrow when I've disclosed the spectacularly lowbrow focus of my project. As a result I've often tried an evasive approach to queries about the nature of my work, mumbling something about 'Gothic literature' – but there has nearly always been a friend or relative nearby who has been only too happy to elaborate for the benefit of the enquiring party: 'It's about werewolves.'

It is ironic, however, that once the mandatory amazement, disbelief or disapproval has been expressed, most people, although relatively uninterested in my earnest attempts to assure them of the *value* of my research, have been fascinated by its *genesis*. '*Why* did you choose

to write about werewolves?' has perhaps been my most Frequently Asked Question, so I have found myself telling people repeatedly about my childhood fear of wolves. For me, the monster under the bed was always the dark and hungry wolf of countless fairy tales, and I was thrilled and terrified whenever I heard the French horns playing the wolf's signature tune in Sergei Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf*. Later, a cousin told me a story of a werewolf: 'Two men got stuck in an elevator; one turned into a wolf and ate the other; later, when the rescuers arrived, the werewolf changed back into a man and walked away, *but he left a finger on the floor of the lift*.' The ordinary wolf now paled in comparison with this infinitely more sinister creature. I began to dream of people I knew becoming wolves, of werewolves circling the house and appearing at my bedroom window, and of being chased by werewolves, interminably, through suburbia, through dark cities, and through forests. Soon afterwards, I began to learn to play the French horn.

After being exposed to Michael Jackson's *Thriller* as an end-of-year primary school 'treat', I vowed never to watch another werewolf film, and was true to my word for years. But, as every good director of horror films knows, it is that which is suggested rather than shown which is most terrifying. I listened in rapt fascination as my friends delivered blow-by-blow accounts of such screen sensations as *American Werewolf in London* and *The Howling*, storing up the details for my awful, exhilarating nightmares.

For a long time I was unsure why I decided to break my vow of abstinence in order to write about werewolves. Sometimes, I have explained to people that I got tired of feeling my heart lurch every time I encountered the word 'werewolf', tired of bed partners who pretended to be *changing*, tired of waking up just in time to avoid being torn to shreds – so I decided to put my nightmares to rest through the demystifying process of critical analysis. Other times, I have argued that research has to be about something that matters to me on a *visceral* level if it is going to sustain my interest. It has to be about something coming from under my skin (like the fur reputed to line the inside of a werewolf's hide). But in completing the project, I wonder if I was also

motivated by a desire to explore beyond the boundaries of subjective experience. Because I had long imagined the werewolf as a threat to my sense of self (something which would literally tear me apart if it caught me), it seemed to offer a way into such an exploration.

Explaining my research by placing it within a narrative of my own life has in fact been peculiarly apt, because, at a more general level, it is about the stories we have told about ourselves, and about the stories we might yet tell about ourselves. I have sometimes even elaborated (to those still listening) the speculative dimension of my project by referring to my own experiences, because the dreams I have experienced and the life I live has changed considerably during the course of my research, in ways that have shed light upon the questions I began with. In what was perhaps one of the most important dreams of my life, *I* was a werewolf – but I could only manifest myself as a wolf in the company of Christopher Kenworthy, who later became my husband. Christopher's insight, humour, generosity and love have since enriched this book, and my life, beyond measure.

A number of other people have contributed in important ways to this book. I would especially like to thank James Donald for his shrewd comments and generous support. Thanks also to Kelly Hurley, Terry Threadgold, Jane Long and Rob Stuart for their feedback on the manuscript, and to Matthew Allen, Helen Merrick, Justine Larbelestier and Kim Selling for their enthusiastic engagement with my work. And, of course, thanks to my editors Philippa Brewster and Susan Lawson for their salient advice and timely prompts.

I am especially indebted to Stephen Jones and Kim Newman for access to their private collections, and for sharing with me their encyclopaedic knowledge of the werewolf in fiction and the cinema. I would also like to thank the staff at the Scholars' Centre at the University of Western Australia, the staff at the British Library (especially Chris Rawlings), the British Film Institute, and the Special Collection at the University of Sydney Library (especially Richard Ratajczak).

I am grateful for the support from colleagues at the University of Western Australia, Curtin University of Technology and Murdoch University, and to the Royle family and the Kenworthy family for

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INTRODUCTION

Shifting shapes of the werewolf

A werewolf is a human being who changes into a wolf. Accounts of such beings have circulated in Europe since classical antiquity, and the causes and characteristics of the phenomenon or condition sometimes termed 'lycanthropy' have long been debated in Western culture. Although genuine belief in werewolves persisted into the twentieth century, various scholarly explanations of belief in the phenomenon have also been advanced. Physicians, for example, have considered lycanthropy to be a disease of the mind and body since ancient times. Between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, at the height of the witch-hunts (when a number of alleged werewolves were sentenced to death), the focus of debate concerning the phenomenon shifted from a medical perspective to ecclesiastical questions about whether the Devil could empower an actual transformation or merely the illusion of transformation. Throughout this period a number of medical scholars maintained that the condition was a form of madness or melancholy, but it was not until the late seventeenth century that this view regained widespread credence. The Enlightenment rejection of superstitious or occult beliefs in favour of Reason lent further weight

to this interpretation, which remained the dominant explanation for lycanthropy into the nineteenth century.

Nineteenth-century scholars' commitment to the principles of scientific inquiry led to other 'rational' explanations of the phenomenon; it was argued that belief in the werewolf is a superstition originating in such sources as the crimes of sociopaths, an atavistic craving for blood or human flesh, or new mythological patterns brought about by mistaken word associations (the 'disease' of language studied by comparative mythologists). Western scholars working in the emergent 'science' of anthropology also revealed that belief in the transformation of humans into wolves has animated the traditions of Native Americans, who have long coexisted with wolves. This led to speculation that the myth had evolved from the practice of donning animal skins to hunt, fight or dance. With the resurgence of interest in the occult signalled by the popularity of spiritualism in the mid- to late nineteenth century, the werewolf was even explained as an actual manifestation resulting from an individual's mesmeric projection of an astral body.

Most of these perspectives were incorporated into the representations of the werewolf that appeared in the Gothic fiction of the nineteenth century, especially that of the *fin de siècle*, and in the twentieth century such representations were elaborated in fiction and film, primarily in the genre of horror, but also in the genre of fantasy. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the various manifestations of the werewolf theme in mythology, folklore, historical records, anthropological and ethnographic accounts, medical and psychiatric records, literature and film have also been periodically collated and analysed in books and articles by both popular and academic authors.

Regardless of genre, material relating to the werewolf in every period has been informed by prevailing cultural values and dominant ways of knowing or speaking about the world. In this sense, texts about werewolves can be read as indices of the way in which 'reality' has been assessed, described and constructed at different moments in history. Indeed, the idea that reality is 'posited' and can therefore be contested and revised through rational argumentation was a key bequest of the Enlightenment, a theme that Chapter 1 explores in relation to the

proliferation of explanations for lycanthropy that circulated in the nineteenth century.

In modernity, the werewolf has also been uniquely implicated in elaborating ways of thinking about selfhood. A distinct focus on the self (or subject) emerged with the Enlightenment, through the new emphasis on human rather than divine agency, often termed 'humanism'. Enlightenment philosophy emphasized selfhood as a project that could be directed through the conscious exercise of reason and morality, and in this sense projected a vision of an ideal or 'universal' subject. This vision was predicated, however, upon the conceptual separation of 'body' and 'mind', sometimes referred to as 'Cartesian dualism' after the philosopher René Descartes, whose famous statement *Cogito ergo sum* – traditionally translated as 'I think, therefore I am' – suggested such a separation. This conceptualization of the self was reinforced and elaborated within Enlightenment philosophy through further, parallel, oppositions: particularly that of nature–culture.

The wolf has long been associated with nature in Western thought; as Barry Lopez remarks, 'What men [*sic*] said about one, they generally meant about the other.'[1] Accordingly, the symbiosis of human and wolf in the figure of the werewolf has presented the opposition of nature (represented by the wolf) and culture (represented by the human) in potent terms; terms that were further developed in the romantic period, which witnessed the emergence of a subjectivity imaged through an internal–external or depth–surface duality. This spatialization of subjectivity resonated with the human exterior–lupine interior (or vice versa) imagery of the werewolf, and has been one of the lasting legacies of romanticism. Building on such visualizations of the 'divided' self, representations of lycanthropy have also been consistently conceptualised around the related poles of civilized–primitive, rational–instinctual, public–private and masculine–feminine. In this sense, the werewolf has modelled the dualistic subjectivity that emerged through the Enlightenment in graphic, exaggerated – or monstrous – terms. Yet, as Slavoj Žižek has argued of monsters more generally, the werewolf also appears as a *bridge* between nature and culture, by exceeding both categories and representing slippages between them.

For Žižek, this is the source of the Gothic monster's 'modernity'; because the oppositional logic of the Enlightenment schemata cannot, ultimately, contain reality, 'spectral' manifestations such as the werewolf emerge to 'complete' the representations of reality facilitated by frameworks based upon polarities.

Not surprisingly, studies focused on monstrosity as it materializes in the modes of the grotesque, the carnivalesque, the Gothic, the uncanny and horror have also proved sensitive to the manner in which figures such as the werewolf reveal patterns of subject- and identity-formation in Western discourse. The existentialist insight that the self has been defined negatively by its 'others' has been widely adopted in such contexts, with the Gothic, grotesque or uncanny being understood as a mode devoted to exploring the threat posed by the other to the self. Working within such a theoretical framework, a number of critics have identified two different strands of Gothic or grotesque imagery, organized around an exterior–interior polarity. Put simply, some Gothic monsters are constructed as an externalized other threatening the self, while others are shown to well up from within the realm of the self.

As Chapter 2 demonstrates, the werewolf has embodied both kinds of grotesque imagery. In its monstrous lupine form, it is usually represented as an entirely alien other threatening the social collective. In representations of this type, the werewolf's otherness is constructed as the negative of a normalized social identity. In its human form, however, (when its otherness is interiorized), and during its transformation (when its hybridization of self and other becomes visible), the werewolf is a consummate expression of the internalized grotesque. In these latter representations of lycanthropy, the subjective experiences of the 'universal' subject are shown to be susceptible to contamination by the other. The werewolf's facility for embodying both versions of the grotesque draws attention to the Gothic mode's positioning as a site where sociological processes associated with the production of social 'reality' and psychological processes associated with the production of selfhood intersect, and demonstrates the extent to which each category produces and authenticates the other within modernity. In this context, Žižek's understanding of the modern monstrous is useful, because it

moves from a focus on the psychological (or an 'ontological' focus on what monsters can tell us about the nature of being or the construction of the self) to a focus on the sociological (or an 'epistemological' focus on what monsters can tell us about the nature of knowing or the construction of reality.)

The juxtaposition of the conscious and unconscious which complemented the other dualities that came to be associated with the self during the nineteenth century underlines how processes of being and knowing have intersected in modernity, because the conscious–unconscious opposition has become central to conceptualizations of self *and* reality. Conscious–unconscious oppositions materialized largely through the romantic period, particularly in the Gothic mode, and are now orthodox for theorizations of the self in terms of the psyche; indeed, any number of critics have observed that the Freudian canon derives its conception of repressed, interiorized, unconscious impulses from the grotesque or Gothic mode. Certainly, psychiatric discourse has perpetuated romantic and Gothic visualizations of subjectivity as an internal–external or depth–surface formation through its elaboration of the psyche as a conscious–unconscious (or 'dipsychic') construct. In addition to its sources in romanticism and Gothic literature, the notion of the unconscious was also indebted to the related discourses of evolutionism and degenerationism which flowered in the late nineteenth century, because visions of humankind as having evolved from bestial origins suggested that traces of such a primal past might linger in hidden recesses of the modern psyche. Such visualizations of an interiorised bestiality also drew upon an older tradition of the 'beast within' – an image that derived from the philosophy of Plato and the Christian tradition, in which negative or evil impulses were dissociated from humanity through their attribution to a symbolic, internalized 'beast'.

Contextualized in this way, psychiatric discourse emerges as another axis by which the polarization of culture and nature has been sustained, because the conscious component of the psyche has been consistently associated with civilized, rational *culture*, and the unconscious component with primal, instinctual *nature*. This discourse has also

tended to characterize the conscious and unconscious as intensely antagonistic, and therefore productive of anxiety and tension within the individual. Representations of the werewolf have reproduced such attitudes, showing the lupine instincts of the wolf or 'beast within' (an analogy of the unconscious) to have a damaging and negative impact upon the afflicted individual (an analogy of the conscious self). Such imagery participates in a long tradition deriving from the Enlightenment in which rationality and culture are preferred over 'irrationality' and nature, and in which selfhood is experienced as the project of transcending the base material of nature.

Chapter 3 demonstrates how the coalescing of such imagery in psychoanalytic discourse has been implicated in further reproductions of a dualistic notion of selfhood, as well as the institutionalization of psychoanalysis as a mode of explaining 'reality'. As a focus on the werewolf reveals, psychoanalytic perspectives predicated on the juxtaposition of conscious and unconscious drives have been adopted as a means of assessing, explaining and describing the 'reality' of werewolves by critical theorists as well as the producers of popular culture. The fields of film studies and literary criticism are perhaps those discourses that have most enthusiastically embraced the perspectives of psychoanalysis, and they are, of course, the two bodies of theory that have had the most to say about the genre of horror and the theme of the werewolf. This chapter thus examines both bodies of texts as part of a wider discourse that has circulated visions of a 'dipsychic' way of being *and* a commitment to psychoanalysis as a way of knowing.

As Simone de Beauvoir demonstrated, the Enlightenment conception of universal selfhood was in fact concerned with a primarily *male* subjectivity, because masculinity has been positively associated with the attainment of self through the *transcendence* of nature, embodiment, biology, or the 'primitive' impulses of the unconscious, while femininity has been negatively connected with *immanence*, or a foundation in the realm of organic materiality.[2] Accordingly, Chapter 3 also unpacks the relationship between dualistic conceptions of psychology and representations of masculinity in the twentieth century. Using Freud's case of the Wolf-Man as a starting point, it demonstrates how

imagery of the 'beast within' has been perpetuated and strengthened by psychiatric discourse, and has come to express a dominant way of thinking about masculinity. Such patterns have been exemplified by popular twentieth-century texts about lycanthropy, in which the image of a white, middle-class male suffering psychic torment as a result of his accidental infection with lycanthropy recurs obsessively.

The repeated representation of masculine psychology in terms of a battle with the savage 'beast within' contributed to the construction of modern masculinity as dysfunctional and pathological, a view that has been shored up through reference to the ideas of Carl Jung as well as Freud. As Chapter 4 argues, Jung's emphasis on the origins of the 'collective unconscious' in the evolutionary heritage of humanity has led to characterizations of men's bodies and minds as irrevocably shaped by a bestial past in which masculine activity centred around hunting and killing. The unprecedented violence of the twentieth century lent credence to this view, also adding a layer of anxiety about the patriarchal misuse of technology and science. The net effect of such discourses was a destabilization and questioning of masculinity, evidenced through developments such as feminism, environmentalism and a men's movement.

Such re-evaluations of masculinity have led to explorations of an alternative model of manhood, in which men are seen to identify more positively with nature; a strategy that has been most notoriously demonstrated through the men's movement headed by neo-Jungian poet Robert Bly, in which the figure of the Wild Man is celebrated and 'a return to nature' is seen as the pathway to a more 'mature' masculinity. This version of maleness has origins in the romantic tradition exemplified by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Friedrich Nietzsche, both of whom idealized notions of a pre-modern, primal past in contrast to a debased 'civilized' humanity; a tradition that also informed late-nineteenth-century reworkings of manhood which placed greater emphasis upon male embodiment, manly 'passions', competitive impulses, and male interactions with the natural environment. The Boy Scout movement was an obvious example of this trend, and fascist imagery of the ideal soldier also drew on such traditions. The 'call to become-wolf'

(as Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari have characterized this vision of masculinity) has competed with imagery of the 'beast within' in Western characterizations of masculinity, and in such contexts the werewolf has often been positioned as a source of positive identification that recognizes the connections between manhood and primal nature. Western masculinity is thus marked by the careful policing of the boundaries between nature and culture, a project that the werewolf has been well positioned to represent.

As Chapter 5 explores, feminists have also experimented with the revaluing or 'valorization' of the feminine, nature, the unconscious, and other categories that have constituted the negative, 'othered' poles of key oppositions. In keeping with feminist critiques (following de Beauvoir) of the ways in which women have been excluded from 'universal' subjectivity, such an approach envisions a more inclusive understanding of selfhood, one that is less reliant on the construction of 'self' through the exclusion of 'others'. Fiction about female werewolves, especially by authors sympathetic to feminism, has exemplified this process, by celebrating lycanthropy as an ability that enriches rather than undermines the conscious experience of reasoning subjectivity. In such texts, the access to nature, embodiment and the unconscious that emerges through lycanthropy is configured as a powerful resource for self-development. Ultimately, however, such representations have not posed a challenge to dualistic subjectivity, because, despite the revaluation of certain poles, they reiterate the oppositional logic that has structured Western thought since the Enlightenment.

Postmodernist (and especially postmodernist feminist) approaches to subjectivity have pursued the speculative dimension of such work by seeking to theorize alternative or 'better' ways of being, but have also sought to avoid the modernist recapitulation of oppositional frameworks. Donna Haraway's celebration of the 'hybrid' subjectivity of the cyborg has been highly influential in this regard, and has led to the celebration of monsters and cyborgs as examples of subjects who refuse to be constrained by the limitations imposed upon and by the dualistic modernist self. This focus has led to extensive critical engagement with the genres of horror and science fiction, which have been scoured for

evidence of the 'posthuman' (a term which has been widely used in critical discourse to denote a postmodern selfhood.)

As Chapter 6 argues, the animation of the figure of the cyborg (and, to a lesser extent, the vampire) as representative of a 'postmodern' subjectivity in popular and critical discourse would seem to suggest that the werewolf might also help us to imagine and perhaps enact or embody the 'posthuman'. The werewolf's nature–culture boundary crossings, corruption of the purely 'human', and demonstration that the modernist project of selfhood leads to pain and torment certainly invite readings that celebrate its capacity for the expression of such a state of being. Although representations of the werewolf in Gothic fiction have certainly been appropriated for such purposes, many other visualizations of lycanthropy have been ignored by critics, primarily because they have appeared mostly within the genre of fantasy, a genre that has been overlooked by theorists of subjectivity. While the fragmented, plural subjectivities featured in the genres of horror and science fiction have been celebrated for their subversion of modernist paradigms of selfhood, the apparent commitment within fantasy to notions of a unified and harmonious subjectivity has been dismissed as nostalgic and conservative.

Yet fantasy's frequent combination of feminist and environmentalist perspectives with an emphasis on spirituality and ethics (via romanticism, Jungian theory and New Age philosophy) poses many challenges to dominant representations of a dualistic subjectivity, and suggests a number of ways in which subjectivity might be rethought. Further, although fantasy narratives do tend to link subjectivity to notions of organic wholeness, they also routinely displace the centrality of the individual, showing the self to be subject to broader cycles of life and death and a more panoramic or epic ordering of reality. Indeed, fantasy frequently represents an experience of absence from or transcendence of self. While such notions remain dependent upon the presence of a self – as evidenced by fantasy protagonists' 'return' to subjectivity after such encounters with the 'not-self' – the resumption of subjective awareness in fantasy often preserves the sense of connection with and respect for others and the environment that has been facilitated by

the experience of 'not-self'. In the context of speculative theory that seeks to consciously revise the dynamics of subjectivity (including the exploitative relationship between self and other), fantasy thus provides a valuable framework for the purposeful exploration of such themes. Certainly, we might follow in the footsteps of the fantasy werewolf who, through a careful exploration of ethical relationships between self and other, has already begun this process. According to one legend, we can even become werewolves ourselves if we drink the water that has pooled in the footprints it has left behind.

1

Werewolves and scholars

The opening shot of *The Wolf Man*, released by Universal Pictures in 1941, features a man's hand reaching towards a bookshelf and selecting a leather-bound tome from among a number of similar volumes. The book is then opened to an entry headed 'LYCANTHROPY (Werewolfism)', and the title music plays itself out to a lingering close-up of the paragraph on this subject. As the opening of *The Wolf Man* reflects, research into lycanthropy is an important theme in many werewolf narratives, or 'a ground rule' of the werewolf subgenre.[1] A recurring motif in narratives about werewolves is an emphasis on arcane books and distinguished scholarship about the lore of lycanthropy. This emphasis arose primarily from the culture of scholarship on the subject of lycanthropy that developed in the nineteenth century. This period witnessed the development of a series of criteria and attitudes governing scholarly standards – criteria and attitudes that were themselves expressive of deeper concerns. Lycanthropy was one of the many topics that became implicated in the forging of this scholarly ethos, and consequently provides a microcosmic view of shifts related to changes in the circulation and reception of texts, as well as the definition of scholarship and strategies by which 'reality' was observed, documented and produced.

The werewolf already had a rich documentary history in Western literature prior to the nineteenth century. The ancient myth of Lycaon is one of the earliest accounts of the metamorphosis of a human being into a wolf; recounted by Pausanius and Appollodorus (both Greek writers of the second century AD) and more famously in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, it features Zeus transforming the King of Arcadia into a wolf as punishment for serving a meal of human flesh. The first extended use of the werewolf in a work of fiction appeared in a comedy entitled *Satyricon*, written in the first century AD by the Roman author Petronius Arbiter, in which a man looks on in horror as an acquaintance strips off his clothes and runs away in the form of a wolf. References to lycanthropy also appeared in early Western literature in the work of poets, travel writers, mythographers, historians and physicians; Paulus Aegineta's seventh-century cyclopedia of medicine, for example, describes lycanthropy as a disease caused by 'brain malfunction, humoral pathology, and hallucinogenic drugs'.[2] A number of stories featuring benevolent werewolves survive from the medieval period,[3] and from the fifteenth century, in the context of the Christian Church's crusade against witches, lycanthropy was increasingly interpreted as the work of the Devil,[4] although scholars such as Johann Wier, Reginald Scot and Robert Burton continued to champion Paulus Aegineta's view of lycanthropy as a form of madness or melancholy.[5]

By the time the Abbé Laurent Bordelon wrote *A History of the Ridiculous Extravagancies of Monsieur Oufle* (published in 1710), a considerable body of literature on the subject of lycanthropy had accumulated in the libraries of Europe, and much of the more recently published material engaged in discussion of the magical or supernatural aspects of the phenomenon. Bordelon (like Wier, Scot and Burton) was concerned to disparage the kind of unreasoned superstition which had inspired such tracts during the excesses of the witchhunts, and to this purpose he created the character of Monsieur Oufle, who

> spent a great part of his Life in reading a vast Number of Books which treat of Magick, Witchcraft, Spectres, Phantoms, Hobgoblins, Wanton Spirits, Elves, Fairies, Judicial Astrology, Divinations, Apparitions, Charms, and,

> in a Word, whatever the most Celebrated Authors have written in favour of a great many Superstitious Practices.[6]

In the first misadventure that befalls M. Oufle as a result of his credulous approach to such material, he believes he has been transformed into a wolf after a drunken Carnival celebration, and runs howling through the streets dressed in a bear skin. By presenting the folly of superstition and the virtue of reason through such episodes, Bordelon clearly anticipated the concerns taken up by the Enlightenment philosophers.

The satirizing of irrational or superstitious behaviour was, however, only part of Bordelon's project. His emphasis on the uncritical reading practices of M. Oufle and his son (the Abbot Doudou) constitutes the more important aspect of his work. Chapter two of the novel is a catalogue of the books in M. Oufle's library, annotated with satirical comments; of the French demonologist Jean Bodin's *De la Demonomanie des Sorciers* (1580), for example, Bordelon wrote that ''tis a Collection made with more Application than Judgment'.[7] Similarly, the Abbot Doudou is described as a man who 'religiously believ'd that all he met with extraordinary in Books was true, not being able to persuade himself that their Authors would have been so unjust as to have printed such wonderful things, if they had not been true'.[8] The principal message of Bordelon's novel, then, is that all that is published is *not* necessarily true, and that the cultivation of an independent and critical approach to reading and learning is therefore essential.

Bordelon's choice of lycanthropy as the theme for M. Oufle's inaugural adventure suggests that he found the subject ideal for his caution against imprudent faith in the claims made in books. In the context of late-eighteenth-century science, the possibility of a human's transformation into a wolf seemed unlikely, and yet a considerable body of literature testifying to or at least debating just that possibility might have seemed to confirm the reality of werewolves for many readers. By recognizing that the mythology and imagery of lycanthropy had been primarily elaborated in various textual contexts, Bordelon also presaged the manner in which the myth would be duly elaborated.

In the nineteenth century, new accounts of lycanthropy were developed by antiquarians, folklorists, mythologists, historians and other social commentators. As David Punter has argued, the resurrection of such subject matter was linked with the emergence of modernity; 'vampires are the most obvious case in point: the legendry itself is age-old, and even in British literature there are plenty of preromantic allusions, but only in the early nineteenth century was vampirism brought into alignment with more modern anxieties.'[9] Like the vampire, the werewolf was re-created as a modern monster in nineteenth-century texts. Interest in lycanthropy was reignited early in the century, in the context of romanticism, when the backlash against Enlightenment principles was well under way and the Gothic novels of Horace Walpole, Ann Radcliffe and Matthew 'Monk' Lewis had already proved popular.

In contrast to the philosophers of the Enlightenment who had sought to eradicate superstition, the romantics embraced it as a source of poetic inspiration. The development of the Gothic mode during the romantic period is one of the more obvious indications of this tendency. Tobin Siebers accounts for the difference between Enlightenment and romantic attitudes to superstition historically, writing that the Enlightenment philosophers' 'aversion to superstition came from [their] exposure to it', whereas '[t]he Romantics associated superstition and poetry because their distance from magical thought allowed them to transform it into an aesthetic formula.'[10] A passage in Charles Maturin's Gothic novel *The Albigenses* (1824) – in which the werewolf made its first appearance in the nineteenth century – supports Siebers's point. A knight is incarcerated in a dungeon with a lycanthrope as his cell-mate.

> It was evidently a man in the most horrid paroxysm of lycanthropy, a distemper now unknown, but well authenticated to have existed at a far later period than that of our tale. 'Examine me,' said the unhappy wretch; 'I tell thee I am a wolf. Trust not my human skin – the hairs grow inward,* and I am a wolf within – a man outward only'.
>
> * This declaration was actually made by an unhappy wretch in the most rabid, but still conscious stage of the disease.[11]

Especially through the use of the footnote, this narrative separates the fiction ('our tale') from an earlier period in which superstitious beliefs were powerful enough to induce humans to believe they could be transformed into wolves. Here, history serves the romantic appetite for superstitious material by facilitating an engagement with its substance while maintaining a sense of safe temporal distance from its seductions.

In drawing upon historical sources as inspiration for his fiction, Maturin was following the example of his contemporary Walter Scott, whose historical romances were based upon events that occurred in the medieval period. Although such work galvanized early nineteenth-century interest in history (particularly medieval history), it also acted as a focus for late-romantic deliberations about genre. As Raymond Williams observes, in the eighteenth century 'literature' referred to 'the whole body of books and writing', but in the context of romanticism it became increasingly associated with imaginative writing or 'fiction'.[12] This linguistic mutation, together with a gradual shift towards more specialized practices of authorship, meant that various genre classifications began to emerge in the early nineteenth century. In particular, this period saw a concerted effort by historians to differentiate their approach from that of 'literature'. No clearer illustration of this trend exists than the response of Leopold von Ranke to Scott's novelizations of medieval historical events. In the early years of the nineteenth century, Ranke, a German student of philology, read a historical romance by Scott with great enjoyment, but upon seeking out the medieval texts Scott had used as sources he was deeply disappointed to discover that the novelist had fabricated many of the events in his narrative. As a result, Ranke became preoccupied with the idea of a history presented objectively and without authorial embellishment, an approach which was expressed by his famous desire 'to show what actually happened'.[13] As Ranke wrote after his encounter with Scott's fiction, 'Thereafter, I turned away from romantic fiction, and decided to avoid everything fictitious and fanciful and to cling strictly to the facts.'[14]

Ranke's ideas were profoundly influential upon the development of scholarly culture in the nineteenth century, in a number of ways. First,

he promoted a model of authorship that differed from the model that had predominated in the romantic period. Rejecting the extravagant language of romanticism, Ranke advocated the virtues of a less ornamental style of writing. In his view, authors should remain detached from their subject matter, concerning themselves only with the 'strict presentation of the facts'.[15] Ranke's claim that truth would emerge from the empirical presentation of facts was a second idea that proved influential. For Ranke, 'facts' were to be found primarily in historical documents, and in this sense he resuscitated the value of the 'books' that had been so roundly condemned by Bordelon and later by Jean-Jacques Rousseau.[16] His reverence for the historical text also had the side effect of bolstering the authority of contemporary authors, who enjoyed respect as the producers of such venerated cultural artefacts (indeed, as Edward Said pointed out, 'the word *author* itself springs from the same etymological roots as *authority*').[17] Third, Ranke sought to apply the methods of science to his work, an approach that was widely adopted by historians and other social commentators. Scholarship was increasingly evaluated in terms of its 'scientific' credibility as the century wore on.

Over the course of the century, all these attitudes were brought to bear upon literature exploring the theme of lycanthropy. Indeed, by combining respect for documentary evidence with a scientific ethos, Ranke had posed a peculiar problem for nineteenth-century scholars of the occult. While the reality of lycanthropy was defended in several accounts dating from the medieval and early modern periods, the nineteenth-century understanding of biology and physics precluded the possibility that the transformation of a human into a wolf was possible. Consequently, many writers decided that such texts must hold a grain of truth, and that their task was to discover what that truth might be. In other words, they set out to provide a rational explanation for the phenomenon. By 1865, this attitude was articulated clearly by Sabine Baring-Gould in the preface to his *The Book of Were-wolves: Being An Account of a Terrible Superstition*, in which he wrote 'When a form of superstition is prevalent everywhere, and in all ages, it must rest upon a foundation of fact; what that foundation actually is, I have, I hope,

proved conclusively in the following pages.'[18] Baring-Gould's study, however, was founded upon the work of many writers who preceded him, beginning with those scholars of the 1830s dedicated to the systematic collation and presentation of the myths and legends of antiquity, in keeping with Ranke's exhortation to record 'the facts'.

Ironically, Scott's final work, entitled *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (1830) was just such a collection, and attracted the criticism that he had abandoned the poetic fantasies which had previously characterized his work in favour of the more empirical approach which has since been associated with Ranke.[19] The early 1830s have been widely accepted as the moment at which romantic faith in the authenticity of the poetic imagination was giving way to renewed confidence in empiricism, rationality, objectivity and science, so it is significant that Ranke's argument with Scott and questions about Scott's own consistency should emerge at this moment. Rather than interpreting such dialogue as a sign that one paradigm was being abandoned for another, however, it may be more useful to understand this tension as arising from the coexistence of rationalist and romantic values in modern Western thought. Recent studies of the nineteenth century carried out by social, cultural and feminist historians have supported such an interpretation to the extent that they argue against characterizations of the nineteenth century as an age of unproblematic scientism and rationality, and point instead to the popular cultural and counter-cultural productions and activities which thrived throughout the period.[20] Such trends as the vogue for the romance novel, or the spiritualist craze, had origins in the romantic period.

The commingling of rationalist and romantic paradigms can be observed in an anonymously written werewolf story of 1833, published in a short-lived journal entitled *The Story-Teller, or Journal of Fiction*. 'The Wehr-Wolf' begins in the tone of Bordelon's narrative, satirizing the pretensions of Doctor Antoine du Pilon of the town of St Yrieux in France. St Yrieux is disturbed by reports of werewolves in the surrounding forest, and du Pilon, the town chirurgeon and 'a profound adept in those arts, for the learning of which some men toil their whole lives away, and are none the wiser; such as alchemy, converse with

spirits, magic, and so forth', 'discoursed like a Solomon' on the subject of lycanthropy for the benefit of his fellow townsmen, 'citing, to the great edification and wonder of his hearers, ... hosts of authors, both sacred and profane'.[21] The story also satirizes what could be termed du Pilon's romantic scientific philosophy – his belief that physical and metaphysical phenomena (or Nature and Spirit) are interdependently related.[22] The narrative instead asserts a more empirical and materialist approach to science, primarily through the fate of du Pilon. Scratched by the severed paw of a wolf (or perhaps a werewolf), he becomes convinced that he has been tainted with lycanthropy, and crouches in the forest warning the peasants of his condition. 'With that, the rustics of St. Yrieux ... fell upon the unhappy doctor, and by a sound beating ... convinced him that he was not a Wehr-Wolf' – an episode which asserts, in brutal terms, the unreliability of metaphysical experience in contrast to the certitudes of physical experience.[23] The conclusion to the story, however, does in fact produce an actual werewolf (although it is not du Pilon) and a melodramatic denouement in the style of Radcliffe or Scott. By lampooning du Pilon's learned superstitions, only to validate his logic in the subsequent narrative, the story oscillates uncertainly between rationalist and romantic values.

By the time Dudley Costello's short story entitled 'Lycanthropy in London; Or, the Wehr-Wolf of Wilton-Crescent' appeared in *Bentley's Miscellany* in 1855, the resurgence of confidence in the rational proofs of science was as its height. Like 'The Wehr-Wolf', Costello's tale is a satire, but the ambivalence of the earlier story has all but disappeared and Miss Adela Cunninghame's belief in the supernatural is mercilessly ridiculed. Adela is fond of reading, and 'the books she preferred were those which most excited her imagination'.[24] Like Bordelon's M. Oufle, 'She eagerly devoured every work that fell in her way of which the theme was supernatural', a course of reading which induces her to imagine that her cousin's husband, Mr Fitz-Poodle, is a werewolf.[25] Adela's behaviour becomes increasingly silly and hysterical until Mr Fitz-Poodle arranges to reconcile her with her estranged fiancé, a gesture which causes her to chastise herself for ever indulging such an absurd fantasy. Even this supremely rationalist story, however, evinces

a touch of doubt concerning the adequacy of increasingly mechanistic modes of explanation. Mr Fitz-Poodle experiences a disturbing dream, which influences his decision not to accompany his wife on a shopping trip the following day, a development that is explained in the following terms: 'Dreams, although we disbelieve in them – we wise ones – have still some influence over our waking thoughts. ... The complex machine called Man is not so well put together as to be always in perfect order.'[26] In this passage, it is suggested that explanations which insist upon the explicability of all phenomena in terms of physical causes and effects (such as conceptualizations of the human body in terms of machinery) cannot satisfactorily explain all human behaviour, and for this reason a romantic fascination for the significance of dreams is shown to have a continuing appeal.

At least on the surface of things, however, a more rationalist approach did prevail in the mid-nineteenth century, under the aegis of science.[27] Unlike romantic science, which visualized the connectivity of the physical and metaphysical, mid-nineteenth-century science was profoundly materialist, insisting upon the foundation of all things in the physical laws of nature. Auguste Comte exemplified this tendency in his elaboration of 'positivism' or the argument that all knowledge should be founded upon the observation and analysis of the external or apparent characteristics of phenomena. Indeed, Comte argued that human culture was developing from what he termed the 'theological state', in which supernatural fictions constituted explanatory systems, through the 'metaphysical state', in which supernatural fictions were replaced by abstract concepts, into the scientific or 'positive' state, which he saw as the final stage of knowledge. The gradual disassociation of the werewolf from the realm of the supernatural, and its increasing representation in the nineteenth century as a phenomenon or belief deriving from natural causes, would in fact suggest that Comte's ideas were in many ways an accurate description of shifting analytical strategies. The scientific philosophy exemplified by Comte, however, while it foregrounded the laws of nature as the building blocks of all knowledge, still tended to debase nature by objectifying it as a plenum to be acted upon, controlled and manipulated by humankind.

For the growing number of scholars engaged in the study of myth and folklore, the approach recommended by Ranke and Comte seemed increasingly attractive. As Richard Dorson demonstrates in *The British Folklorists: A History*, the romantic writers' enthusiasm for the inspirational myths and legends of antiquity shaded into a more empiricist approach to the collection and analysis of such material as the nineteenth century advanced. Scott's publication of his *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* at the end of a successful career as a writer of historical novels exemplifies this progression, although it also points to the mixture of rationalism *and* romanticism which influenced the study of myth and folklore, since it is unlikely that Scott's foray into empirical research signalled his wholesale abandonment of the romantic principles which had shaped his work as a novelist. Indeed, the literary flourishes that made him a popular novelist are also a feature of his scholarly treatise, and in this sense his use of language is a clear indication of his commitment to both intellectual paradigms.

Scott's study included a short passage on lycanthropy, which drew from a variety of texts on the subject from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an inclusion which generated further interest in the genealogy of the werewolf. Just two years after the publication of *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, a poem that had been translated from French into English in the thirteenth century was unearthed, edited and published with an explanatory introduction and glossary – a production that also reflected the growth of interest in medieval history that Scott had helped to engender. This edition of the poem was entitled *William and the Werwolf*, although subsequent editions have used the more accurate translation *The Romance of William of Palerne*. Although the werewolf in the story is benevolent, the title page of the first modern edition depicts a woodcut of a werewolf attacking a child (*Figure 1*). The use of this picture, as well as the adaptation of the title to include the word 'werewolf', conflicts with the more sober approach articulated in the introductory notes, presenting another instance in which the empirical impulse to present 'the facts' collided with the desire to allow the poetic imagination free rein.

FIG. 1 Title page woodcut, *William and the Werwolf.*

Despite the fanciful connotations of the title page, the introductory notes to *William and the Werwolf* set the tone for the empirically motivated genealogical studies of the werewolf myth that were to flower between the late 1850s and about 1875. In addition to the introductory comments by the editor, which link the werewolf with the berserker traditions of Norse mythology popularized by Scott as well as referring to an early-modern tract on lycanthropy by the French demonologist Henri Boguet,[28] the book contains a discussion 'On Werewolves' by Algernon Herbert. Although Herbert began his piece with

the disclaimer 'I have not as many conveniences at hand for making researches into the subject as I could wish',[29] his study is a remarkably thorough and meticulously referenced piece of original scholarship. His most important contribution to the development of a mythography of lycanthropy was to provide a comprehensive overview of the werewolf's appearance in classical Greek literature. While a knowledge of Roman literature had been a hallmark of the well-educated individual since the Renaissance, the nineteenth century witnessed a revival of interest in Greek culture, a development that is reflected in the literature on lycanthropy, which had featured regular allusions to Roman literature since the fifteenth century, but which only began to feature discussions of lycanthropy in Greek literature in the nineteenth century, following the publication of Herbert's essay.

Herbert's collation of references from ancient, medieval and early-modern literature provides a comprehensive summary of the sources on lycanthropy available in the 1830s. Subsequent analysts of the werewolf myth habitually established their scholarly credentials by alluding to this material, in keeping with increasingly Rankean standards of research that emphasized the importance of historical documentation. Especially with the expansion of the publishing industry and the increased circulation of printed material, however, such obligatory citation of previous sources began to produce a canonical effect, whereby a certain corpus of material on lycanthropy came to be continually recycled for each new publication. As T.W. Heyck observes, such authorial practices emphasized the 'articulation and diffusion of interpretations of experience to a general public, rather than [the] production of new knowledge',[30] and Sally Shuttleworth suggests that such circulation and dissemination of printed material

> played a crucial role in mid-nineteenth-century society, offering an arena where cultural meanings could be negotiated, and anxieties expressed and explored. In the constant cycle of textual exchange, social images were endorsed and modified, strengthened by repetition, and subtly transformed to suggest new meanings.[31]

Shuttleworth's notion of circulation suggests how influential concepts were reinforced and reified through cycles of repetition. Her

analysis of such processes of 'textual exchange' is thoroughly supported by the patterns of scholarship evident in discussions of the werewolf phenomenon. Explorations of the ancient and early-modern material on lycanthropy in particular were recycled (and often virtually plagiarized) so regularly that Edward Tylor commented in *Primitive Culture* (1871) that '[b]rief mention is enough for the comparatively well-known European representatives of these beliefs ... the European series of details from ancient to modern ages is very complete.'[32]

In the context of widespread confidence in scientific methodology (which involved the systematic collation of data in support of a hypothesis until the weight of evidence 'proved' a theory), the accumulation of 'evidence' effected by such cycles of textual exchange looked like sound scientific practice. Shuttleworth elaborates upon these connections between science and textuality in her discussion of the literary culture that characterized nineteenth-century psychology:

> In a cultural equivalent of the monetary economy, psychological stories were endlessly recirculated between writers, their scientific validity, or credit-worthiness, deriving entirely from their previous appearance in a scientific context, and from the narrative coherence of their presentation.[33]

The formula for creditworthiness outlined by Shuttleworth also applies to nineteenth-century studies of the werewolf. Some 'examples' of cases of lycanthropy were repeated so frequently that, although they resonated only slightly with the mythology of lycanthropy, they came to be closely connected with the werewolf legend. The adoption of Sergeant Bertrand of the 74th regiment in Paris as a 'werewolf' is a case in point.

Sergeant Bertrand was apprehended in July 1849 for digging up and mutilating freshly buried corpses in the cemeteries of Paris. Just months after his case had caused a sensation in the Paris newspapers, Mrs Catherine Crowe (an 'authority' on the supernatural who was also in contact with the early folklorists) appropriated it for her article entitled 'The Lycanthropist' in her *Light and Darkness; or, Mysteries of Life* (subsequently reprinted in *Reynolds's Miscellany*). She drew her account from 'a report of the investigation before a council of war'.[34]

> Supported on crutches, wrapped in a grey cloak, pale and feeble, Bertrand was now brought forward for examination ...
>
> 'What object did you propose to yourself in committing these acts?' inquired the president.
>
> 'I cannot tell,' replied Bertrand: 'it was a horrible impulse. I was driven to it against my own will: nothing could stop or deter me. I cannot describe or understand myself what my sensations were in tearing and rending these bodies.'
>
> *President*. And what did you do after one of these visits to a cemetery?
>
> *Bertrand*. I withdrew, trembling convulsively, feeling a great desire for repose. I fell asleep, no matter where, and slept for several hours; but during this sleep I *heard everything that passed around me!* I have sometimes exhumed from ten to fifteen bodies in a night. I dug them up with my hands, which were often torn and bleeding with the labour I underwent; but I minded nothing, so that I could get at them.[35]

Because of the macabre nature of Bertrand's activities, he was popularly connected with various monstrous forms; indeed, in France, he was frequently imaged in the press as a ghoul or a vampire. Crowe acknowledges these other associations in her conclusion: 'In relating this curious case of the *Vampyre*, as he is called in Paris ... I have said enough to prove that, beyond a doubt, there has been some good foundation for the ancient belief in ghoulism and lycanthropy.'[36] As a result of her article, however, Bertrand's case was drawn into the cycles of repetition that elaborated the werewolf theme.[37] Although he conceded the account to be 'anomalous', Baring-Gould picked up the story in *The Book of Were-wolves*, connecting Bertrand's behaviour with lycanthropy by suggesting that '[t]he fits of exhaustion which followed his accesses are very remarkable, as they precisely resemble those which followed the berserker rages of the Northmen', and later, that the case 'scarcely bears the character of insanity, but seems to point rather to a species of diabolical possession'.[38] Baring-Gould also elaborated upon the horror of the case by detailing Bertrand's desecration of corpses: 'Some he chopped with the spade, others he tore and ripped with his teeth and nails. Sometimes he tore the mouth open and rent the face back to the ears, he opened the stomachs, and pulled off the limbs.'[39]

In 1873, Alexander Young included a discussion of Bertrand in his article on lycanthropy for *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science and Art*, with the disclaimer 'He was not a werewolf, but a human hyena.'[40] By 1875, however, Sergeant Bertrand was sufficiently entrenched in the canon for the essayist Andrew Wynter to declare: 'We look upon this case of Bertrand as a typical instance of lycanthropy in the nineteenth century, and by the light of this case we find a solution of the terrible stories of were-wolves in the past.'[41] By the time Elliot O'Donnell had assumed the role of narrator in his monograph entitled *Werwolves* (1912), Bertrand had acquired supernatural abilities. O'Donnell reported that the custodians of the cemeteries

> declared they saw a strange form, partly human and partly animal, glide about from tomb to tomb. Try how they would they could not catch it – it always vanished – vanished just like a phantom directly they came up to it; and the dogs when urged to seize it would only bark and howl, and show indications of the most abject terror.[42]

O'Donnell concluded his discussion with the confident assertion that there is

> little doubt, from what he himself said, that [Bertrand] was in reality a werwolf. His preference for the society of animals and love of isolated regions; his sudden fallings asleep and sensations of undergoing metamorphosis, though that metamorphosis was spiritual and metaphysical only, which is very often the case, all help to substantiate that belief.[43]

Sergeant Bertrand was by now assured of a place in most thorough accounts of lycanthropy, to the extent that his story was even adapted by Guy Endore for his classic werewolf novel of 1934, *The Werewolf of Paris*, which was in turn used as the basis for the Hammer film company's *The Curse of the Werewolf* (UK, 1960), starring Oliver Reed.

As the case of Bertrand demonstrates, the subject of lycanthropy was explored in various kinds of texts, ranging from scholarly treatises targeting a limited and highly educated audience, through less densely presented articles aimed at a more general readership, to brief, sensational articles in shilling magazines. As a general rule, the writers for the 'lower' end of the market culled material from

the lengthier, more academic works, but the traffic of quotations and material between articles was not always in the direction of 'high' to 'low'. Baring-Gould's populist study of the werewolf, for example, was cited by a range of authors. This volume was essentially a work of synthesis, collating a broad range of material which had already been circulated since the 1830s, and organized around a hypothesis of Baring-Gould's own devising, namely that there is 'an innate craving for blood implanted in certain natures, restrained under ordinary circumstances, but breaking forth occasionally, accompanied with hallucination, leading in most cases to cannibalism'.[44] At one level, his book furnished journalists with anecdotes so vividly described that they scarcely needed to be rewritten for the magazine columns. At another level, his 'careful survey of the field'[45] was respectfully cited in Tylor's germinal anthropological work *Primitive Culture*, Walter W. Skeat's editorial notes to the 1867 edition of *The Romance of William of Palerne*, the American historian John Fiske's synthesis of a variety of intellectual approaches to lycanthropy, and Kirby Smith's overview of the werewolf in literature, published in *PMLA* in 1894. The ease with which Baring-Gould's work was absorbed into such a variety of contexts reinforces Shuttleworth's point about the importance of circulation and repetition in nineteenth-century textual economies, and suggests how a scientific approach (such as the production of a hypothesis) could assure the widespread acceptance of an author's work.

Clive Leatherdale suggests in *The Origins of Dracula* that Baring-Gould was also an influence upon Stoker, by speculating that Stoker's description of Dracula's 'pointed ears', and 'broad hands with squat fingers' complete with 'hairs in the centre of the palm' was lifted directly from a passage in Baring-Gould's *The Book of Were-wolves*.[46] Leatherdale also speculates that Stoker's decision to make Dracula a Transylvanian count was quite probably influenced by Baring-Gould's account of the serial killings perpetrated by the Hungarian countess Elizabeth Bathory.[47] Additionally, a chapter of Stoker's novel which his publishers asked him to delete, and which was published in *The Story Teller* as 'Walpurgis Night' in May 1914 and later in the same year as

a short story entitled 'Dracula's Guest', contains material even more suggestive of Stoker's debt to Baring-Gould. Jonathan Harker, on his way to the count's castle, is stranded in snow, and kept warm during the night by a wolf – a wolf which the soldiers he meets the following day describe as '"A wolf – and yet not a wolf!" ... "No use trying for him without a sacred bullet."'[48] The story suggests that the wolf was Dracula himself in lupine form, testifying further to Baring-Gould's influence upon Stoker. Indeed, although the vampire has generally enjoyed greater popularity than the werewolf since the publication of *Dracula*, this was not always the case. Baring-Gould's *The Book of Were-wolves* was originally intended as 'the first of a series on Popular Superstitions, to be followed by Treatises on Marine Monsters, as Mermaids and Sea-Serpents, Vampires, the Wild Huntsman, the Wandering Jew, &c' – the selection of the werewolf for the inaugural monograph indicating that Baring-Gould considered it to be the most potent and compelling image in this list.[49]

The use of Baring-Gould's work by such a diversity of other writers was indicative of the fact that patterns of authorship, scholarship and even language-use were in flux when *The Book of Were-wolves* was published in 1865. Baring-Gould himself belonged to a class of writers identified by Heyck as the 'men of letters' (although some were women) that dominated the dissemination of texts 'for sale to the public through a market system' between the 1830s and about 1870.[50] He was also a clergyman (and the author of the hymn 'Onward Christian Soldiers') – a role that complemented his literary pursuits, as it was characteristic of such writers to frame their material in the context of a contemporary moral or political issue. As Heyck points out, the 'men of letters' were primarily moralizers and reformers.[51] Certainly, articles about lycanthropy were frequently framed in terms of a moral issue; the material relating to the early-modern werewolf trials, for example, was a popular subject until about 1880, because it presented a bloody historical scenario against which enlightened nineteenth-century values could be extolled.[52] Similarly, a connection between Sergeant Bertrand's mania and his consumption of alcohol was stressed by both Baring-Gould and Young, the latter concluding

his 1873 article by commenting that '[t]here is no more important duty for our reformers than to take care that vice and ignorance do not produce those were-wolves of modern civilization who gnash their teeth and glare at us from behind prison-bars or the grated windows of lunatic asylums.'[53]

The language of reason and morality, however, often contrasted glaringly with the same writers' apparent relish for sensational material. Charles Dickens gave characteristically perceptive expression to these contradictions in a letter to his partner regarding the editorial policy of *Household Words*, writing that the material they printed should be '"extraordinary", "romantic", or "remarkable", a guide to public opinion and "as amusing as possible, but all distinctly and boldly going to what in one's own view ought to be the spirit of the people and the time".'[54] Just as Dickens seemed to propose, sage cautions about corporeal indulgence or emotional excess were frequently intermingled with lavish descriptions of melodramatic deeds or murderous atrocities. Young's moralizing conclusion to his article, for example, concludes several columns of explicitly described abominations, couched in the most colourful and emotive language.[55]

Other moralists were more doggedly opposed to the circulation of sensation literature, but even they found themselves resorting to the very tropes they sought to discredit. As Ann Cvetkovich notes, use of the metaphor of 'appetite' for the attraction to sensation was not uncommon amongst its critics, a representation which suggested that 'the sensation novel is deplorable because it reduces its readers to the condition of animals who are driven by instincts.'[56] Echoes of the type of monstrosity embodied by the werewolf consequently found their way into characterizations of the readers of sensation literature, as in H.L. Mansel's 'Sensation Novels' (1863), published in *Quarterly Review*, which argued that '[t]here is something unspeakably disgusting in this ravenous appetite for carrion, this vulture-like instinct which smells out the newest mass of social corruption, and hurries to devour the loathsome dainty before the scent has evaporated.'[57] Imagery of the werewolf was even more pronounced in J. Greenwood's characterization of the writer or publisher of sensation literature.

> [H]e is such a mangy, ill-looking cur, offensive alike to the nose and to the touch, all decent people shrink away from him. ... [he] grins to himself as they give him the path, and permit him to continue his career of ravening and rending. He must be discovered in the act of mauling one of our little ones before we are moved to take hold of the brute and strangle him.
>
> Now, it may be fearlessly asserted that there never lived an animal of prey of uglier type than this two-legged creature, who poisons the minds of little children to make his bread. Never a more dangerous one, for his manginess is hidden under a sleek and glossy coat, and lips of seeming innocence conceal his cruel teeth. His subtlety, too, is more than canine. ... Beware of him, O careful parents of little lads! He is as cunning as the fabled vampire. Already he may have bitten your little rosy-cheeked son Jack.[58]

A string of words and phrases in this passage are persistently suggestive of the werewolf, and the allusion to the vampire that is tacked on to the end foreshadows the tendency furthered by Stoker to mingle vampiric imagery with that of the werewolf.

The expression of concerns about morality and self-control in such lavishly sensational language again suggests the perpetuation of a romantic sensibility in the nineteenth century. In particular, the use of colourful prose manifested a lingering penchant for the stylistic mannerisms of romantic writing. Despite Ranke's cautions against authorial ornamentation, many authors still wanted to *write*, more in the style of Jules Michelet, the romantic historian (and rival of Ranke) who, as Roland Barthes suggests, '*writes*, instead of simply "reporting", "chronicling", etc.'[59] The werewolf image, with its deep mythological roots and connections with fear, anxiety and insanity, was often explored in the kind of language favoured by Michelet, who excelled in the expression of the emotional or affective forces of history. As Rankean empiricism continued to shade into positivist faith in the absolute explanatory potential of science, however, the type of language that carried authority began to change, and stylistic or emotive affectations came to be viewed as problematic and, indeed, unscientific.

This shift was connected with manifold developments in the structure and social function of the universities from about mid-century. Various

fields of scholarship began to be professionalized, resulting in the differentiation and consolidation of diverse academic disciplines and the rise of the professional, specializing intellectual. As a result of this process, new hierarchies of authority began to emerge which accorded the highest respect to those texts produced by professional academics. These writers actively encouraged recognition of their own authority. They were involved in the creation of specialist journals and societies devoted to the publication of discipline-related material, which tended to reduce the authority of more generalist publications and exclude the work of amateur scholars. Further, the various emerging disciplines embraced a strongly scientific ethos, which encouraged a 'recording' style of writing, as opposed to the more 'literary' style of the amateur scholars and journalists.

In the context of such shifts in linguistic and authorial standards, the mingling of romantic language, moral instruction and scientific intent in Baring-Gould's monograph on the werewolf can be understood as a direct reflection of the transitional period in which it was published. The merging of so many paradigms in his study also suggests why it proved to be a popular resource among such a diversity of other writers. Even the process by which the authority of such writers as Baring-Gould was eventually undermined by the academic establishment can be observed in the reception of his book. Although a pioneering academic such as Tylor (who conducted his most groundbreaking research independently, and was only later offered a Readership in Anthropology by Oxford University) made polite reference to Baring-Gould's study, it was less warmly received by George W. Cox, who devoted a special appendix on the subject of lycanthropy in his *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations* to the complaint that 'much of the evidence adduced by Mr. Gould is really no evidence at all.'[60] Although Cox, like Baring-Gould, was a clergyman, his dogged commitment to the ideas of Oxford professor Max Müller and corresponding rejection of Baring-Gould's scholarship were signs that hierarchies of authorial prestige were beginning to change. As Stefan Collini argues in *Public Moralists* (1991), 'Intellectual distinction was becoming increasingly a matter of "scholarship", and scholarship was becoming increasingly an academic activity.'[61]

The development of the field of folklore research can illustrate the shifts in textual authority that occurred as a result of changes in writing practice related to the growth of the universities. Many of the works that built the discipline contained sections on lycanthropy, and the use of language and themes in these passages chronicles the birth of the modern disciplines of anthropology, comparative literature and linguistics. The early folklorists were 'literati' or 'men of letters', and were influenced by the lyricism of the romantics. As the philosophy of science gained credence, however, folklorists sought to orientate their work within an increasingly scientific framework. In his Preface to *Choice Notes from 'Notes and Queries': Folk Lore* (1858) – a selection of work from the journal in which the methodology of folklore research was largely elaborated – William Thoms expressed the hope that 'the study of folklore would rise from a pleasant pastime to a science'.[62]

The development of folklore research from a 'pleasant pastime' into a 'science' can be traced through the literature on lycanthropy. Although knowledge of ancient werewolf myths and the early-modern werewolf trials was already well established by the 1830s, relatively little information about the werewolf in folk-tale traditions or mythological systems other than those of Greece and Rome had been collected. In 1843, for example, an article in the *Anglo-American* could only state:

> The wolf is an animal well known on our continent. But he is only known in his natural shape and condition. In Europe, on the contrary, the inhabitants of those countries, in which he abounds, have been in the habit of supposing that the fiercest wolves are men, transformed by magic into that shape for the purpose of devouring their fellows, or, at least, their flocks and herds.[63]

The author wondered about the occurrence of lycanthropy in 'the interior parts of Asia', stating that it would 'be desirable, if any one, conversant with their opinions and habits, would make it known to us, whether any, and what, similar ideas are to be found among those savage communities. Any such communication would be gladly inserted.'[64] By 1846, the term 'folk-lore' had been coined in the journal *Athenaeum*, and interest in the subject was expanding rapidly, but until about

1850 most of the werewolf folklore cited regularly was still derived from literature. After mid-century, however, research expanded into diverse cultural and geographical areas. By 1865, Baring-Gould could write in his introduction to *The Book of Were-wolves* that, in addition to presenting material deriving from the literature and history of the ancient, medieval and early-modern traditions, 'I shall give a sketch of modern folklore relating to Lycanthropy.'[65] His chapters on 'The Werewolf of the North', 'The Origin of the Scandinavian Werewolf' and 'Folklore Relating to Werewolves' drew together the references to werewolves that had already appeared in a number of recent folklore collections categorized on a regional basis.[66] Subsequent articles on lycanthropy were also able to cull material from monographs which appeared relating to Turkey, Russia, Eastern Europe and further afield; an 1883 article in *All the Year Round*, for example, was in large part a methodical summary of the references to lycanthropy in a variety of these texts.[67] A number of fictional representations of the werewolf reflected this pattern of outward expansion; for most of the century, werewolf tales tended to be set in France, Germany or Italy, but gradually writers began to set their narratives as far afield as Russia (Gilbert Campbell, Fred Whishaw) Scandinavia (Clemence Housman), India (Rudyard Kipling), the West Indies (Eden Phillpotts) and America (Mary Catherwood, H. Beaugrand).[68]

Such accounts generally pitched 'strange' local or indigenous values and beliefs against the 'familiar' tenets of Western rationalism, usually in a way that constituted the former as a threat to the latter. Emily Gerard's description of a botanist's encounter with a group of Transylvanian peasants who believed him to be a werewolf illustrates this dynamic:

> This superstition once proved nearly fatal to a harmless botanist, who, while collecting plants on a hillside many years ago, was observed by some peasants, and, in consequence of his crouching attitude, mistaken for a wolf. Before they had time to reach him, however, he had risen to his feet and disclosed himself in the form of a man; but this in the mind of the Roumanians, who now regarded him as an aggravated case of wolf, was but additional motive for attacking him. They were quite sure that he must be a *prikolitsch* [werewolf], for only such could change his

> shape in this unaccountable manner, and in another minute they were all in full cry after the wretched victim of science, who might have fared badly indeed had he not succeeded in gaining a carriage on the highroad before his pursuers came up.[69]

The 'mistaken werewolf' idea in fact became a regular motif in Victorian fiction. These narratives would generally involve an individual pretending to be a werewolf amongst credulous peasants (or peasants persecuting an individual they supposed to be a werewolf). The situation would be resolved through the rational explanation of the 'objective' protagonist or narrator.[70]

While the early folklorists' monographs were generally collections of material from a designated area, the urge towards the more scientific *analysis* of folklore came to fruition in 1856 with the publication of Max Müller's essay 'Comparative Mythology'. Müller held a professorship at Oxford, but he had been schooled in the German tradition of philological mythology founded by the Brothers Grimm, a tradition characterized by an emphasis upon the role of language in the evolution of folklore and mythology. Basing his theory upon a knowledge of Sanskrit, Müller postulated that myths are born from 'a disease of language'. Dorson summarizes his argument succinctly:

> All the Indo-European peoples belonged to a common Aryan stock; after the migration of the European groups from their Indic homeland, the parent language, and the mythology it related, splintered into various offshoots. A time came when the original meanings of the names of the Vedic gods [those deities described in the Veda, an ancient Sanskrit text] were forgotten, and survived only in mythical phrases and proverbs of uncertain sense. Stories then developed to explain these phrases. From this 'disease of language' myths were born.[71]

The task of the comparative mythologist, then, was to sift through mythological systems in search of linguistic and thematic clues which would indicate the origins and genealogy of the myth, and which would explain the relationships between apparently diverse stories. Müller himself believed that the primary subject of early mythology (and hence all subsequent mythology) was the rising and setting of the sun, which is why his approach was sometimes referred to as 'solar mythology':

> I look upon the sunrise and sunset, on the daily return of day and night, on the battle between light and darkness, on the whole solar drama in all its details that is acted every day, every month, every year, in heaven and in earth, as the principal subject of early mythology.[72]

Müller's ideas provided folklorists with the totalizing system their research had so far lacked, conferring upon the discipline a more thoroughly 'scientific' methodology in the form of an overarching hypothesis. The extent to which the 'science' of Comparative Mythology came to operate as a school of research can be extrapolated from a passage by Angelo de Gubernatis, an Italian professor of Sanskrit who published *Zoological Mythology, or The Legends of Animals* in English, probably because the emerging discipline was centred around Müller in England.[73]

> We do not invent; we simply accumulate, and then put in order the facts relating to the common history of popular thought and sentiment in our privileged race. The difficulty consists only in classifying the facts; the facts themselves are many and evident. ... I may have here and there made an unlucky venture in interpreting some particular myths; but if this may, in some degree, reflect discredit on my intelligence ... this can in nowise prejudice the fundamental truths which permit comparative mythology to constitute and install itself as a positive science, that may henceforth, like every science, instruct and edify with profit.[74]

A number of discussions of the werewolf myth emulated Müller's methodology; Baring-Gould, for example, was clearly influenced by his ideas, writing that 'natural phenomena gave rise to mythological stories, and ... these stories have gradually deteriorated, and have been degraded into vulgar superstitions.'[75] Baring-Gould's study was not single-mindedly dedicated to the exposition of Müller's ideas, however, leading Cox to accuse him of poor scholarship. Cox adhered more closely to Müller's formula, explaining lycanthropy as a myth that arose from a 'confusion between Leukos, brilliant, and Lukos, a wolf', which 'produces the myth of Lycâon and possibly all the modern superstitions of Lykanthropy.'[76] Walter Kelly also followed in the style of Müller, except that he preferred the insights of the celestial school of mythology. This approach also assumed that myths evolved from

the 'disease of language' deriving from Sanskrit, but its primarily German exponents asserted that the subject of mythology was meteorological phenomena, particularly lightning, rather than the sun. Kelly introduced this interpretation of mythology to the British with his *Curiosities of Indo-European Tradition and Folk Lore*, published in 1863. Because this work made the theory accessible by relating it to British folklore, it proved more influential than the rather fatiguing prose of Müller.[77] Chapter nine of Kelly's book was entitled 'The Werewolf', and most of his material was drawn from Wilhelm Hertz's *Der Werwolf. Beitrag zur Sagengeschichte* (1862). The celestial explanation for the werewolf stems from the mythological association of wolves with howling winds. In Vedic mythology,

> The Maruts and other beings who were busy in the storm assumed various shapes. The human form was proper to many or all of them ... and it would have been a very natural thought, when a storm broke out suddenly, that one or more of those people of the air had been turned into wolves for the occasion.[78]

The reduction of all the variants of a myth to a solar or meteorological motif in these ways tended to dismiss as extraneous or incidental the imaginative embellishments that had clustered around these stories over time. The creative ingenuity of successive cultures was stripped away to expose the myth in its oldest and barest form. Viewing the poetic artistry of myths as an aberration caused by shifting linguistic structures was an approach that rejected romantic values in favour of the logic of 'natural' structures and laws. By squeezing the spiritual and creative expressions of humanity into a scientific model based on the conception of a natural law ('the disease of language') comparative mythologists participated in the institutionalization of scientific philosophy as the preferred mode of explanation in mid- to late-nineteenth-century intellectual culture.

Edward Tylor, traditionally considered the patriarch of modern anthropology, was another scholar influenced by Müller's ideas. Tylor's innovation was to introduce an ethnological and evolutionary dimension to the reading of myth. Tylor believed that Müller's 'disease of

language' could be used to decipher 'primitive' cultures and explain human evolutionary development from the 'savage' through to the 'healthy prosaic modern citizen'.[79] By extending Müller's approach to include mythologies deriving from societies that had not developed a literary culture, he was able to turn his attention to the oral traditions of folklore. As a consequence of this focus, he identified 'metempsychosis' or the idea 'that a man's soul may go out of his body and enter that of a beast or bird, and ... that men may be transformed into animals' as the consistent idea linking manifestations of the werewolf belief in all societies and ages.[80] Tylor saw such folk legends as the surviving remnants of ancient mythological systems, and utilized the concept of 'survival in culture' to explain their importance. The survival of mythic fragments could illuminate aspects of history and 'confirm the broad theory of development, as opposed to the theory of degeneration.'[81] He argued that humanity had long been advancing through various stages of barbarism to civilization, and that the survival and occasional outburst of relics from these past stages of development were proof of the general advancement of humankind.

In this way, Tylor synthesized the folklorists' work and furthered the perception of folklore research as an empirical science. His notion of 'survival in culture' based on evolutionary theory was to shape the methods of folklorists well into the twentieth century; the Folk-Lore Society, founded in 1878 and including Andrew Lang among its members, was to champion this idea. Eventually, the anthropological folklorists would supersede the school of comparative mythologists, largely as a result of Lang's invectives against Müller, but the two approaches coexisted in the 1870s, as evidenced by Charles Hardwick's essay 'Werewolves and the Transmigration of Souls' (1872), which presented the insights of the solar and celestial mythologists alongside Tylor's notion of metempsychosis.[82] The nineteenth-century American historian John Fiske was also influenced by the approaches of both Müller and Tylor and attempted to synthesise their insights with his own in his 1871 discussion of the werewolf. Fiske sought to combine comparative mythology with a historical approach, stating, 'It is the business of the comparative mythologist to trace the pedigree of the

ideas from which such a conception may have sprung, while to the critical historian belongs the task of ascertaining and classifying the actual facts which this particular conception was used to interpret.'[83] By using the laws of comparative mythology as the framework for his history of the werewolf superstition, Fiske was attempting to produce a 'scientific history' through 'the application to the historical process of general laws similar to those of the natural sciences'.[84]

The 1909 publication of an article entitled 'The Origin of the Werewolf Superstition' by Caroline Taylor Stewart, published in *The University of Missouri Studies: Social Science Series*, in many ways represented a culmination of the developments that can be observed in literature about werewolves. Stewart was Assistant Professor of Germanic Languages at the University of Missouri, an indication that scholarship about the origins of myth had become the concern of professional academics. No trace of romantic embellishment interrupts her careful presentation of the data supporting her hypothesis. Introducing her discussion with the claim that '[t]he origin of this werewolf superstition has not been satisfactorily explained', Stewart proceeded to argue that the werewolf myth arose from the practice amongst early humans of donning animal skins.[85] For her,

> the werewolf superstition went through various stages of development. The motives for assuming wolf's dress (or animal skins or robes), at first were purely peaceful, for protection against cold, and to secure food by acting as decoys; then it was used for personal advantage or gain by foragers (or robbers) and spies; then for purposes of vengeance; later from a desire for power over others; and finally men (the professional and the superstitious) began to concoct fabulous stories which were handed down as tradition or myth, according to the psychic level of the narrator or hearer.[86]

The intellectual legacy of both Müller and Tylor is apparent in Stewart's analysis, in the combination of data deriving from the anthropological study of 'primitive' culture with an interest in the evolution of language and myth. Stewart's positioning as a professional scholar, the appearance of her article in a university-based journal dedicated to the publication of professional scholarship in the field of social science,

her style of writing, and the intellectual traditions to which she was indebted are all indications of the shifts which had taken place in the culture of scholarship over the course of the nineteenth century. Articulated through a complex process of circulation and repetition, science had come to operate as the only acceptable paradigm for serious scholarship.

The increasing utilization of scientific concepts and language in nineteenth-century texts about lycanthropy provides clear evidence of the process by which science was installed as a hegemonic mode of explanation during this period. Particularly from the middle of the century, considerable energy was devoted to the production of 'scientific' explanations of lycanthropy, most of which stressed its origins in primitive, superstitious societies which were temporally, spatially or culturally removed from the modern period. Such explanations worked to separate strategically the social group involved in producing, circulating and reading these texts from the realm associated with the 'lower' (superstitious, plebeian, corporeal, bestial, instinctive or 'natural') conditions of existence, where lycanthropy was generally situated. When contests developed over which members of this social group should be accorded the highest authority, science once again emerged as the mode that would give one author the discursive edge over another.

As Alex Owen has demonstrated, even the occult and psychical researchers associated with spiritualism (a movement often portrayed as a counterculture which challenged the assumptions of nineteenth-century scientism) tended to foreground their use of scientific reasoning. The spiritualist movement flourished between about 1860 and 1880 (at the same moment that folklore research was at its height), and it was characterized by a mixture of scepticism towards and commitment to the approaches of rational science. C.W. Leadbeater's introduction to a discussion of lycanthropy as a form of astral projection, for example, argued that

> It has been the fashion of this century to scoff at what are called the foolish superstitions of the ignorant peasantry; but ... the occult student finds on careful examination that obscure or forgotten truths of nature

> lie behind what at first sight appears mere nonsense, and he learns to be cautious in rejecting as well as cautious in accepting.[87]

Adolphe D'Assier's introduction to his explanation of lycanthropy as the materialization of the 'fluidic being' follows an almost identical format to Leadbeater's passage:

> [The werewolf], perhaps the most obscure of the manifestations of the fluidic being, long seemed to me so utterly unreasonable that ... I turned over without reading the pages that treated on this theme, and I gave but a very inattentive hearing to what was told me about these singular metamorphoses. If I decide to speak of it now, it is because it would not be wise to oppose a systematic denial to a multitude of facts reputed authentic which corroborate each other.[88]

Such friction between a conceptualization of the universe as a mystically indissoluble whole and a more materialist conceptualization of the universe as organized by a series of natural laws governing matter and form constituted one of the major intellectual problems of the nineteenth century. Other discussions of lycanthropy also balanced the certainties of natural laws against speculation about the supernatural aspect of the myth. Fiske, for example, wrote that the belief in lycanthropy 'is supported by a vast amount of evidence, which can neither be argued nor pooh-poohed into insignificance'.[89] While commentators rarely assumed that transformation into a wolf was actually possible, they frequently suggested that belief in or experience of lycanthropy was not entirely explicable in terms of empirical science; as Tylor wrote, 'The origin of this idea is by no means sufficiently explained.'[90] In short, texts about werewolves were never entirely free of the sense of romantic wonder and Gothic horror that scientific modes of explanation strove so energetically to dispel.

The hesitancy that haunted even the driest mid-century discussions of lycanthropy blossomed into full-blown anxiety in the *fin de siècle*, primarily in the context of the spread of degeneration theory. Degenerationist discourse grew directly out of the theory of evolution, and gained increasing currency in the 1870s and 1880s. In essence, degeneration theorists argued that while Darwinian theory seemed

to advance notions of the inexorable progress of civilization, it also implied the possibility of degeneracy, or atavism; if humanity had evolved from the animal kingdom, it was conceivable that it could regress in the same direction. Certainly, Charles Darwin himself had presaged such an interpretation of his ideas, when he wrote that certain actions, such as 'the bristling of hair under the influence of extreme terror, or the uncovering of the teeth under that of furious rage' should be understood 'on the belief that man once existed in a much lower and animal-like condition [*sic*].'[91] Writers on the subject of lycanthropy were quick to recognize the implications of such statements. The overarching idea in Fiske's essay, for example, is the notion that the werewolf myth might be explained in terms of degeneration theory.

In this sense, the focus on science remained strong in the late nineteenth century, but it was a haunted science, the science of degeneration theorists, of spiritualists and occultists, and, increasingly, scientists of the human psyche. Meanwhile, a resurgent Gothic literature was equally obsessed with the discourses of science. As Kelly Hurley has observed, 'the end-of-century Gothic is a genre thoroughly imbricated with biology and social medicine',[92] and other critics have noted the particular significance of Gothic to the development of psychiatry in the twentieth century.[93] Sigmund Freud was certainly alert to the convergences between Gothic and scientific traditions in his work, writing that 'the poets and philosophers before me discovered the unconscious. What I discovered was the scientific method by which the unconscious can be studied.'[94] And further: 'it strikes me myself as strange that the case histories I write should read like short stories and that, as one might say, they lack the serious stamp of science.'[95] Certainly, Freud's 'cases' resonated with the 'cases' of the fictional detectives who flourished contemporaneously in the hands of writers such as Conan Doyle.

The figure of the detective emerged from the *fin de siècle* Gothic tradition, with its focus on the boundaries between the known and the unknown; according to Hurley, *fin de siècle* Gothic was populated by 'scientist-protagonists (doctors, psychologists, chemists, anthropologists, natural historians) ... hesitating between scientific and occultist

accountings of inexplicable events.[96] In the twentieth century, argues William Day, such figures began to shade into the figure of the detective, who focuses 'on the restoration of order and meaning rather than on the steady disintegration of identity and the absolute instability of the world in which the characters live';[97] and science was the strategy by which such ordering was attempted.[98] Certainly, following the efforts of Freud and his colleagues to present their investigations of the psyche as science, detectives specializing in 'psychic' matters emerged in the realm of fiction.

Algernon Blackwood pioneered the 'psychic detective' in his 1908 collection, an anthology of detective stories entitled *John Silence*. Dr John Silence was modelled on the figure of Freud and uses psychoanalytic concepts; indeed, Jefferson Hunter argues that the book introduced psychoanalysis to Edwardian society.[99] Silence is also schooled in the secrets of the seance, hypnotism, telepathy, astral travel, spiritualism and all the other phenomena that had led to scientific theorizations of the unconscious. The final story in the *John Silence* collection is 'The Camp of the Dog', a tale about a werewolf, explained by the doctor as a form of astral projection that arises due to unfulfilled desires. A young man experiencing unrequited love on a camping trip in the wilds gives unconscious expression to his desires by projecting his Double in the form of a wolf that seeks out the woman he loves. The woman in fact returns his love, but does not realize this at a conscious level. As the doctor states: 'If only they both come to realise [their love] in their normal waking states his Double will cease these nocturnal excursions. He will be cured, and at rest.'[100] Here, the psychoanalytic approach provides a rational or scientific explanation for an apparently supernatural phenomenon.

The psychic detective became a regular personage in fiction up until the Second World War, although conflicts with supernatural forces such as ghosts and demons were increasingly foregrounded over psychological problems of the type explored by Blackwood. Jules de Grandin, for example, the French psychic detective created by Seabury Quinn (the most prolific author of werewolf stories in this period), was represented as an occultist rather than a psychoanalyst. Both approaches, however,

foregrounded a 'whodunnit' logic, a convention that gave structure to the novels about werewolves that proliferated in the early twentieth century,[101] and which persists in the werewolf subgenre to this day.[102] In such narratives, the detective investigates until the identity of the werewolf is exposed, and the investigation often entails convincing more sceptical protagonists that a werewolf is not 'beyond physical possibility'.[103] The increasing emphasis on the psychic detective's specialized knowledge of and technical skill in dealing with psychic or occult matters also reflected the rise of the 'expert' within modernity, a trend that had been foreshadowed by the struggles between 'men of letters' and a growing cohort of professional academics. If engineers, surgeons and other technocrats were now seen as authorities capable of providing solutions to the practical problems of modern life, the psychic detective was positioned as a troubleshooter dedicated to correcting the more metaphysical problems of modernity.

In their aggrandisement of rational logic, their drive to explain all things scientifically, and their fascinated hostility to the nightmarish forces of chaos and uncertainty, detective stories replayed familiar ambivalence about the nature of reality. Such fiction articulated, once again, that hesitancy about the explanatory powers of science that had troubled nineteenth-century scholars. As one fictional character remarks, 'It is not fear, but uncertainty, which disrupts the thinking faculties; if we can settle our doubts, even for the worst, the danger is past, for we can then find relief.'[104] Such equivocation is charted in Eden Phillpotts's novel of 1937 with considerable sophistication, in a narrative that is presented in two parts. In the first section, the story unfolds towards a conclusion that implies that a lycanthropic transformation has taken place. It is suggested that there are some things that cannot be explained scientifically: 'the wave of materialism, rampant in the nineteenth century, has subsided. We are at a pause. Science has told us what may be expected on a physical basis and it can do no more for the moment.'[105] The second section, narrated by a previously unimportant character who now reveals himself to be an undercover sleuth, re-examines the previous narrative to demonstrate that the apparently supernatural events were in fact the result of foul play.

Phillpotts's skilful manipulation of the werewolf theme foregrounds the equivocation that had come to characterize the subject of lycanthropy. By exposing the werewolf's unique proclivity for articulating uncertainty about the limitations of materialist explanations, the text also hints at the interdependence of monstrosity and modernity. A number of scholars have considered the 'modernity' of monsters, arguing that the 'monstrous' or 'spectral' element that haunted scientific discourse despite all attempts to dispel it was due to the processes by which rational science worked to describe 'reality'. As the following chapter demonstrates, the 'real' is seen within such frameworks to be constructed through the denial or exclusion of certain material, which 'returns' in uncanny forms such as monsters, to unsettle 'reality'. This logic suggests that the supernatural or the Gothic is a side effect of the process by which reality is produced.

Slavoj Žižek takes such theorizing further, by arguing that the stuff of Gothic is in fact central to formations of the 'real': 'There is no reality without the spectre; ... the circles of reality can be closed only by means of an uncanny spectral supplement.'[106] Following this logic, 'reality' is always a social fiction, incapable of wholly 'covering' the real, because there is always an element that is repressed, which then manifests in spectral form to 'complete' social reality (and for Žižek, this repressed element is the only real). In this sense, the various 'explanations' of lycanthropy modelled competing versions of 'reality'; and competition between various exponents was a competition for a 'neutral' ground from which the real could be described and observed. But that ground remained elusive, because the repressed real, given shape through the supernatural, the spectre – the werewolf – remained perpetually outside the 'reality' that was quested after. And as the werewolf kept coming back, so uncertainty grew about the explanatory power of rational science.

2

Upright citizens on all fours

In recent times, the Gothic has been read primarily as a discourse about identity and/or subjectivity, a reading that has emerged from a theoretical focus on the ways in which the Self is constructed through processes of 'Othering'. Such theoretical work has represented a convergence of Enlightenment and romantic concerns; on the one hand, the focus on identity formation maintains an Enlightenment emphasis upon the individual's relationship to society and community; and on the other, the focus on subject formation perpetuates the romantic emphasis on inner experience. Within this body of scholarship, however, the sociological category of 'identity' and the psychological category of 'subjectivity' are frequently conflated, a circumstance which makes it difficult to ascertain how the two categories are related.

The werewolf is uniquely positioned to describe and clarify this relationship, because it is implicated in processes of identity formation *and* subject formation. In the first place, like other Gothic monsters, the werewolf has been thoroughly constructed as an alien 'other' threatening the social body; the negative of a normalized social identity. As Judith Halberstam puts it, 'the Gothic monster represents many answers to the question of who must be removed from the community at

large.'[1] Certainly, in the nineteenth century, the creative practices that generated monsters were closely related to the imaginative processes that located corruption in certain parts of the community, and the description of marginalized groups often employed the language of monstrosity.

For example, lycanthropy was often presented as a threat emanating from the underclasses. The depiction of these classes in terms of an animal physiognomy was not uncommon in nineteenth-century discourse; Henry Mayhew, for instance, asserted that street people were notable for a 'greater development of the animal than of the intellectual or moral nature of man ... for their high cheeks and protruding jaws'.[2] Representations of the werewolf drew from a similar descriptive vocabulary. In his 1865 monograph on the werewolf, Sabine Baring-Gould characterized Gilles Garnier, a peasant accused of lycanthropy in the sixteenth century, as 'a sombre, ill-looking fellow, who walked in a stooping attitude, and whose pale face, livid complexion, and deep-set eyes under a pair of coarse and bushy brows, which met across the forehead, were sufficient to repel anyone from seeking his acquaintance.'[3] The journalist and essayist Andrew Wynter paraphrased Baring-Gould's account in an 1875 article on lycanthropy, adding 'the story affords a good example of the class of people who were seized with this horrible epidemic', to ensure that no one missed the point.[4] Representations of lycanthropy were not, however, confined to visualizations of lower-class werewolves in the nineteenth century. Depictions of aristocratic lycanthropy drew upon middle-class narratives about the decay of the nobility in contrast to bourgeois vitality, as a passage from a novella by M.M. Erckmann-Chatrian illustrates. Narrated by a middle-class interloper, the tale relates the tragic curse of a noble family.

> [T]he sight that met my eyes made the blood run chill as snow in my veins. The lord of Nideck, crouching on all fours upon his bed, with his arms bending forward, his head carried low, his eyes glaring with fierce fires, was uttering loud, protracted howlings!
>
> He was the wolf!
>
> That low receding forehead, that sharp-pointed face, that foxy-looking beard, bristling off both cheeks; the long meagre figure, the sinewy

> limbs, the face, the cry, the attitude, declared the presence of a wild beast half-hidden, half-revealed under a human mask![5]

As the countries of continental Europe competed for regional influence, military superiority, economic markets and colonial outposts, as the United States grew increasingly powerful and independent, and as power struggles in the colonies multiplied, the werewolf was also constructed as alien through its depiction as a stranger from a foreign country. In English literature throughout the nineteenth century, werewolves were characterized as continental Europeans – from France, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia or Eastern Europe – in keeping with the werewolf's historic origins in the myth and folklore of these regions. Baring-Gould, for example, referred to the 'dark olive' complexion of one lycanthrope,[6] and Clemence Housman established the foreign origins of her werewolf by the way the character speaks: 'Her words came a little slowly and deliberately, as though she spoke in a scarce familiar tongue; now and then she hesitated, and stopped in a phrase, as though for lack of some word.'[7] In the context of imperial expansion, such representational strategies also encompassed notions of racial rather than ethnic difference. In a short story of 1898, for example, H. Beaugrand constructed a hierarchy of lycanthropic degeneracy, positioning Native American werewolves (or *loups-garous*, in the French language) at the bottom of the scale.

> White loups-garous are bad enough at any time ... But we had to deal with Indian renegades, who had accepted the sacraments only in mockery, and who had never since performed any of the duties commanded by the Church. They are the worst loups-garous that one can meet, because they are constantly intent on capturing some misguided Christian, to drink his blood and to eat his flesh in their horrible *fricots*.[8]

Predictably enough, representations of the werewolf as a threat to the social body were also frequently characterized by a focus on the susceptibility of women to the affliction. Especially in the latter part of the century, the emergence of the New Woman, the 'androgyne', and the women's suffrage movement incited considerable alarm about sexuality, gender differences and reproduction. Representations of

pathologized or demonic femininity proliferated in response to such developments, and the female werewolves of nineteenth-century fiction were no exception. Demonic women were usually young, beautiful, foreign and dangerous, intent upon the deception and destruction of husbands, lovers and other unsuspecting men. In the literature of female lycanthropy, such representations were recapitulated so frequently that it is possible to identify a cliché developing, in the penchant of lycanthropic *femmes fatales* for vestments of white fur.[9] Invariably, such women would emerge mysteriously from the forest or wilderness to enchant an unlucky man. The appearance of the werewolf Ravina in Gilbert Campbell's 'The White Wolf of Kostopchin' (1889) is emblematic:

> As the bushes divided, a fair woman, wrapped in a mantle of soft white fur, with a fantastically-shaped travelling cap of green velvet upon her head, stood before them. She was exquisitely fair, and her long Titian red hair hung in dishevelled masses over her shoulders. ... As if moved by a spring, Paul stepped forward and mechanically raised his cap.[10]

Paul loses his heart to Ravina, in the literal sense. Other men are destroyed in different ways by their encounters with these enigmatic creatures. A tale from Frederick Marryat's *The Phantom Ship* (1839) tells of a father who contracts brain fever and dies raving mad, cursed for shooting his wife after catching her as she devoured the remains of his daughter.[11] The hero of Eric Stenbock's 'The Other Side' (1893) escapes with his life, but 'once a year for nine days a strange madness comes over him'.[12] In Housman's 'The Were-Wolf' (1896), Sweyn, blind to the evil intentions of his werewolf lover White Fell, must mourn the death of his twin brother, who sacrifices his own life to protect Sweyn. In all these narratives, physical beauty disguizes a corrupt femininity, but other stories took less care to conceal the menace of the feminine beneath a mask of loveliness. A werewolf crone, for instance, appears in S.R. Crockett's *The Black Douglas* (1899); an old witch who is able to transform into a shaggy wolf. Her husband has bite marks all round his neck and is terrified of her; his body is later found, with the throat torn out. In 'The Werewolves' (1898), Beaugrand combines anxiety

about female sexuality with fears of racial degeneracy, narrating the tale of a soldier who comes to a grisly end at the hands of an old Indian squaw who turns out to be a werewolf.[13] All these stories contributed to a discourse that envisioned women as a threat to the lives and aspirations of men.

The nineteenth-century elaboration of demonic female lycanthropy was so unrelenting that by 1912 Elliott O'Donnell felt justified in arguing in his monograph *Werwolves* that female werewolves are more evil than their male counterparts, offering a number of reasons.

> Apparently women are more desirous of becoming werwolves than men, more women than men having acquired the property of werwolfery through their own act. In the case of women candidates for this evil property, the inspiring motive is almost always one of revenge, sometimes on a faithless lover, but more often on another woman; and when once women metamorphose thus, their craving for human flesh is simply insatiable – in fact, they are far more cruel and daring, and much more to be dreaded, than male werwolves.[14]

Although there are plenty of instances of female lycanthropy cited in the transcripts of the witchcraft trials, histories of lycanthropy, and folklore collections which were available to O'Donnell, there is no historical evidence to suggest that women suffering from lycanthropy were 'more to be dreaded'; indeed, if anything, the opposite is true, as the most bloodthirsty crimes had generally been attributed to male lycanthropes. O'Donnell's insistence that female werewolves are the worst of their kind was almost certainly informed by nineteenth-century attitudes to female lycanthropy. Ironically, O'Donnell's own text in fact contains very few accounts of female werewolves. Rather, it is riddled with accounts of women who sacrifice the lives of their children or lovers to male werewolves, as a means of preserving their own lives. In one story, for example, a beautiful woman of Innsbruck cares more for diamonds than anything else. She is abducted by two werewolves, but gives them her sleeping husband to eat, and gets away safely with her jewels.[15] In another story, a beautiful woman resides in a hotel, seducing men whom she then delivers to her husband, a

werewolf.[16] In both of these stories, the werewolf is used as a contrast to the woman; a werewolf is bad, but a woman is worse.

Although female werewolves were usually intent upon the seduction and destruction of men, they were also constructed as unnatural mothers. Marryat's Christina savages two of her new stepchildren and later desecrates their graves. Campbell's Ravina shows an intense interest in Paul's offspring and attempts to devour the girl, who is saved at the last moment by a faithful peasant with a crucifix. Housman made much of White Fell's liking for children; after befriending a little boy with a cut hand, her face 'lighted up with a most awful glee' at the sight of his blood, and some time later, the boy mysteriously disappears.[17] In other contexts, ordinary pregnancy was connected with lycanthropy. Baring-Gould devoted a number of pages to a discussion of the cannibalistic and murderous cravings of pregnant women in the chapter of his monograph entitled 'Natural Causes of Lycanthropy',[18] Wynter made the same connection between lycanthropy and pregnancy in his article:

> With women, the most unaccountable motives and conditions lead to the perpetration of murders and mutilations. It is well known that the parturient state, for instance, often leads to the most savage fits of madness, in which women will murder their husbands; and history has recorded several cases in which they have partially eaten them in their frenzy.[19]

In its lupine incarnation, the werewolf was depicted as so intensely Other that it no longer even resembled a human being, embodying instead the slavery to instinctive drives which was perceived to differentiate the animal world from human civilization. Despite the fact that centuries of extermination of wolves by humans had seriously diminished their numbers in Europe and North America by the nineteenth century, wolves were still perceived as savage and cunning devourers of flocks and babies in the popular imagination. The series of adjectives reserved for the wolf in a passage from C.F. Gordon Cumming's article 'Wolves and Were-Wolves' (1890), in which the behaviour and physiognomy of the wolf are compared with those of the dog, is indicative of the kind of reputation wolves enjoyed:

> in drinking a dog laps, whereas a wolf sucks, and in biting the wolf gives a rapid succession of vicious snaps, instead of the firm, retaining hold which generally characterizes the bite of a healthy dog. The character of the bark also differs greatly, the honest dog-bark being replaced by a short snapping, while the wolf voice is chiefly exerted in producing dismal howls. As regards external appearance ... the cruel treacherous expression of the obliquely-set eyes betrays how different is the wolf-spirit from that which looks out through the kind true eyes of the faithful dog.[20]

Nineteenth-century representations of lycanthropy drew from such characterizations of the wolf, so that whenever a werewolf was discovered in its lupine form, it was described in similar terms. G.W.M. Reynolds's Wagner the Wehr-Wolf, for example, is variously described as a 'ferocious' or 'infuriate' monster, a 'monstrous' wolf of 'appalling ferocity' and as 'the destroyer'.[21] Similarly, the she-wolf in Campbell's story 'has gleaming tusks and a pair of yellow eyes that blazed with lurid fire'.[22]

As all these examples from narratives about lycanthropy demonstrate, the werewolf, like other monsters, embodied a composite Otherness which gave expression to anxieties about working-class degeneracy, aristocratic decadence, racial atavism, women's corporeality and sexuality, and the human relationship to the animal world. The physical defects or stigmata of the werewolf's human incarnation suggested the presence of the interior beast, much as bumps on the skull or facial characteristics were interpreted by phrenologists as evidence of interior characteristics and tendencies. Indeed, the process by which such descriptions were drawn was satirized as early as 1855 by Dudley Costello, in his short story 'Lycanthropy in London; Or, the Wehr-Wolf of Wilton-Crescent', in which Miss Adela Cunninghame relies upon 'her fatal skill in physiognomy' to assess the character of her friend's new husband, Mr Fitz-Poodle.[23] 'His sharp nose, his small eyes, his sandy eyebrows, his large teeth, his wiry hair, and his yellow whiskers, were severally objects of dislike to Miss Cunninghame', to the extent that she says to herself 'Very like a wolf! ... I must observe his habits.'[24] Adela's suspicions that Mr Fitz-Poodle is a werewolf are subsequently confirmed when she notes that he consumed his food

'voraciously', displaying 'a predilection for mutton', and 'prowled' about the drawing-rooms after dinner.[25] Costello's use of the narrative devices employed by the more serious exponents of Gothic literature exposes the strategies by which such writers produced the Other. The comparative mythologist Max Müller demonstrated a similarly sophisticated understanding of his society's habits of identity formation when he wrote in 1885 that '[w]hen we read some of the more recent works on anthropology, the primordial savage seems to be not unlike one of those hideous india-rubber dolls that can be squeezed into every possible shape, and made to utter every possible noise.'[26]

As many of these examples demonstrate, nineteenth-century Gothic literature was characterized by an emphasis upon embodied horror, which Halberstam terms 'Gothic monstrosity'.[27] Such monstrosity drew heavily from the grotesque mode, which (according to Mary Russo, following the logic of Mikhail Bakhtin) figured the body as 'open, protruding, irregular, secreting, multiple, and changing'.[28] Few representations of such a grotesque body can rival the werewolf's moment of metamorphosis from human into wolf, when one form melts and twists into the other. Reynolds was the first nineteenth-century writer to depict the dramatic horror of the transformation in his serial novel *Wagner the Wehr-Wolf* (published in *Reynolds's Miscellany* in 1846–47).

> In the midst of a wood of evergreens on the banks of the Arno, a man – young, handsome, and splendidly attired – has thrown himself upon the ground, where he writhes like a stricken serpent, in horrible convulsions. ...
>
> But, lo! what awful change is taking place in the form of that doomed being? His handsome countenance elongates into one of savage and brute-like shape; – the rich garments which he wears become a rough, shaggy, and wiry skin: – his body loses its human contours – his arms and limbs take another form; – and, with a frantic howl of misery, to which the woods give horribly faithful reverberations, and with a rush like a hurling wind, the wretch starts wildly away – no longer a man, but a monstrous wolf! [29]

This passage develops a powerful contrast between the contoured human body and the 'shaggy' form of a wolf. Unlike those stories

Fig. 2
Frontispiece
to Charles
H. Bennett,
The Fables of
Aesop.

depicting the peculiarities of the werewolf's human form in contrast to a normative human form, the focus on the moment of transformation in *Wagner the Wehr-Wolf* demanded that the werewolf's human incarnation be indistinguishable from other human bodies, a strategy which suggested a more dramatic metamorphosis. The grotesque body in this formulation is juxtaposed against the classical body, defined by Russo as 'transcendent and monumental, closed, static, self-contained, symmetrical, and sleek'[30] (or, in Reynolds's words, 'young, handsome, and splendidly attired'). The classical aesthetics of the Enlightenment (with its focus upon the external concerns of society and community) were mobilized to signal what is visible and superficial, while the more inward-looking aesthetics of the romantic grotesque were engaged to represent what is deep and hidden.

Reynolds's depiction of the werewolf in its human form as a white, bourgeois male (or the ideal Enlightenment subject) suggested that lycanthropy could not always be safely confined to an externalized Other; on the contrary, it implied that the affliction might also emanate from within the Self or Same. Charles H. Bennett's illustration for the frontispiece of an 1857 collection of Aesop's fables certainly explored this scenario[31] (*Figure 2*). In such contexts, the image of the werewolf shifts its emphasis from the sociological (focused on identity formation through processes of Othering or exclusion) to the psychological (concerned with subjectivity or inward experience). Peter Stallybrass and Allon White attempt to explain this shift, suggesting that the exteriorized (or sociological) grotesque produces the interiorized (or psychologized) form as a side effect:

> a fundamental mechanism of identity formation *produces* the second, hybrid grotesque ... *by the very struggle to exclude the first grotesque*. ... The point is that the exclusion necessary to the formation of social identity ... is simultaneously a production ... of a complex hybrid fantasy emerging out of the very attempt to demarcate boundaries, to unite and purify the social collectivity.[32]

In these terms, when the werewolf is depicted as a peasant, debauched aristocrat, foreigner, native or woman indulging in animality, cannibalism, lust, murder and even nudity,[33] and particularly when it is in wolf form, it exemplifies the externalized grotesque. At another level, the werewolf embodies the internalized grotesque that is the side effect of the first grotesque. In this latter form, the wolf hunches quietly and invisibly within the self, the symbiosis of the human and the wolf embodying the hybrid, interior grotesque.

This second, psychologized form of Gothic monstrosity draws from the preoccupation with inner experience that characterized romanticism. The romantic engagement with such phenomena as dreams, parapsychology, mental illness, supernatural occurrences, the psychology of animals, genius and magnetism led to a focus on a subjective, inner life, unique to every individual, and even hidden; explorations of 'magnetic sleep' (later understood as hypnosis), for example, would frequently manifest the presence of an 'unconscious mind' underlying

Fig. 3
Laurence Housman's illustration for Clemence Housman's *The Were-Wolf.*

the usual state of consciousness. This spatialization of subjectivity as an internal–external, depth–surface or conscious–unconscious construct has been one of the most powerful and enduring legacies of the romantic period, as the perennial figure of the werewolf can testify.

Werewolf literature has oscillated between such 'sociological' and 'psychological' representations of the werewolf. As early as 1850, Mrs Catherine Crowe (one of the pioneers of the nineteenth-century passion for occult phenomena) identified 'various shades and degrees of lycanthropy'.[34] 'In some cases,' she wrote, 'the lycanthrope declares that he has the power of transforming himself into a wolf, in which disguise – his tastes corresponding to his form – he delights in feeding on human flesh. ... In other instances there was no transformation.'[35] The literally transforming werewolf was generally an example of the externalized grotesque, its monstrosity deriving from its perceived

corporeal, sexual, spiritual, moral, intellectual, cultural, racial or evolutionary inferiority to the normalized human subject. The more psychologized werewolf, on the other hand, would not necessarily undergo a literal transformation, but it would certainly exhibit lupine behaviour, indicative of an interior disturbance. The first fictional use of lycanthropy in the nineteenth century, featured in Charles Maturin's Gothic novel *The Albigenses* (1824), was a case in point. Maturin's werewolf described himself as 'a wolf within – a man outward only'.[36]

These differing manifestations of the werewolf were also overlain with a series of differentiations around the category of gender. In nineteenth-century discourse femininity was widely associated with nature, the body and materiality, while masculinity was correlated with culture, the mind and transcendence. Accordingly, female werewolves were invariably represented as being capable of corporeal transformation, reflecting the fiercely anti-feminist Otto Weininger's remark of 1904 that 'women are matter, which can assume any shape'.[37] Certainly, the only pictorial representation of the moment of transformation published in the nineteenth century accompanied Housman's narrative about a female werewolf (*Figure 3*). Female werewolves also tended, like Campbell's Ravina, to embrace their lycanthropic abilities with enthusiasm, consciously and deliberately pursuing their carnal desires:

> 'I am hungry,' she murmured, 'oh, so hungry; but now, Paul Sergevitch, your heart is mine.'
>
> Her movement was so sudden and unexpected that he stumbled and fell heavily to the ground, the fair woman clinging to him and falling upon his breast. ... The face that was glaring into his seemed to be undergoing some fearful change, and the features to be losing their semblance of humanity. With a sudden, quick movement, she tore open his garments, and in another movement she had perforated his left breast with a ghastly wound, and, plunging in her delicate hands, tore out his heart and bit at it ravenously.[38]

The unrepentant hedonism and physicality of such female werewolves can be contrasted with the psychological torment experienced by their male counterparts. The psychologized werewolf was far more likely to be male, reflecting the widespread association of masculinity

with the mind. Indeed, the male werewolf's psychic suffering frequently guaranteed his eventual salvation, whereas the demonic female werewolf was always destroyed. Maturin's lycanthrope, for example, returns to lucidity on his deathbed, and obtains forgiveness for his sins. Wagner the Wehr-Wolf is the unfortunate and unwilling victim of a curse (he had, in fact, brought his curse upon himself by striking a bargain with Faust, but has the decency to regret it). He dies, but only after he has redeemed himself in the eyes of God. Thibault, a werewolf created by Alexandre Dumas, meets a very similar fate to Wagner; after years of unhappiness as a result of his bargain with evil, he offers his life so that the woman he loves may live, and his soul is saved.[39] Stenbock's werewolf Gabriel is rescued by a devout priest, and Rudyard Kipling's Fleete, although he capitulates entirely to the curse of an Indian leper and is soon found 'on his hands and knees under the orange bushes', is saved by his loyal friends, who capture the leper and force him to remove the curse.[40] Overwhelmingly in such fiction, the man who succumbed to atavistic urges could, with a little discipline, still attain salvation or transcendence, while his more corporeally impeded female counterpart was irrevocably lost to primal nature and would be returned to the earth whence she came.

Male werewolves could also be excused on the grounds of insanity, as in the case of Maturin's werewolf, who declared himself to be 'Mad, ay! that is it: I am a mad wolf.'[41] As Sally Shuttleworth notes, early theorizations of mental illness had emphasized 'the animal nature of the insane',[42] and an association between werewolves and insanity can be traced to the earliest medical treatises on lycanthropy. Psychologized representations of lycanthropy in the nineteenth century developed out of this tradition of associations, and kept pace with a shift in attitude towards mental illness that had been gathering force since the Enlightenment. As belief in witchcraft or diabolical possession subsided, symptoms that had once been associated with such phenomena were now reinterpreted within a scientific framework as signs of mental illness, to be treated rather than punished.[43] By the time the Lunatic Acts of 1845 were passed, insanity was no longer conflated with criminality.[44]

The myth of the werewolf, with its rich history, was an ideal motif for the expression of such changing attitudes. Interpretations of lycanthropy as 'a form of insanity'[45] gained wide currency in the early to mid-nineteenth century, and accounts of lycanthropy surviving from the early modern period were reconsidered in this light. Maturin's lycanthrope, for example, is eventually revealed to be a person deserving of sympathy rather than ostracism. Along similar lines, an article in an 1849 edition of *Reynolds's Miscellany* condemned the judgements of the sixteenth-century demonologist Henri Boguet, arguing that '[t]he statements made by the accused were of a most extraordinary character ... and such as no person in possession of common sense could consider as other than the ravings of insanity.'[46] Likewise, a column from *Household Words* in 1857 opined that those burned for the crime of lycanthropy had been the victims of mental illness, stating 'That many people have been executed, owing to the popular impression that they were wehr-wolves, is ... only another instance of the fatal facility with which superstition has turned disease itself into food for her love of cruelty.'[47] Presented along similar lines, a whole chapter of R.R. Madden's work *Phantasmata or Illusions and Fanaticisms of Protean Forms Productive of Great Evils* (1857) was dedicated to the argument that lycanthropy was a form of insanity which often manifested in epidemic form,[48] and, as late as 1871, Edward Tylor commented that 'in various forms of mental disease, patients prowl shyly, long to bite and destroy mankind, and even fancy themselves transformed into wild beasts ... and physicians apply to them the mythologic term of lycanthropy.'[49]

Following the assumption that lycanthropy is a mental illness, many nineteenth-century writers focused on the trial of Jean Grenier, heard in Bordeaux in 1603. On this occasion, the offender was judged to be mentally deranged, and was sentenced to imprisonment in a monastery, 'so that he might receive moral and religious instruction'.[50] As Baring-Gould concluded with approval, after Jean Grenier's case

> the courts referred the whole matter of Lycanthropy, or animal transformation, to its true and legitimate cause, an aberration of the brain. From this time medical men seem to have regarded it as a form of mental

> malady to be brought under their treatment, rather than as a crime to be punished by law.[51]

The case of Sergeant Bertrand was also frequently cited as evidence of the psychological origins of the werewolf myth, and as proof that 'werewolves' should be treated with compassion. Crowe, for example, noted that Bertrand's case had 'excited considerable attention, especially in the medical world' and that '[t]he medical men interrogated unanimously gave it as their opinion, that although in all other respects perfectly sane, Bertrand was not responsible for these acts.'[52]

Despite locating the causes of lycanthropy 'inside' rather than 'outside', insanity was still a phenomenon that could be externalized as something that happened to 'others', such as peasants (or, illogically, madmen!) In the work of the anthropologist Tylor, however, the psychologized understanding of lycanthropy posed more of a threat to the 'ideal' subject of the Enlightenment. In keeping with the principles of evolutionary theory, he extended his notion of 'survival in culture' to suggest that certain propensities deriving from an earlier stage of development remain embedded within the human psyche. In a clear foreshadowing of Carl Jung's work on the collective unconscious, he argued in *Primitive Culture* (1871) that

> A poet of our own day has still much in common with the minds of uncultured tribes in the mythologic stage of thought. The rude man's imaginations may be narrow, crude, and repulsive, while the poet's more conscious fictions may be highly wrought into shapes of fresh artistic beauty, but both share in that sense of the reality of ideas.[53]

Tylor's implication that a shared psychological heritage had seeded the human mind with instinctive drives was universally applicable and threatened the self from the inside rather than the outside.

Now that the universal – masculine – self was brought into question, masculinity began to be constructed as unstable, tenuous, and in need of 'psychic discipline',[54] and the male werewolf was no longer guaranteed his salvation. Increasingly, narratives about lycanthropy explored the internal struggle for psychic control experienced by male werewolves. As Sergeant Bertrand's story was related by Alexander

Young, for example, his condition 'was originally caused by over-indulgence in wine', the implication being that greater control over such urges might have averted disaster.[55] The American novelist Frank Norris developed a more extended interpretation of lycanthropy as a metaphor for the male subject's battle for psychic discipline in *Vandover and the Brute* (which was completed in the 1890s but not published until 1904). Vandover, a leisured gentleman with artistic aspirations, experiences difficulty in setting himself the appropriate 'intensity of discipline', and is increasingly unable to constrain his carnal desires. Nor does his internal struggle remain invisible; his friend describes the final stages of his degeneration.

> He came back into the room on all fours – not on his hands and knees, you understand, but running along the floor upon the palms of his hands and his toes – and he pushed the door open with his head, nuzzling at the crack like any dog ... his head was hanging way down, and swinging from side to side as he came along; it shook all his hair over his eyes. He kept rattling his teeth together, and every now and then he would say, way down in his throat so it sounded like growls, 'Wolf – wolf – wolf.'[56]

Apart from modelling a troubled masculine psyche, Vandover's deterioration also implied an interdependent relationship between the body and the mind. This interdependence is common in the Gothic mode, and is the source of the conflation of sociological and psychological categories in scholarship about the Gothic. As the example of the werewolf can demonstrate, the sociological construction of identity has usually proceeded from a focus on what is 'outside' (bodies), while the exploration of subjectivity has tended to proceed from a focus on the 'inside' (the psyche). But the Gothic, especially through imagery that visualizes the connectivity of the mind and the body, is also a site where sociological and psychological processes intersect. This is explicable historically, since Gothic literature emerged at the moment when the romantics arose to challenge the philosophers of the Enlightenment, and when the focus shifted from community and identity to the individual and inward experience. Gothic literature bears the marks of both traditions, and the Gothic monster carries the bodily *and* psychic scars of their antagonism.

In the context of the convergence of ideas about evolution and the unconscious (which demanded a 'thinking together' of such pairings), representations of body–mind slippages within *fin de siècle* Gothic became 'more graphic than before'.[57] Significantly, spiritualist discourse also contributed to the exploration of this territory. C.W. Leadbeater's explanation of lycanthropy as a form of astral projection, for example, sought to draw a connection between the body and the mind: 'When a perfectly cruel and brutal man [projects the astral body], there are certain circumstances under which the body may be seized upon by other astral identities and materialized, not into the human form, but into that of some wild animal – usually the wolf.'[58] By positing a relationship between spirit and material nature, Leadbeater also echoed the logic of the romantic philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling, who declared that 'Nature is visible Spirit, Spirit is invisible Nature.'[59] Schelling's statement apparently encapsulated the romantic idea that an organic whole or unity could be constituted through antagonistic but complementary polarities. But, as Slavoj Žižek points out, it also

> drove a wedge ... between Inside and Outside, between Spirit and Body, between the ideal and the real ... by calling attention to the double surplus that 'sticks out'. On the one hand, there is the spiritual element of corporeality: the presence, in matter itself, of a non-material but physical element, of a subtle corpse, relatively independent of time and space, which provides the material base of our free will (animal magnetism, etc.); on the other hand, there is the corporeal element of spirituality: the materializations of the spirit in a kind of pseudo-stuff, in substanceless apparitions (ghosts, living dead).[60]

Žižek argues that these 'surpluses' that escape the system of neat polarities are the spectral manifestations (such as the werewolf) that 'complete' reality.[61]

In this context, the werewolf becomes less amenable to an analytic strategy which interprets it primarily as an expression of oppositional discursive frameworks (such as nature–culture, masculine–feminine, Self–Other). In Žižek's schema, the werewolf is rather an expression of the overflow, surplus or excess that escapes attempts to contain

reality (or produce a unity) through recourse to oppositions. In this sense, an analysis that focuses solely on the 'content' of a monstrous representation such as the werewolf misses the point, because it will always lead back to the polarities that the monster has escaped. To explain further: a content analysis of the werewolf produces an understanding of lycanthropy as expressive of surface–depth, nature–culture, conscious–unconscious oppositions. Yet, there remains a sense in which these categories cannot fully contain or explain the werewolf: for example, although the wolf is 'hidden' in the person, you can also tell a werewolf by the eyebrows or the fingernails. Or, as in Vandover's case, lycanthropy is a psychic affliction, but it is also written on the body.

In this sense, Žižek's schema may explain the bodily 'excess' that Russo has noted in the Gothic register. The body is a site where one of the 'surpluses' identified by Žižek emerges; the body is never 'just' a body, but also carries a 'non-material but physical element'. This is what werewolves and other monsters remind us of, but it also suggests why the monstrous body always exceeds the oppositional categories that seek to contain and explain it. Further, it may explain the amplification and diversification of monstrosity in modernity, because as each spectral manifestation is assimilated into social 'reality' (through the explanations of comparative mythologists or literary theorists, for example), new spectres emerge which must outdo the excesses of their predecessors.

Certainly, the body of the werewolf became increasingly excessive as the nineteenth century wore on. Although Reynolds had developed the horror of the transformation scene as early as 1846, Wagner the Wehr-wolf was not depicted as especially aggressive once he assumed wolf form, causing deaths as a result of the speed with which he rushed about as a wolf, rather than through acts of gratuitous violence (*Figure 4*). Marryat's 1839 story had depicted a monster of more evil intent in the werewolf Christina, and subsequent female lycanthropes were consistently nasty in their wolfish incarnations. While imagery of the ferocious female werewolf persisted in fiction throughout the period of the *fin de siècle*, her combination of intelligence and demonic intent was also increasingly emphasized in discussions by folklorists and

FIG. 4 Woodcut from G.W.M. Reynolds's serialised novel *Wagner the Wehr-Wolf.*

mythologists about the origins and characteristics of lycanthropy. In 1873, for example, John Fiske described the werewolf as 'a person who had the power of transforming himself into a wolf, being endowed, while in the lupine state, with the intelligence of a man, the ferocity of a wolf, and the irresistible strength of a demon'.[62] In 1894, Kirby Flower Smith gave a similar account in an article for *PMLA*, describing the werewolf as

> generally larger and stronger than the ordinary wolf; he retains the intelligence and cunning of his human form, more or less clouded or modified by the bestial ferocity which takes possession of him at the moment of transformation, and in which he 'outwolves' the very wolves themselves. … The horror of this creature has always been more or less due to the feeling that the wolf is implicit in the man. The man, even in his human shape, is not felt to be like other men. He is rather a demoniac wolf in disguise, a flimsy disguise which he may throw off at any moment.[63]

By adding the imagery of a demon to their descriptions of the werewolf, both Fiske and Smith amplified the monster's ferocity, and exceeded the human–wolf dualism. O'Donnell's 1912 story about a brother and sister being pursued through a forest in their carriage further emphasized this trend.

> There burst into view a gigantic figure – nude and luminous, a figure that glowed like a glow-worm and bent slightly forward as it ran. It covered the ground with long, easy, swinging strides, without any apparent effort. In general form its body was like that of a man, saving that the limbs were longer and covered with short hair, and the feet and hands, besides being larger as a whole, had longer toes and fingers. Its head was partly human, partly lupine – the skull, ears, teeth, and eyes were those of a wolf, whilst the remaining features were those of a man. Its complexion was devoid of colour, startlingly white; its eyes green and lurid, its expression hellish.[64]

In this description, the werewolf thoroughly surpasses the simple dualism of man and wolf. Its body, with its 'longer toes and fingers' and its complexion 'devoid of colour' cannot be 'read' in terms of simple dualisms such as nature and culture. The category of the supernatural – the 'demonic' element – overwhelms such polarities, because, as Žižek suggests, it arises from the very inability of dualistic frameworks to describe reality fully. In this sense, a monster such as the werewolf supersedes oppositional discourse; it is the 'fantasmatic appearance of the "missing link" between nature and culture', a response to 'the Enlightenment's endeavor to find the bridge that links culture to nature, to produce a "man/woman of culture" who would simultaneously conserve his/her unspoiled nature'.[65]

The special beauty of the werewolf is that while, like all monsters, it draws attention to the ways in which reality and subjectivity are produced in modernity, it also models very clearly and self-consciously how oppositional concepts are integrated into that process. Because differing incarnations of the werewolf clearly delineate sociological approaches to the construction of identity and social reality from psychological processes of subject formation, the werewolf also helps to elaborate how the production of 'reality' and subjectivity has been related. Further, because the werewolf has been increasingly imagined as male, it also brings into focus the gendered nature of this process, a theme that the following chapter will explore.

3

I used to be a werewolf but I'm alright nowooooo

Although speculations about an unconscious mental life had circulated for centuries, the notion was considerably elaborated in the nineteenth century. Romantic interest in an authentic or 'deep' self was complemented by an intensification of interest in the unconscious, and later in the century the speculative or theoretical exploration of this idea began to be augmented by experimental and clinical investigations.[1] The development of a more systematic and scientific approach to psychiatry was also virtually inseparable from the spiritualist activity that burgeoned during the same period, which generated many studies related to the unconscious under the direction of such bodies as the Society for Psychical Research. By the close of the century, the 'dipsychic' model of the human mind, which theorized the psyche as consisting of a conscious and unconscious component, was widely endorsed by psychiatrists. Yet, as the proliferation of werewolf literature and fiction about dual personality in the nineteenth century indicates, this conceptualization of the psyche was by no means confined to psychiatry; on the contrary, it permeated the culture as thoroughly as Charles Darwin's theory of evolution.

Constructions of the human mind as a conscious–unconscious dualism drew upon the familiar culture–nature, human–beast, civilized–primitive dichotomies underpinning nineteenth-century thought. The unconscious part of the mind was regularly associated with the bestial, instinctive life of the natural, material world as opposed to the rational, cultured world of the conscious mind. In this sense, the unconscious became strongly linked with a notion of a 'beast within'. Mary Midgley traces the lineage of this image in Western thought, noting its absence in Homer's epic poems, where the blame for shameful human behaviour is shifted on to the gods (not animals). Plato, in contrast, characterized the gods as 'good', and consistently located evil in the animal world: 'Black horses, wolves, lions, hawks, asses and pigs recur every time he mentions the subject of evil.'[2] Midgley argues that the Christian tradition perpetuated the conceptualization of evil in the form of a beast. Christianity has also been implicated in tying imagery of the beast more closely to the wolf, since the identification of the followers of Christ as 'flocks' and Christ himself as a lamb has led to characterizations of Satan or 'the beast' as a wolf (the lamb's greatest enemy).[3]

If philosophy and religion had developed the notion of 'the beast within' alive during the long centuries since Plato, it was Sigmund Freud's work in the field of psychology which modernized the concept. As Joseph Grixti has comprehensively argued, Freud 'lodged the beast in the unconscious'.[4] There are certainly many passages in Freud's work that characterize the unconscious as the condensation of all that is primitive, bestial and irrational in the psyche; he wrote, for example, of behaviour that arises from unconscious desires as 'wolfish'.[5] Evolutionary theory provided the scientific basis for such imagery; as Freud argued, 'Man's archaic heritage forms the nucleus of the unconscious mind',[6] suggesting that bestial impulses suppressed through the progress of civilization have been relegated to the realm of the unconscious. But Freud had also read Nietzsche, and, as Bryan Turner has argued, he was deeply influenced by the philosopher's characterization of a humanity driven, through a primitive heritage, by the instincts of a 'wild beast' or a 'beast of prey'.[7] Thus, in giving

his patient Sergei Pankejeff the alias of 'Wolf-Man', Freud was almost certainly drawing on narratives which juxtaposed the contending demands of the 'primitive' and the 'civilized' in the human personality, a view that is borne out by his description of 'the contrast between the [Wolf-Man's] agreeable and affable personality, his acute intelligence and his nice-mindedness on the one hand, and his completely unbridled instinctual life on the other'.[8]

At the very least, the name conjured up associations with the terrors of folklore and fairy tales, a field Freud was familiar with, through the work of Jakob Grimm, Edward Tylor and Andrew Lang. Freud's predilection for striking images designed to maximize the impact of his work would also suggest that the connotations associated with the name he invented for his case history were deliberately invoked. Indeed, in his memoirs, the Wolf-Man recalled that 'we happened to speak of Conan Doyle and his creation, Sherlock Holmes. I had thought Freud would have no use for this type of light reading matter, and was surprised to find that this was not at all the case and that Freud had read this author attentively.'[9] Certainly, although originally published under the title 'From the History of an Infantile Neurosis', 'The Case of the Wolf-Man', as it came to be known, could also have worked as the title for a werewolf mystery (and indeed, Algernon Blackwood had already pre-empted the convergence of psychoanalysis and lycanthropy in his 1908 story 'The Camp of the Dog').

Even so, Freud did not ostensibly intend to imply that his patient was lycanthropic. The Wolf-Man never imagined himself to be, nor did he behave like, a wolf. Rather, the Wolf-Man had experienced a dream as a child, in which his window opened of its own accord and he saw 'six or seven' wolves in a walnut tree outside staring fixedly at him. He contextualized this dream for Freud as being connected with his childhood fear of animals, particularly wolves. His older sister had fuelled his phobia, taking particular delight in tormenting him with a picture from a children's story book which depicted a wolf standing upright on its hind legs, stretching out a vicious paw.

Carlo Ginzburg argues that the Wolf-Man's dream nonetheless contained elements that betrayed an awareness of lycanthropy on the

part of the child (if not the grown man) – folkloric resonances which Freud missed because he was unacquainted with the Russian cultural milieu of his patient. Connecting the dream with his own work on the *benandanti* (literally 'good-doers'), a sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century sect whose members claimed to sally forth in spirit periodically (often in wolf-form) to fight witches and warlocks for a prosperous harvest, Ginzburg points out that the Wolf-Man's dream was similar to the initiatory dream or vision experienced by noviciates in the Baltic and Slavic versions of this practice.[10] He suggests that the Wolf-Man was probably exposed to beliefs emanating from these traditions through contact with his nurse or *njanja*, a Russian peasant, adding weight to his argument by recalling that the Wolf-Man was born with the caul on Christmas Day[11] (both the caul and the Christmas birth being traditional indications of the potential for lycanthropy).[12] One might add to Ginzburg's evidence the observation that the Wolf-Man was also born with what Muriel Gardiner (an American psychoanalyst, once a student of Freud's in Vienna) described as a 'hereditary taint'[13] – red hair, a traditional indicator of an affinity with the supernatural world. As Ginzburg therefore argues, 'The case of the wolf-man poses forcefully that interweaving of myths and neuroses which so engrossed Freud and Jung, albeit from different points of view.'[14] The point of his study is not 'to explain the neuroses of the wolf-man by the myth of the werewolves'; rather, Ginzburg demonstrates the pervasive presence of myth in our society and culture, chasing its shadow as it slips in and out of the narratives presented by books of fairy tales, the Wolf-Man and his *njanja*, Freud, and Ginzburg himself.[15] In this sense, Ginzburg's 'myth' operates in a similar fashion to Slavoj Žižek's 'spectrality', completing the circle of reality.

Certainly, the name Freud used to protect his patient's identity had the effect of linking Pankejeff's story with a tradition of lycanthropy, especially in the context of a culture which was on the brink of transferring the horrors of the werewolf to a medium as culturally pervasive and influential as film (*The Werewolf of London* appeared in 1935, *The Wolf Man* in 1941). With the advent of the cinematic Wolf Man, Freud's case has become increasingly stigmatized by its title; Ginz-

burg's effort to associate the Wolf-Man's fear of wolves with a history of belief in werewolves is evidence of this, as are the various accounts of lycanthropy which include a discussion of Freud's Wolf-Man.[16] Even critics not directly concerned with werewolves have made the connection between the Wolf-Man and lycanthropy; as Whitney Davis argues in a work which re-examines the relationship between Freud and the Wolf-Man, for example,

> We might even say that it was the Wolf Man's psychoanalysis – not his Russian childhood – which turned him into a werewolf; this is certainly true at the most literal level, of course, to the extent that the text of the case history ... transformed a sophisticated, multilingual, widely traveled twenty-four-year-old man into an infantile 'Wolf Man'.[17]

Davis's study implies that psychoanalytic technique has always been impregnated with myth, echoing Ginzburg's observations on the widespread diffusion of myth in our culture, and other critics' remarks about the use of Gothic imagery in psychoanalytic literature.[18]

As Ginzburg indicates, it would be pointless to attempt to explain the Wolf-Man's neuroses in terms of lycanthropy. The problems of his adult life, even if they did not stem from his accidental or imagined childhood observation of the 'primal scene' of coitus between his parents (as Freud insisted), were not related to a fear of, or identification with, wolves. Having said that, a sounding of Freud's most famous case and the myth of lycanthropy produces a fascinating series of echoes and reverberations between these two different histories. Both the werewolf and the Wolf-Man whose life-story was so inextricably intertwined with the story of psychoanalysis[19] have much to tell us about the history of subjectivity, largely because both have embodied a very specific conceptualization of the human psyche as 'divided against itself' – or, as perpetually at war with the 'beast within'. Moreover, both have shared in the elaboration of ideas about the experience and expression of masculinity, not least because the battle against the 'beast within' has been increasingly characterized as a peculiarly masculine problem.

Freud is renowned for bringing a focus on gender to the study of the self. Most significantly, he posited the coexistence of masculine

and feminine traits in the psyche of every individual, male or female. Integral to this rethinking of gender was the notion that masculine psychology involves the repression of feminine traits in the unconscious, although Freud's characterization of feminine psychology was more problematic, as evidenced by his infamous claim that women's sexuality is 'a "dark continent" for psychology'.[20] In this sense, as Lynne Segal observes, he equated male psychology with human psychology 'from which women ... are seen to deviate'.[21] Nevertheless, R.W. Connell suggests that Freud's psychoanalysis was in fact the 'first sustained attempt to build a scientific account of masculinity'.[22] For both Connell and Segal, Freud's description of masculinity as a contradictory and unstable construct has been crucial to subsequent work on the subject. Further, as Connell notes, Freud 'provided a method of research, "psychoanalysis" itself; a guiding concept, the dynamic unconscious; a first map of the development of masculinity; and a warning about the necessary complexity and limits of the idea.'[23] The case of the Wolf-Man, with its lessons about 'the tensions within masculine character' and its articulation of masculinity as 'a complex, and in some ways precarious, construction', was Freud's most significant demonstration of this approach.[24]

Ultimately, Connell indicates that Freud's work has made it difficult to separate theorizations of the psyche – and, in particular, of the unconscious – from theorizations of masculinity. Because Freud's conceptualization of the unconscious was developed through the analysis of masculinity (and, specifically, through the case of the Wolf-Man), the subsequent history of the unconscious converges at many points with the history of masculinity. Freud also gave the notion of the 'beast within' a more general scientific legitimacy which facilitated its entrenchment in further discursive contexts, beyond the domains of religion and philosophy. Certainly, Dorothy Scarborough's reading of the werewolf as an increasingly 'psychical creature' in her study *The Supernatural in Modern English Fiction* (1917) documented the strengthening of a psychological approach to the notion of the 'beast within' since the *fin de siècle*:

> In recent fiction the werewolf is represented as an involuntary and even unconscious departure from the human, who is shocked when he learns the truth about himself. Whether he be the victim of a divine curse, an agent of atavistic tendencies, or a being who thus gives vent to his real and brutish instincts, we feel a sympathy with him. We analyze his motives – at a safe distance – seek to understand his vagaries and to estimate his kinship with us.[25]

Scarborough's use of the masculine pronoun was also an indication of the werewolf's increasing conceptualization as male. One of the ways in which the werewolf came to be masculinized was through a focus upon its attacks on female victims, as in Richard Bagot's novel of 1899, in which a *lupomanaro* (the Italian term for werewolf) meets his sister-in-law.

> Almost mad with terror, and conscious only of a wild desire to free herself from the terrible creature before her, Helen darted forward in a vain attempt to pass him ... but, with a lightning-like motion, the 'lupomanaro' threw himself upon her, and, uttering shriek upon shriek, she sank to the ground struggling in his clutches. She felt his hot breath upon her face, and hands tearing at her neck and chest, and then she knew no more, for consciousness failing her, she fainted away, and, as her head fell back in his grasp, the 'lupomanaro', with a fierce snarl of rage, fixed his teeth in her shoulder.[26]

By juxtaposing the lurid, virile strength of the werewolf against the helpless, fainting weakness of his female victim, Bagot developed an intensely gendered interpretation of lycanthropy in which the monstrous masculine aggressor molests a feminine victim. This narrative pattern became widespread in the twentieth century, first within the pages of the pulp magazines that proliferated between the world wars, in which the vast majority of werewolf stories depicted the lycanthrope as a manipulative and darkly charismatic male figure, seducing innocent women into lycanthropy through the mediums of wolf skins, magical belts, lycanthropous flowers, witches' ointments and magical incantations.[27]

The gradual amplification of this formula over time is graphically displayed in the contrasts between two illustrations of a werewolf and

Fig. 5 Frontispiece of Sabine Baring-Gould's *The Book of Were-wolves: Being an Account of a Terrible Superstition*.

its victim, published nearly a century apart. The first (*Figure 5*) appeared as the frontispiece to Baring-Gould's *The Book of Werewolves*, published in 1865, and depicts a fairly ordinary-looking wolf standing over the body of a male victim. The second illustration (*Figure 6*) is possibly based upon the first, and appeared as the heading for a reprint of H. Warner Munn's 'The Werewolf of Ponkert' in *Weird Tales* (July 1925). In the later version, the wolf's face is more demonic, its musculature has been exaggerated and masculinized, and the victim has become a voluptuous woman – all changes that reflect Judith Halberstam's comment that Gothic monstrosity in the twentieth century 'has become Gothic masculinity and fear is coded as the female response to masculine desire'.[28]

The contrast between the two images also represents the development of a more visual approach to monstrosity, in which corporeal horror was emphasized. Indeed, the use of the term 'horror' rather than 'terror' for the early-1930s boom in Gothic cinema (which Andrew

Fig. 6 Frank Kelly Freas's illustration for H.W. Munn's 'The Werewolf of Ponkert'.

Tudor places between 1931 and 1936[29]) suggests this shift of focus; horror being a reaction to something seen or experienced, as opposed to terror, an emotion which arises in response to an imagined or psychically experienced threat. Certainly, the presence of the 'beast within' was increasingly literalized in this context, with Universal Pictures starting preparations for the first werewolf feature film in 1932, which was eventually released as *The Werewolf of London* in 1935. This film set a number of precedents for the werewolf film subgenre, not least of which was the representation of the werewolf as male. Further, the problem of turning an actor into a wolf resulted in a more hybrid kind of monster created by make-up artist Jack Pierce and animated

Fig. 7 Henry Hull in *The Werewolf of London* (1935).

by actor Henry Hull, which determined the werewolf's screen image for decades to come (*Figure 7*). As Universal's Robert Harris assured the censorship board, 'Our transvections are merely from our normal players to people with hirsute tendencies', involving a 'pointing of the ears and noses and a lengthening of the fingers.'[30]

FIG. 8 Lon Chaney Jr in *The Wolf Man.*

The presentation of the werewolf as a hybrid man–wolf emphasized the monster's origins in the man; further, the emphasis on transformation special effects meant that a strong contrast was to be developed between the human and monstrous forms. As a result, a 'psychical' approach to the werewolf was pursued for its feature-film debut, especially as this approach had been recently explored by Guy Endore in his well-known novel of 1933 *The Werewolf of Paris.* By adopting

the conventions of psychological characterization typical of the realist novel, Endore had developed Bertrand (based upon Sergeant Bertrand of Paris) as a rounded character with a flaw – lycanthropy. This approach was emulated in *The Werewolf of London*, with the film tracing Dr Wilfrid Glendon's passage through confusion, denial, acceptance of responsibility for the mysterious killings, abortive attempts to control or cure his condition, spiritual torment, desperate efforts to warn potential victims of their danger, despair, and a tragic death. Subsequently, werewolf films have typically explored the mental anguish depicted by Hull's 1935 prototype. This trend was crystallized with the 1941 release of Universal's *The Wolf Man*, scripted by Curt Siodmak, a close friend of Endore's.

The Wolf Man is Larry Talbot, played by Creighton Chaney, billed as Lon Chaney Jnr because he was the son of Lon Chaney, the famous horror actor of the 1930s[31] (*Figure 8*). According to the film's narrative, Larry has spent most of his adult life in America and is reunited with his aristocratic father in Wales following his brother's death. Bitten by a Gypsy werewolf, he becomes cursed with lycanthropy, causing havoc in his ancestral village. The years following the film's release in 1941 witnessed the consistent return of the Wolf Man character (played each time by Chaney) in a variety of monster-assembly movies, as well as a number of imitations of the werewolf theme by other studios.[32] Indeed, the Wolf Man quickly became as popular as the Frankenstein monster, eclipsing Dracula and enjoying the most screen time in the films he shared with other monsters.[33]

Endore's *The Werewolf of Paris*, *The Werewolf of London*, *The Wolf Man* and its sequels forged a new synthesis of mythologies about lycanthropy that would transform the werewolf into a powerful new icon of the twentieth century. Indeed, because the werewolf lacks a generating text as famous as Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Stoker's *Dracula*, or even Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, twentieth-century authors of werewolf stories, rather than referring to a single nineteenth-century literary text for inspiration, have consistently alluded to the cluster of texts which defined the subgenre in the 1930s and 1940s. Yet, ironically, the ico-

nography of twentieth-century representations of lycanthropy in both film and literature has derived much of its potency from the pretence that knowledge of the stigmata, preventative measures, and conditions of lycanthropy is sourced from ancient wisdom and texts. Indeed, one of the many recurring themes in werewolf stories of this century has been the 'arcane book' – a tradition inaugurated by *The Wolf Man* in its opening shot, in which a hefty volume is removed from a bookshelf and opened to the page on 'Lycanthropy'. The reverence for the text fostered by this narrative strategy harks back to the nineteenth century, the new synthesis of lore on lycanthropy deriving strength from the same process of circulation and repetition which had consolidated earlier scholarship about werewolves.

Contemporary 'knowledge' of werewolves now includes a number of other innovations which made their first appearance in the texts of the 1930s and 1940s. *The Werewolf of London*, for example, introduced the notion that lycanthropy is passed on by the bite of another werewolf, an idea which had never appeared in fiction or folklore before 1935. Yet, by the time *The Werewolf of Washington* was released in 1973, audiences were in little doubt as to the meaning of the final sequence, in which a White House aide states: 'The President's going to be alright, he just has a little bite on the neck.' Similarly, Endore's novel and *The Wolf Man* insisted that silver is the only substance capable of killing a werewolf, even though this method had long been considered only one of a variety of werewolf-slaying techniques; in 1915, for instance, Frank Hamel had included silver among a number of defensive measures in *Human Animals*, suggesting that steel, iron or bullets of elder pith could also be used against a werewolf.[34] No mention of silver weapons was made in any pulp fiction before 1933, the year *The Werewolf of Paris* was published, but from 1934 the werewolf's vulnerability to silver became a regular feature in the pulp magazines, and *The Wolf Man* consolidated this aspect of the myth. *The Wolf Man* also connected the werewolf with the pentagram, the sign which appears as a mark on the werewolf's body and which appears in the palms of its victims.

The most important innovation of the werewolf film subgenre, however, was not fully developed until *Frankenstein Meets the Wolf Man*

was released in 1943, and the werewolf's transformation was stressed as being subject to the rising of a full moon. While wolves had long been loosely associated with the moon, as evidenced by Edward Topsell's 1607 assertion that '[t]he brains of a wolf do decrease and increase with the moon',[35] the idea that the lycanthrope's metamorphosis might be dependent upon a full moon was very underdeveloped prior to the 1940s. Sabine Baring-Gould had commented in passing in *The Book of Were-wolves* (1865) that '[i]n the south of France, it is still believed that fate has destined certain men to be lycanthropists – that they are transformed into wolves at full moon.'[36] In 1933, just before the first major werewolf film appeared, Montague Summers presented a list of various methods of transformation which did not mention the full moon, although, probably in reference to Baring-Gould's text, he later remarked that in France, 'at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was believed ... that at each full moon certain lads, particularly the sons of priests, are compelled to become werewolves'.[37] Quoting Cyprien Robert, Summers also made brief reference to a belief, deriving from the Balkans, that '[w]hen the moon is at her full [the werewolf] issues forth to run his course'.[38] More frequently, the werewolf's transformation had been presented as a seasonal affliction, following in the spirit of Avicenna's assertion that the malady 'troubleth men most in February'.[39] Hamel had connected the seasonal tradition with the moon, writing that 'the tendency to transform is believed to wax and wane with the seasons and to be subject to the influence of the moon',[40] and this passage may well have been the inspiration for the poem Curt Siodmak incorporated into the script of *The Wolf Man:*

> Even a man who is pure at heart
> And says his prayers by night
> May become a wolf when the wolfbane blooms
> And the autumn moon is bright.

The inexorable cycle of monthly metamorphosis had been introduced in fiction as early as 1847 in G.W.M. Reynolds's 'Wagner the Wehr-Wolf', in which Wagner is cursed to transform on the last day of every month, but this idea had also remained curiously undeveloped until

the *Frankenstein Meets the Wolf Man* script synthesized the concept of the inevitable monthly transformation with the lunar cycle. Since then, the full moon transformation theme has become such an entrenched feature of the werewolf subgenre that the soundtrack for the 1981 film *An American Werewolf in London* made humorous use of songs about the moon, including 'Blue Moon' for the opening sequence and 'Bad Moon Rising' prior to the transformation scene.

The Wolf Man cycle of films also consolidated the werewolf of the cinema as psychologized and masculine. The explicitly gendered title of the werewolf in this series is only the most obvious signifier of a pervasive concern with masculine subjectivity in crisis, and Chaney's anguished dramatization of the Wolf Man's character was a definitive performance of masculine struggle with the 'beast within'. The film also explored the consequences of a failure to 'discipline' the 'beast within' for male power and identity. The reconciliation of Larry Talbot and his father after a long period of separation at the beginning of the film has occurred due to the death of Larry's older brother, an event that has bestowed upon the younger son the heirdom of white male authority. At the outset of the film, Larry's right to this inheritance is unquestioned, as he takes command of his surroundings and pursues the town beauty. Yet, after Larry is bitten by a werewolf and the curse takes hold, the very agencies of patriarchal power that had propped up his claim to the inheritance are now pitted *against* Larry: through his father's unwillingness to accept his son's assertion that he has become a werewolf, his doctor's insistence that the problem is all in his mind, the church's rejection of him, the ineffectual investigations of the police, and finally, in the conclusion of the film, when Larry's father kills the wolf, only to discover that he has killed his son. Larry's alienation from the world of his father is articulated in a phrase he repeats so often it acts as a kind of refrain in *The Wolf Man* and its sequels: 'You don't understand.'

In modernity, the assumption of power is often narratively represented as a problematic transition that is nevertheless central to masculinity, and dramatized as a 'crisis of succession'.[41] The origins of this pattern can be found in the Enlightenment, with its questioning

of a 'natural' order in which power and authority are conferred by birthright – a line of thought which led to the French Revolution. In keeping with the new focus on subjectivity or the development and perfection of the self, male power was now constructed not as the 'natural' right of a man but, rather, as something that must be entered into or acquired through processes of quest, crisis and resolution. Because male subjectivity was increasingly imagined in terms of psychic division, this process of accession became linked to the success with which a man was able to 'discipline' his bestial, unconscious drives, through narratives such as *The Wolf Man.* Subsequent cinematic representations of the werewolf have regularly depicted masculine protagonists who suddenly find that the crisis of subjectivity represented by the eruption of the 'beast within' also calls into question their social identity and authority.

As a result, the cinematic werewolf has become a perennial figure of masculine crisis; Hammer Film's *Curse of the Werewolf* (1960, UK), starring an anguished Oliver Reed, encapsulates in its title all that lycanthropy had come to signify for masculinity. So familiar has this narrative become that the incidental werewolf character in *The Monster Squad* (1987, USA) is introduced in the background at a police station while two more important characters engage in dialogue, but the man's insistent 'Lock me up – I'm a werewolf, I'm a werewolf' is all viewers require to grasp the scenario. Around two-thirds of films featuring werewolves have relied upon the narrative structure established in the 1930s and early 1940s, in which a respectable, white, heterosexual man is accidentally afflicted with lycanthropy, suffering trauma and anxiety as a result. The presumption that a werewolf must be male ('Who ever heard of a girl werewolf?' asks Cindy, a character in a children's werewolf story[42]) is most manifest in films which feature an incidental werewolf as a minor or supporting character. Because these films are not exclusively focused on the werewolf theme, they tend to resort to a shorthand iconography of lycanthropy, presenting viewers with a default version of the werewolf that is invariably male.[43] Just as tellingly, other films reveal female lycanthropy as a 'twist', as in *Dog Soldiers* (2002, UK), in which the local Scottish girl who gives

refuge to British soldiers under attack by werewolves turns out to be a werewolf herself.

Television horror has also reinforced visualizations of the werewolf as male. As Gregory A. Waller suggests, television horror, in keeping with its domestic suburban setting, is characterized by a more intimate focus than cinematic horror; it is an individual, personal affair affecting intimately characterized individual protagonists.[44] The private, interior nature of the 'beast within' has thus lent itself to such modestly scaled horror narratives, suggesting why the werewolf became a staple theme of the made-for-television horror film in the 1970s. Waller in fact uses a television werewolf film entitled *Death Moon* (1978, USA), with its 'focus on the fate of one reasonably intelligent, middle-class, white, adult male' to illustrate his point.[45] The voice-over which accompanies the opening shot of a huge, full moon in *The Werewolf of Washington* (1973, USA) condenses all the masculine anxieties deriving from a culturally entrenched fear of the 'beast within' into a few fragmented phrases: 'That it could happen in America ... that it could happen now ... that it could ever happen to me ... I was the youngest member of the Washington press corps, its fastest rising star ... one of the best and brightest, as we used to say.' The message is unequivocal: normative masculinity is vulnerable to the onset of sudden crisis.

Adam Douglas underlined the extent to which such narratives have popularized a particular view of the psyche when he gave his populist overview of lycanthropy in history and fiction the title *The Beast Within*, but this text also demonstrates the acceptance of this notion within analytical contexts. R.H.W. Dillard further demonstrates the logic by which the dramatization of the 'beast within' in werewolf films is then interpreted as a representation of the 'beast within' by reviewers and critics, writing of Chaney's performance that 'in the Wolf Man ... we see our dual selves; his story is the story of us all, exaggerated into parable and myth ... The shock on Talbot's face at the moment when he sees the hair spreading on the backs of his hands is ... a shock we must all share.'[46] Such convergence of popular and critical analysis – particularly in relation to film – has been increasingly mediated by psychoanalytic theory.

A psychoanalytic approach to film rose to prominence around 1970, under the particular influence of the French film theorists Jean-Louis Baudry and Christian Metz. The British film journal *Screen* became synonymous with psychoanalytic interpretations of cinema during the 1970s and 1980s, to the extent that psychoanalytic film theory is sometimes referred to as 'screen theory'. All genres and forms of cinema have come under the scrutiny of psychoanalytic film theory, and the horror film has been no exception: indeed, the nightmare quality of horror imagery has meant that the horror film has been persistently analogized with the dream, the analysis of which is a keystone of psychoanalytic practice.[47] Further, as Linda Badley argues, 'Psychology explains why vampires, werewolves, and zombies ... keep coming back: they are empowered by repression and cultural repetition.'[48]

Badley's comment draws from a tradition of horror criticism crystallized by Robin Wood in the 1970s. Wood drew from mass culture theory and psychoanalysis to explain horror in terms of the concept of repression, as developed out of Freud and Marx by Herbert Marcuse and utilized in Gad Horowitz's book *Repression: Basic and Surplus Repression in Psychoanalytic Theory: Freud, Reich and Marcuse* (1977). As Wood explained, 'Basic repression is universal, necessary and inescapable. It is what makes possible our development from an uncoordinated animal capable of little beyond screaming and convulsions into a human being.'[49] In this sense, Wood's framework reaffirmed an entrenched model of the psyche as divided. Wood went on to explain the concept of *surplus* repression, which he understood as arising through the process of othering: 'surplus repression makes us (if it works) into monogamous heterosexual bourgeois patriarchal capitalists.'[50] Wood thus argued – along similar lines to other theorists of the Gothic – that the repressed other 'returns' in dreams or nightmares, and in the monsters of the horror film, specifically as a cathartic release.[51] Subsequent analyses expanded upon Wood's interpretation of horror as a form of catharsis, a conceptualization that focused attention on the role of the unconscious in the production of horror, inviting further psychoanalytic interpretations.[52] Arguments which propose that horror performs a cathartic function have also been adopted by the producers

of horror narratives; Stephen King, for example, writes 'Here is the final truth of horror movies: ... They are the barber's leeches of the psyche, drawing not bad blood but anxiety.'[53] Thus, the interpretation of horror as catharsis further demonstrates the spread of psychoanalytic concepts in critical *and* popular discourses.

An additional effect of the sustained application of psychoanalytic concepts in both critical and popular contexts has been an increasing emphasis on sex, gender and sexuality, in keeping with the concerns developed by Freud. In the case of horror films, this has manifested as the representation of monstrosity primarily in terms of gender in fiction and film; as Halberstam notes, 'the hegemonic installation of psychoanalytic interpretations' has meant that 'monstrosity within contemporary horror seems to have stabilized into an amalgam of sex and gender.'[54] Certainly, the widespread diffusion of Freudian psychoanalytic concepts has given rise to a situation in which subjectivity and identity are conceptualized primarily in terms of sex and gender. In this sense, the representation of selfhood has become centred around notions of embodiment – which goes some way towards explaining the popularity of monsters in the cinematic tradition, since they register an insistently embodied subjectivity.

The 'body horror' films that emerged in the 1980s underlined this trend. These films were related and indebted to earlier narratives about monsters, particularly the horror films of the 1930s and 1940s, in which the body had been displayed as a site of leakage, corruption, permeability, impurity, disease or painful metamorphosis. These films had evinced an obsessive interest in bodily processes such as growth and reproduction, organic interiority, the dissolution of the boundaries between inside and outside, and the fragility of the 'closed, static, self-contained, symmetrical, and sleek'[55] body of the classical tradition. Such imagery was resurrected and augmented in the 1980s, with werewolves featuring prominently.

Joe Dante's *The Howling* (1980, USA/Canada), an adaptation of Gary Brandner's horror novel of the same title, was the first of a number of high-profile werewolf films released during the 1980s. In many ways, *The Howling* was steeped in the traditions of the werewolf

film subgenre. Many of the characters were named after the directors of earlier werewolf films, footage from *The Wolf Man* was included, the silver bullet was required to kill a werewolf, and the icon of the 'arcane book' was important. The film, however, also infused the werewolf theme with a contemporary flavour, particularly by exploring the relationship between sexuality and lycanthropy more openly than previous films.

The Howling begins with a surfeit of sexual imagery. Karen White (Dee Wallace), a television news reporter, arranges to meet a suspected rapist named Eddie at a sex shop, with the intention of getting a story for her television programme. The man forces Karen to watch a video of a violent gang rape and then transforms into a wolf. She escapes. To help Karen recover from the trauma of her encounter, she and her sensitive, vegetarian husband Bill visit a retreat called The Colony, which is in fact a therapy centre for a pack of maladjusted werewolves, including Eddie. Bill is soon bitten by Eddie and finds release for his repressed instincts as he savours the flavour of barbecued meat, and enjoys bestial sex under the stars with his new werewolf lover. It is Bill's transformation which underlines the film's preoccupation with the werewolf as a 'figuration of lust'.[56] As Gregory Waller writes, 'By venturing into the moonlight and acting upon his desires, Bill becomes a werewolf; in and through sex, the beast within emerges.'[57]

While *The Howling* addressed themes of adult sexuality, the transforming werewolf body can also be understood (and is often presented as) an analogy for adolescent sexuality. This perspective was articulated as early as 1973 by Walter Evans, who argued with reference to *The Wolf Man* that '[t]he key to monster movies and the adolescents who understandably dote upon them is the theme of ... the monstrous transformation which is directly associated with secondary sexual characteristics and with the onset of aggressive erotic behaviour.'[58] The 1957 film *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* made these connections with adolescence overt and, as Badley observes, such 1950s films were 'retrofitted for the 1980s', and new special-effects techniques now emphasized the process of corporeal transformation that links the werewolf theme with the experience of adolescence.[59] The comedies *Full Moon High*

(1981, USA), *Teen Wolf* (1985, USA) and its sequel *Teen Wolf Too* (1987, USA), and Michael Jackson's horror music video *Thriller* (1983, USA) all featured male teenage werewolves in brightly coloured jackets, using lycanthropy as a metaphor for adolescent trauma. A publicity blurb for *Teen Wolf* makes these connections as obvious as possible: 'He's going through changes. His voice is changing. He's got hair on his chest. He's stopped being a boy. At last he's become – A WOLF!' Even though *An American Werewolf in London* featured a slightly older male, the film's intense focus on the first-time transformation, and the emphasis on David's naked, disoriented awakening the following day, also resonates with the groggy experience of 'the morning after' which Western culture sanctions as a form of adolescent initiation and bachelor bravado.

Although the themes of lycanthropic sexuality, female lycanthropy and adolescence were explored in an unprecedented fashion in the films of the 1980s, the body of the monster still tended to be coded in terms of excessive masculinity, as the visible extension of the aggressive potential contained within the body of the ordinary human male. Indeed, the aggression implicit in the masculine physique has been consistently emphasized in werewolf films by the casting of powerfully built actors in the role of the werewolf. Lon Chaney Jr was a huge man, and *The Wolf Man* made this explicit when Larry's father expresses pride about the build of his son to a friend: 'Big boy, isn't he?', to which the other replies 'Huge.' Subsequent actors portraying werewolves, notably Paul Naschy (who starred in, and scripted, directed and/or produced thirteen Mexican werewolf films between 1967 and 2004) and Oliver Reed (*Curse of the Werewolf*, 1960, UK), were of a similar build.

The excessive masculinity of the werewolf body also exaggerates conventions of masculine representation described by Paul Hoch, who notes that the villain in American films 'is almost invariably depicted as somewhat darker, dirtier, hairier, more dishevelled, less clean cut, more dissolute than his white heroic antagonist'.[60] The werewolf unites in a single body the elements of the hero and the villain described by Hoch, and the features that mark the beast as 'lower' than the civilized man correspond to the same racist and class-prejudiced conventions

that mark out the villain in other films. Ever since the transformations achieved by Jack Pierce in *Werewolf of London* (1935), for example, the skin of the actor playing the werewolf has been blackened (Pierce used a make-up sensitive to light so that the serialized removal of filters over the camera lenses appeared to darken the skin).[61] Similarly, the werewolf is regularly depicted as dirty and unkempt; his feet are bare, if he wears clothes they are torn and stained, and his mouth, hands and chest are frequently covered in blood. The hairiness of the werewolf is another clear signifier of inferior masculinity, associating the figure with an earlier stage of evolution as well as the instinctual animal world. Hoch emphasizes the importance of hair as a signifier of debasement when he notes that dark facial hair and a 'shaggy' appearance are often signs of male villainy in film.[62]

The most central scene in *The Howling*, the lengthy transformation celebrated in the fan magazines as a triumph of special-effects technology, focused attention on the masculinity of the werewolf's body in unprecedented fashion. Before his wide-eyed female victim, Eddie slowly metamorphoses into hyper-masculine form, a monolith of sinew and chiselled muscles flexing under all the body hair, 7 or 8 foot tall and moving bipedally. The centrepiece of John Landis's *An American Werewolf in London* (1981, UK), released the following year, was also the transformation scene in which American youth David Kessler (David Naughton) undergoes an agonizing metamorphosis into an equally muscled (but quadrupedal) monster, which won Rick Baker the inaugural Academy Award for Best Make-up. Three years later, *The Company of Wolves* (1984, UK) directly addressed the werewolf subgenre's fixation on the masculine body in a lingering transformation sequence in which the camera dwells upon the undulating curves of a werewolf's muscled back during his metamorphosis. More recently, *An American Werewolf in Paris* (1998, USA) acknowledged the importance of the hyper-masculine physique in a restaurant scene which marks the beginning of the American youth's transformation. A shot of a man reading a newspaper reveals that the back page of the spread features the figure of a strongman in an advertisement for body building, presaging the imminent transformation of the young man.

This moment also paid tribute to the twentieth-century werewolf's genesis in the pulp magazines, where similar advertisements would appear in the margins of werewolf stories and other narratives of bodily transformation.

A 1987 film with notably low production values entitled *Curse of the Queerwolf* (1987, USA) utilized the werewolf's capacity to model ideas about male embodiment, to assert the importance of heterosexuality in the construction of masculinity. The film's oft-repeated parody of the original poem from *The Wolf Man* is unequivocal in its expression of the issues at stake:

> Even a wrist that is strong and firm
> and holds up straight by day
> may become limp when the moon is full
> and the Queerwolf comes your way.

Rather than transforming into a hyper-masculine beast, the white, middle-class, heterosexual protagonist metamorphoses into an effeminate, cross-dressing homosexual when the moon is full, and can only ward off the curse by wearing a medallion featuring a photograph of John Wayne. The Queerwolf's contrast with the familiar lycanthrope positions the regular werewolf as a paragon of heterosexual masculinity, further underlining the extent to which lycanthropy has come to signify masculinity in the cinematic tradition.

Nevertheless, Barbara Creed argues that the werewolf is a feminized figure, pointing out that the werewolf's monthly full-moon transformation is an obvious parallel with the female menstrual cycle. She is anxious to link the werewolf with the feminine because this perspective then allows her to elaborate a theory of horror as male masochism, using Freud's theory of 'feminine masochism' or masochistic phantasies in men, which 'place the subject in a characteristically female situation; they signify, that is, being castrated, or copulated with, or giving birth to a baby.'[63] According to Creed, the feminized monster of horror films 'draws on the masochistic aspects of looking' by enabling male spectators to identify with a feminine position.[64] Creed's suggestion that the werewolf 'really' enables masochistic identification through

its feminized embodiment is embedded in a system of 'revelatory reading' characteristic of psychoanalytic film theory, which seeks to 'uncover' what is unconsciously denied or repressed;[65] as Mark Jancovich argues, 'the psychoanalytic concern with the unconscious ... means that psychoanalysis must be opposed to people's experiences of film texts. That which is conscious must be, of necessity, inadequate or even contrary to the "truth".'[66] As the werewolf demonstrates, however, the 'unconscious' that is 'revealed' through psychoanalysis is a cultural construction founded upon deeply entrenched assumptions. In this context, readings that insist upon the disclosure of unconscious 'truths' appear insufficiently alert to the historical and cultural contingency of the 'unconscious' that is being privileged.

Although Creed resorts to a rather unproductive essentialism in her desire to equate femininity with masochism and hence monstrosity with femininity, her association of the werewolf with aspects of feminine embodiment is not necessarily mistaken. Her eagerness to reveal that horror enables a masochistic form of spectatorship, however, causes her to dismiss arguments that, as Badley observes, 'The werewolf legend by way of Hollywood was a myth of male body language, male hysteria and self-alienation.'[67] Yet Badley is not necessarily arguing that werewolf narratives are exclusively concerned with masculinity; indeed, she argues elsewhere that in the werewolf films of the 1980s 'male experience was portrayed as explicitly and painfully embodied, in the sense that female experience is thought to be', and, like Creed, she investigates Laura Mulvey's concept of the gendered gaze,[68] deciding that the werewolf is 'feminized especially in its exhibitionist positioning as object of the camera's invasive gaze'.[69] Rather, by acknowledging the werewolf's felicity for the expression of masculinity *or* femininity, Badley approaches the perspective developed by Kelly Hurley, who suggests that it is the ease with which a figure such as the werewolf can be seen to express elements of *either* gender which is significant. Hurley juxtaposes passages from two different analyses of *Alien* (1979, USA) to great effect in making her point:

> Through grotesquely emphasized erectile images, the alien insistently registers psychosexually as a threatening phallus: it unfolds itself from

> a seemingly inert mass into a towering, top-heavy menace; extends its insidiously telescoping jaws; slithers its tail up the leg of its fear-paralysed female victim.[70]
>
> In ... *Alien*, we are given a representation of the female genitals and the womb as uncanny – horrific objects of dread and fascination. ... The creature is the mother's phallus, attributed to the maternal figure by a phallocentric ideology terrified at the thought that women might desire to have the phallus.[71]

Having demonstrated that *Alien* is so replete with sexual imagery as to support such disparate readings, Hurley observes that the film 'exceeds and resists an interpretation that would contain it within the field of (human) sexuality'.[72] For Hurley, *Alien* 'moves smoothly within the logic of psychoanalysis ... – so smoothly and indiscriminately as to overload and rupture that logic.'[73]

Here, once again, is a demonstration of the monster's excess, this time configured as an excess of Freudian imagery. The 'non-material but physical' surplus that is carried by the body in Slavoj Žižek's formulation is in this instance the stuff of psychoanalysis – the gendered freight of the Oedipus complex and so on. Certainly, as psychoanalysis has been incorporated into accounts of 'reality', its 'revelatory' logic has reproduced increasingly grotesque and extravagant readings of gendered subjectivity, to the extent that, as Halberstam contends, it no longer analyses horror – it 'generates horror'.[74] The experience of a young male psychiatric patient certainly suggests the capacity of Freudian logic to generate horror:

> When I'm emotionally upset, I feel as if I'm turning into something else. ... I get the feeling I'm becoming a wolf. I look at myself in the mirror and I witness my transformation. It's no longer my face; it changes completely. I stare, my pupils dilate, and I feel as if hairs are growing all over my body, as if my teeth are getting longer. ... I feel as if my skin is no longer mine.[75]

For this man the metaphor of the 'beast within' has become literalized, not least by a psychiatric discourse that provided him with the diagnosis of 'lycanthropy'.

In Badley's view, body horror is the latest instalment of an 'ongoing crisis of identity in which the gendered, binary subject of Eurocentric

bourgeois patriarchy (in particular, the Freudian psychoanalytical model of the self) is undergoing deconstruction.'[76] The werewolf has chronicled the longevity and intractability of this crisis and, through its increasing representation as an anguished male, has also emphasized the patriarchal bias of this troubled exemplar of selfhood (or, the sense in which the subject of the Enlightenment was envisioned as 'neutral' but also as 'male'). While psychoanalysis has helped to describe the dysfunctionality of the werewolf, its positioning within the logic of the Enlightenment has meant that it has also reinscribed the very tensions it seeks to address, in the form of the 'beast within'. And this is why the werewolf, despite decades of analysis, is so aptly represented by the popular joke: 'I used to be a werewolf but I'm alright nowooooo.'

4

The call of the wild

The werewolf has given metaphorical expression to the tenacious concept of the 'beast within', an idea which has been supported by philosophical, religious, evolutionary, psychiatric and popular narratives in the Western world. In the context of the escalating violence of the twentieth century, the notion has gained particular credence as an explanation for why, as R.W. Connell observes, 'Most episodes of major violence (counting military combat, homicide and armed assault) are transactions among men.'[1] Certainly, two world wars in the twentieth century focused attention on the problem of violence in an unprecedented fashion, especially as military aggression did not subside with the end of the Second World War, but coalesced into the complex 'balance of power' politics that continues to define international relations. Meanwhile, the continued use of force and intimidation in other settings – against women, children, ethnic and sexual minorities, the poor, animals and the environment – provoked widespread critiques of masculinity.

Such systematized expressions of an aggressive masculinity have motivated analyses that have sought to move beyond a focus on the struggle of the individual male towards a focus on more collectivized

demonstrations of male violence. In such contexts, the ideas of Carl Jung have been influential. Jung proposed the existence of a collective unconscious resulting from the long evolution of the human species. According to Jung, this psychological heritage is expressed in the individual psyche in the form of universal primordial images, or archetypes. He wrote, for example, that '[i]n so far as through our unconscious we have a share in the historical collective psyche, we live naturally and unconsciously in a world of werewolves, demons, magicians, etc., for those are the things which all previous ages have vested with tremendous affectivity.'[2] Jung also suggested that a number of archetypal subpersonalities constituted the individual psyche: the 'persona', or the 'mask' one presents to the world, also called the conformity archetype; the 'anima' (in men) or 'animus' (in women), which constitutes those gender traits which are repressed in the expression of the persona; the 'shadow', a deeply instinctive archetype deriving from a primal, animal past, also suppressed by the persona; and the 'self', the concept of a total, unified, entirely conscious psyche which harmonizes all the other archetypes, and represents the life's goal.[3] Jung argued that these various components of the psyche would evolve during the lifespan of an ordinary individual, an effect he called individuation, 'the process that normally leads a human being to the unification of his personality'.[4] In Jung's view, when an obstacle to this development is encountered, a person might require the assistance of an analyst, and this became the foundation of his technique of analytic psychology.

Freud and Jung had worked together closely from 1907, having formed the Viennese Psychoanalytic Society in 1908, which became the International Psychoanalytic Association in 1910, with Jung as president. It is clear that both were interested in the unconscious, and in extending self-awareness or consciousness. They were also in accord in their conceptualization of the human psyche as a combination of masculine and feminine impulses, and both incorporated into their work the age-old notion of 'the beast within', modernized with a dash of evolutionary theory – Freud through the consistent use of imagery and phrasing evocative of an interior animality, Jung through the theoriza-

tion of the 'shadow' as deriving from a bestial past. Despite this shared terrain, however, fundamental disagreements developed between the two theorists, and by 1913 their differences had become irreconcilable, with Jung resigning from the Psychoanalytic Association.

The case of the Wolf-Man, as it was revised for publication in 1918 (it was originally written in 1914 but publication was delayed due to the First World War), was then specifically tailored by Freud to refute the claims of Jung. Freud used this study, with its persistent emphasis upon the childhood difficulties of the patient, to argue that the ontogenetic (or personal) history of an individual was of prime importance in the diagnosis and treatment of mental illness. The passages he added to the case just prior to publication criticized Jung's tendency to prioritise the phylogenetic heritage (or evolutionary history) of the collective unconscious: for example, 'I fully agree with Jung in recognizing the existence of this phylogenetic heritage; but I regard it as a methodological error to seize on a phylogenetic explanation before the ontogenetic possibilities have been exhausted.'[5] As Carlo Ginzburg summarizes their differences: 'For Freud the theory of neurosis includes the myth; for Jung it was just the opposite.'[6]

This contrast between the two theorists' work was magnified through later applications and popularizations of their work, reifying the Freudian focus on the individual, and the Jungian focus on the collective. As a result, a difference in scale has come to set them apart, with Freudian analysis on the one hand – centred on domestic or *unheimlich* themes, resonating with the narrative form of the short story or film and the technique of close textual analysis; and Jungian analysis on the other – centred on mythic or global themes, resonating with the narrative form of the epic and the strategies of broad-brushstroke analysis. In fact, such antagonisms proliferate in the gulf between Freud and Jung, who have been respectively associated with other pairings such as rationality and romanticism, male and female, negative and positive, left and right.

Given the werewolf's unique proclivity for modelling antagonisms, it is little wonder that the German writer Herman Hesse chose the theme of lycanthropy to dramatize the differences between Freud and

Jung. Hesse was deeply interested in the work of both theorists, and underwent Jungian therapy under a pupil of Jung's following the First World War. He wrote *Steppenwolf* (1927), which is arguably his most famous novel, as a result of this experience. The Steppenwolf (wolf of the Steppes) of the title is Harry Haller, an enlightened man who nevertheless visualizes himself as half-man, half-wolf.

> There was once a man, Harry, called the Steppenwolf. He went on two legs, wore clothes and was a human being, but nevertheless he was in reality a wolf of the Steppes. He had learned a good deal of all that people of a good intelligence can, and was a fairly clever fellow. What he had not learned, however, was this: to find contentment in himself and his own life.[7]

Here is the ideal subject of the Enlightenment – civilized, learned, intelligent and male – and yet convinced that he is divided against himself. In Hesse's hands, the werewolf models the complex psychic inheritance of the subject's formation within modernity, and Freudian psychoanalysis is imaged – in veiled terms – as a further symptom of this inheritance, rather than as a cure:

> It might ... be possible that in [Harry's] childhood he was a little wild and disobedient and disorderly, and that those who brought him up had declared a war of extinction against the beast in him; and precisely this had given him the idea and the belief that he was in fact actually a beast with only a thin covering of the human. On this point one could speak at length and entertainingly, and indeed write a book about it. The Steppenwolf, however, would be none the better for it, since for him it was all one whether the wolf had been bewitched or beaten into him, or whether it was merely an idea of his own. ... It left the wolf inside him just the same.[8]

For Hesse, the notion of the 'beast within' (or what he calls Harry's 'niggardly wolf-theory') is negatively identified with Freudian theory. The point of Hesse's novel was therefore to criticize the notion of the 'beast within' by demonstrating that 'Harry does shocking violence to his poor soul when he endeavours to apprehend it by means of so primitive an image.'[9] Hesse turned instead to Jung's model of the psyche as a cluster of subpersonalities in constantly changing and evolving

relation to one another, sending Harry on a journey through the world of dream and fantasy. This journey builds Harry's awareness of the manifold possibilities within himself, and of his potential to develop beyond the divided subjectivity of the werewolf.

To Hesse's lifelong exasperation, however, although the book became immensely popular (especially among successive generations of the young), readers of *Steppenwolf* seemed to identify with his portrayal of the binary man–wolf personality sketched in the early stages of the novel, but did not engage so readily with the critique of this characterization carried out in the subsequent narrative. Such was Hesse's frustration that he wrote an 'Author's Note' for a later edition of *Steppenwolf*, in which he observed that while such readers had 'identified themselves within [the Steppenwolf] ... I would be happy if many of them were to realize that the story of the Steppenwolf pictures a disease and crisis – but not one leading to death and destruction, on the contrary: to healing.'[10] Hesse clearly felt that his novel had been understood as an emulation and reinforcement of Freudian theory, rather than as a critique of its limitations; that, rather than inspiring readers to think beyond the 'werewolf' model of the psyche, it had contributed to the further institutionalization and popularization of this understanding. Certainly, as the previous chapter demonstrated, the notion of the 'beast within' became deeply entrenched in both popular and critical culture during the twentieth century.

Yet, despite Hesse's attempt to distance analytic psychology from imagery of the 'beast within', Jung's notion of a collective unconscious lent its own weight to this notion through its emphasis on evolutionary heritage. According to Jung's logic, modern subjectivity is still shaped by residual impulses derived from humanity's earlier, more bestial incarnation. Coupled with anthropological characterizations of our (male) human ancestors as hunters, this view has led to depictions of the masculine unconscious as programmed with violent and lustful impulses. As Connell argues, in such narratives 'men's bodies are the bearers of a natural masculinity produced by the evolutionary pressures that have borne down upon the human stock.'[11] As a consequence, a man is frequently visualized as described by Paul Hoch; as engaged in

a struggle with 'the boundaries of his merely animal existence' which amounts to 'an almost existential struggle with nature'.[12] Further, black or working-class masculinities are seen to suffer more acutely, with men from these groups being represented as less able to control instinctive drives to maim, rape or kill. The metaphor becomes more overt in the case of men who are violent criminals, rapists, murderers or psychotics, who are often described as 'animals', 'beasts', 'wolves' or 'werewolves', and even men who harrass women in the streets are termed 'wolf-whistlers'. In fact, the connection between wolves and criminality is an old one,[13] but the association endures; a British sex offender, for example, was termed the 'werewolf rapist' by the press as recently as 1990.[14] Indeed, the representation of the violent criminal as a werewolf persists to such an extent that Denis Duclos's recent examination of uniquely American expressions of violence is entitled *The Werewolf Complex*.

Robert Eisler, an Austrian Jewish cultural historian and psychoanalyst, exemplified the understanding of masculinity that emerges from the convergence of Jungian analytic strategies with imagery of the beast within in his essay *Man Into Wolf: An Anthropological Interpretation of Sadism, Masochism, and Lycanthropy* (1951). The essay reworks the biblical story of the Fall, implying that this narrative expresses the human transition from a vegetarian to a meat-eating diet. Eisler argued that the original incarnation of humanity was the '"good savage" of the primeval Golden Age, living on acorns and at peace with the other animals'; but at the end of the pluvial period, humans 'driven by hunger to aggression, learned by "aping" the habits of the gregarious beasts of prey that pursued these early Hominidae to hunt in common, biting and devouring alive the surrounded and run-down booty'.[15] As proof of his thesis, Eisler turned to the theme of lycanthropy, with an analysis clearly indebted to Jung's theorization of the 'shadow' (not to mention the comparative mythologists of the nineteenth century).

> The great number of ancient Indo-European tribal names, such as Luvians, Lycians, Lucanians, Dacians, Hyrcanians, etc., meaning 'wolf-men' or 'she-wolf-people' found in Italy, Greece, the Balkan peninsula, Asia

> Minor and North-west Persia, and the numerous Germanic, Italic and Greek personal names meaning 'wolf' and 'she-wolf', clearly prove that the transition from the fruit-gathering herd of 'finders' to the lupine pack of carnivorous hunters was a conscious process accompanied by a deep emotional upheaval still remembered by man's subconscious, super-individual, ancestral memory (Jung), and reflected in the 'superstitions' – i.e. the surviving atavistic beliefs – about 'lycanthropy'.[16]

Eisler's point was that violent or antisocial behaviour is a reversion to the archetypes deriving from humanity's heritage as hunting 'werewolves'. In this sense, he argued, the seeds for the horrors of Nazi Germany were already contained within the human psyche, needing only the appropriate conditions to germinate.[17] Fulfilling the promise of his title, Eisler also presented his argument in specifically gendered terms, arguing that '[w]e are all descended from males of the carnivorous lycanthropic variety' who were responsible for the 'rape and sometimes even the devouring of the females of the original peaceful fruit-eating *bon sauvage* remaining in the primeval virgin forests'.[18] Here, the werewolf is clearly gendered as male, and is connected with a pathological masculine subjectivity that is responsible for all human misery.

Eisler's imaginative contrast between 'carnivorous lycanthropic males' and 'peaceful females in virgin forests' also seems to foreshadow the difference between the Symbolic and the Imaginary posed by Jacques Lacan.[19] According to Lacan, the Imaginary is the state in which the Self is unformed and undifferentiated, and precedes the Symbolic, in which the Self is produced through language and social or symbolic codes. Feminists such as Julia Kristeva and Luce Irigaray have extended Lacan's analysis to suggest that the Symbolic and the Imaginary can also be characterized as masculine and feminine respectively. Eisler's schema resonates with this logic, but, significantly, it is a masculine *lycanthropy* that stands for the Symbolic, suggesting that subjectivity itself (the mode of the Symbolic) is a pathological and dysfunctional construct. In this sense, Eisler forwards a more radical diagnosis than that of Hesse, who simply indicated that the conceptualization of subjectivity as divided was the difficulty.

Despite the contribution of both Freud and Jung to conceptualizations of subjectivity in terms of a 'beast within', representations of lycanthropy in these terms were less prevalent in the early decades of the twentieth century (the years during which psychoanalysis was institutionalized) than representations which presented the werewolf as a Devil-like figure. Only a few treatments of lycanthropy appeared in English during the years when the psychoanalytic movement was growing in stature, and by the time werewolves made a comeback in the pulp magazines of the 1920s, the focus was once again on the supernatural and the battle between good and evil.

This trend was an obvious recuperation of imagery stemming from the First World War, during which the Germans were endowed with the characteristics of the Gothic monster. In the context of subsequent anticipation of a second war, the focus on the werewolf as an alien or external threat to internal order and integrity can be understood as an expression of anxiety about further international aggression. The regular characterization of the werewolf as a foreigner in particular must also be contextualized in relation to a burst of creativity in the Gothic tradition emanating from the USA in the 1920s, inaugurated by the appearance of the *Weird Tales* magazine in 1923. The 1920s were, of course, a period of isolationism for the USA, in which resentment at the involvement of US troops in the First World War consolidated into determination not to become involved in the affairs of Europe again. Consequently, the Gothic literature of this period oozes with imagery of a corrupt, dangerously seductive, European decadence (a trend that peaked in *The Wolf Man* films). The werewolf, perhaps rivalled only by the vampire, was uniquely able to express American anxiety about Europe, emanating as it did from a long tradition of European superstition.[20]

The promotion of a 'no-nonsense' or 'straight-talking' 'manliness' in magazines such as *Weird Tales* (and also in a number of novels about lycanthropy that appeared from around 1920) contrasted markedly with the pathologized masculinity that characterized discourses about the 'beast within'. The heroes who brought the demonic werewolves of the pulp tradition to justice were extremely uncomplicated compared

to Freud's Wolf-Man or the Steppenwolf, and modelled the wholesome virtues of honesty, bravery, level-headedness and strong Christian morality. There was also a marked emphasis on the bonds of friendship or camaraderie between men in such narratives; for example, the overcoming of the werewolf threat was often portrayed as a group effort.[21] More often than not a woman (frequently a daughter or sister of one of the male characters, and the romantic interest for one of the other men, usually the narrator) would also be included in the group, particularly as a supporting domestic presence in the planning stages of the adventure, but her role in the action was invariably of the passive variety – as a passenger, innocent bystander, victim to be rescued, or decoy (also to be rescued). The presence of such helpless females in need of protection helped to emphasize the strength and competence of the male characters.[22]

The promulgation of this narrative tradition at the very moment when masculine subjectivity was being called into question invites speculation that a once secure and stable masculinity was now in need of shoring up, apparently through fraternal efforts. Indeed, if individual masculinity was flawed by an unconscious programmed with bestial drives, then a fraternal model of masculinity was a logical way for men to keep each other in check, while still protecting and maintaining male authority. The presence of such a fraternal grouping clustered around Larry's father in *The Wolf Man* (which was otherwise so instrumental in establishing the lone suffering of the individual werewolf) lends support to this idea.

The representation of such brotherhoods is also explicable in the context of the two world wars, since the genial alliances of the English and Americans were contrasted with the more sinister fraternal bonds that were associated with the enemy; not least because imagery of the werewolf was explicitly embraced by the German military during this period. The German soldiers who refused to disband at the end of the First World War called themselves 'Werewolves', and these fighters were the precursors of the Freikorps, the volunteer armies that fought the revolutionary German working class in the years immediately following the First World War. Eventually, this group became 'a

recruiting ground for the Nazi elite', giving the movement its military character.[23] As a future leader of the SA remarked, these soldiers aimed to be 'silent, deadly, remorseless in battle', qualities which the image of the werewolf was perceived to encapsulate, especially as it was undoubtedly felt to be a peculiarly German image by the nationalist soldiers.[24] This perception was not unfounded, as Germany's judicial records certainly included a number of cases of alleged lycanthropy,[25] and several early-modern treatises on lycanthropy were published or written in the region.[26] Further, the study of folklore and mythology had been pioneered in Germany in the early nineteenth century by the Brothers Grimm and other philologists and comparative mythologists, and many of the British scholars who investigated the theme of the werewolf were indebted at least in part to the work of their German counterparts, particularly Wilhelm Hertz, who published *Der Werwolf. Beitrag zur Sagengeschichte* in 1862.

Adolf Hitler's personal identification with wolves can also be understood in this context. As Robert Waite has argued, Hitler identified closely with wolves from an early age.

> As a boy he was well pleased with his first name, noting that it came from the old German 'Athalwolf' – a compound of Athal ('noble') and Wolfa ('wolf'). And 'noble wolf' he sought to remain. At the start of his political career he chose 'Herr Wolf' as his pseudonym. His favourite dogs were alsations – in German *Wolfshunde*. One of [his dog] Blondi's pups, born toward the end of the war, he called 'Wolf' and would allow no one else to touch or feed it. He named his headquarters in France *Wolfsschlucht* (Wolf's Gulch). In the Ukraine his headquarters were Werewolf. As he explained to a servant, 'I am the Wolf and this is my den.' He called his SS 'My pack of wolves.' Later he would recall with exaltation how in the early days of the movement his Storm Troopers pounced upon the opposition 'like wolves' and were soon 'covered with blood.' ... When he telephoned Winifred Wagner, he would say, 'Conductor Wolf calling!' The secretary he kept longer than any other (more than 20 years) was Johanna Wolf. She recalled that while Hitler addressed all other secretaries formally as 'Frau' or 'Fräulein,' he invariably called her 'Wölfin' (She-Wolf). One of his favourite tunes came from a Walt Disney movie. Often and absent-mindedly he whistled 'Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?'[27]

FIG. 9 Comic from the *Daily Worker*, 1945.

In the context of an argument that seeks to establish the pervasiveness of discourses that connect a pathological masculinity with imagery of the wolf, Waite's zeal in identifying Hitler with the wolf is almost as significant as Hitler's obsession. Certainly, the wolf and the werewolf were crucial images in Nazi mythology, and this was borne out by the fact that, in its darkest hour, the Nazi military resuscitated the image of the werewolf as a rallying point, designating the underground movement organized by fascist loyalists at the end of the Second World War by the term 'Werewolf'. In a famous speech which inaugurated the Nazi radio station *Werewolf-Sender* on 1 April 1945, Joseph Goebbels warned that the werewolves would operate 'as normal citizens by day, but meting out death and destruction to their enemies under the cover of darkness'.[28] Further, the strong association of the werewolf with German fascism continues to be reflected in the imagery of neo-fascist groups.[29]

The Nazi celebration of lupine traits was often foregrounded in Allied representations of the enemy, as testified by a comic of a wolf wearing the cap of a German soldier from a 1945 edition of the *British Daily Worker* (now the *Morning Star*) (*Figure 9*). *The Mad Monster* (1942, USA), a werewolf film produced by a rival studio that capitalized

on the popularity of *The Wolf Man*, also engaged with the lycanthropic imagery of Nazism. A patriotic American doctor injects a hapless handyman with wolf blood, telling his colleagues that the 'fanatical fury' of the German forces will pale in comparison with the 'army of wolfmen' he is about to create: 'My serum will make it possible to unloose millions of such animal men – men who are governed by one collective thought, the animal lust to kill.... Such an army will be invincible, you know.' The experiment goes disastrously wrong, with the werewolf terrorizing the local community, so that the model of the lupine warrior is ultimately figured as a sort of 'temptation into evil' which the Allied forces should resist.

The shift towards a scientifically synthesized werewolf in this film signalled a trend that was to gather momentum in the 1950s. All the major werewolf films released during this decade dropped any references to the lore of the supernatural that had grown up around lycanthropy in the 1940s, and instead featured scientifically generated lycanthropy. In *The Werewolf* (as in *The Mad Monster*), lycanthropy results when a man is injected with a serum containing wolf's blood. *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* (1957, USA) also featured a werewolf created through a serum in combination with hypnosis, and *Daughter of Dr Jekyll* (1957, USA) featured yet another scientifically synthesized werewolf. All of these films also featured mad scientists, a pattern which pervaded the horror films of the post-war period.

The positioning of scientists as the threat in the horror films of the 1950s reflected fears generated largely by the development of the hydrogen bomb; rational science had now produced a menace more hazardous than any evil of the pre-modern or supernatural world. The *unheimlich* terrors of the 'beast within' were now overtaken by what Manuel Aguirre has called 'cosmic terror' or 'a threat to society at large, to the earth, or to the universe'.[30] Certainly, the dread of nuclear war is overtly stated in *The Werewolf*; by using a serum taken from a wolf which died of radiation, the mad Dr Morgan believes he can immunise a select group against radiation poisoning, so that 'When the rest of the world has been destroyed, we will be the only normal, thinking persons left.... It'll mean the beginning of a new kind of

world – a world that'll start without hatred – and we'll be the ones to give it birth.'

Since science is the discursive mode of what Connell has termed 'hegemonic masculinity' (or the masculinity of modern global power), these narratives called such masculinity into question. Indeed, as Mark Jancovich has argued, 1950s' horror was an expression of increasing anxiety about the authority of 'expert' elites over the process of modernist 'rationalization', which he defines as 'the process through which scientific-technical rationality is applied to the management of social, economic and cultural life, a process in which rational procedures are used to examine and reorganize social, economic and cultural practices in an attempt to produce order and efficiency.'[31] Such positioning was partly due to the films' appeal to a predominantly teenage audience, through the representation of generational conflict dramatized through adolescent challenges to adult structures of authority. Teenage exploitation films were a feature of the film industry in the 1950s, and the werewolf subgenre reflected this demographic shift with the release of *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* in 1957.[32] The film elicits sympathy for Tony (Michael Landon) in his difficulties with his school authorities, and positions Doctor Brandon (Whit Bissell) as a potential mentor who abuses the trust that is placed in him by experimenting with hypnotic regression therapy, a technique he employs to guide his patient back to the primal aggression of early humanity (causing Tony to transform into a wolf). Although Doctor Brandon claims that his technique 'may prove the only way to real progress', the results of his experiment are, of course, tragic and disastrous, raising questions about the value of concepts such as 'progress'. In this sense, while articulating the traditional frustrations of adolescence with adult hierarchies, the film also pursues a broader critique of the strategies of male authority.

The destabilization of hegemonic masculinity in such texts tapped into growing concern about the form and content of masculine practices in the wake of global war and the growing Cold War. In the following decades, radical discourses from critical theory through to feminism and environmentalism elaborated upon such concerns, striking at the foundations of male authority. The feminist critique

in particular produced widespread reconsideration of masculinity, to the extent that it began to be understood as a category in need of considerable revision. In the 1970s, for example, issues raised by the Women's Liberation Movement led to the view that men suffer as much as women under patriarchy, and that they therefore needed to reject 'traditional male roles' by becoming 'more sensitive and emotionally expressive'.[33] A men's movement began to emerge to champion this idea, but such developments quickly led to a perception that masculinity was now in 'crisis'.

As a result, the reconsideration of masculinity began to change direction during the 1980s. It was argued that knowledge and experience of masculinity had been enfeebled and impoverished by a variety of forces, including industrialization, urbanization and feminism. A reclaiming of the 'deep masculine' was therefore proposed, as a means of regenerating and invigorating men's ability to contribute positively to their society and culture, and in particular their relationships with women and children. Following the example of a branch of feminism which sought to reclaim and 'valorize' mythic imagery of the goddess as a source of strength and inspiration for women, the 'mythopoetic men's movement' turned to myth and legends for sources of the 'deep masculine' that was felt to be missing in men's lives. Famously, this project was facilitated through workshops or retreats, during which groups of men would withdraw into the wilderness to enable a fuller connection to their masculinity.

E. Anthony Rotundo observes that the exploration of masculinity in such men's workshops bears a strong resemblance to ideas about masculinity that circulated in the late nineteenth century.[34] He notes that during the *fin de siècle*, a more corporeal version of masculinity arose to compete with models of manhood that emphasized the cerebral qualities of reason, morality and psychic discipline. The focus on the body accompanied a neo-romantic celebration of nature as the space where men could physically connect with their masculinity, and drew upon the celebration of 'primitive man' in the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Friedrich Nietzsche. Certainly, representations of masculinity from this period often displayed the male body in outdoor, competitive, or

martial contexts, emphasizing qualities such as muscularity, physical endurance and brotherly camaraderie. As Rotundo has argued, even men's 'animal nature' was re-evaluated towards the turn of the century as 'just as useful – and just as necessary to their manhood – as reason'.[35] Indeed, in the context of *fin de siècle* pessimism about the Enlightenment project, the animal state was even to be preferred; as the werewolf in Mary Catherwood's short story of 1893, for example, mused: 'And what must a loup-garou do with himself? ... I should take to the woods, and sit and lick my chaps, and bless my hide that I was for the time no longer a man.'[36]

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari have theorized this impulse in relation to Freud's case of the Wolf-Man. Along similar lines to Ginzburg, they pick up on the powerful mythic resonances within the case that Freud failed to explore, proposing that 'Freud obviously knows nothing about the fascination exerted by wolves and the meaning of their silent call, the call to become-wolf.'[37] Here, the 'call to become-wolf' emerges as the opposite of the need to repress the 'beast within' that the case of the Wolf-Man was so instrumental in popularizing. The 'monstrous' connection with the wolf that has animated theorizations of subjectivity is thus shown to pull the Self – and particularly the masculine Self – in competing directions.

Soon after the turn of the century, a pair of novels by Jack London inscribed these competing constructions of the masculine psyche. An adept weaver of American myths about masculinity, even the name of this writer compresses differing expressions of manhood: 'Jack', the rugged, plain-talking frontiersman, and 'London', a city, a seat of hegemonic patriarchal civilization. Significantly, London was known as 'Wolf' among his friends, an apt summation of the tense arbitration between nature and culture encapsulated by his public name. As Jonathon Auerbach notes, London's *Call of the Wild* (1903), in which a domestic dog becomes the leader of a wolf-pack, and *White Fang* (1906), in which a wolf is domesticated, complement each other, offering different perspectives on the same theme.[38] Both stories are analogies of human (and particularly *male*) nature; as John Sisk argues, Buck in *Call of the Wild* is no mere dog – 'he is, in fact,

a quite sensitive human being who, one might say, disguises himself as a dog in order to liberate his Nietzschean potential from emasculating domesticity.'[39] In this story, the 'call to become-wolf' prevails; in the other, the 'beast within' is successfully tamed and subjugated. By separating the masculine project of repressing the 'beast within' from the project of 'becoming-wolf' in this fashion, London's novels draw attention to a tension that has remained deeply embedded in Western narratives of masculinity.

The 'call to become-wolf' was exemplified in the twentieth century through the Nazi cult of masculinity. As Theweleit's survey of the narratives and metaphors generated by and for German soldiers demonstrates, the icon of the beast of prey (most frequently the wolf) recurs repeatedly in the literature of the movement. The following passage, from a Freikorps novel of 1932, is typical. Two women 'in heavy sheepskins' have pretended to be Freikorps collaborators, but the soldiers have just discovered their brethren, mutilated in the women's cellar.

> [A] single, piercing howl erupts from the lips of the men who are standing amid the corpses. An elemental sound from the deepest depths of nature, its roar expunges all trace of humanity from the human body. It wakes the beast and sets it on the blood trail. Overcome by a common resolve, two or three men storm upstairs. The dull thudding of clubs is heard. Both women lie dead on the floor of the room, their blood exactly the same colour as the roses blooming in extravagant profusion outside the window.[40]

As Theweleit points out, 'It's important to note that the murderous beast is presented positively. Only women, then, are not permitted to become "animals": man may (and should?) do so. The involuntary nature of their deed is expressly applauded.'[41] Certainly, the image of the werewolf was an object of positive identification for these men, as another Freikorps novel of 1931 entitled *We Werewolves* makes perfectly clear.

While narratives such as Frank Norris's *Vandover and the Brute* (1904) and Guy Endore's *The Werewolf of Paris* (1934) had explored the temptations of lycanthropy from the protagonists' point of view,

the construction of both texts as tragedies suggested that such seductions are better resisted. Jack Williamson's novel *Darker Than You Think* (1948) departed from this tradition. While the protagonist is, once again, a man who oscillates between resisting and embracing his lupine desires, the novel ends with his wholehearted acceptance of his lycanthropic abilities, as he and his shape-shifting lover embark on a rampage against humanity. Williamson's novel was an early example within the genre of horror of a narrative that invited readers to identify with the impulse to 'become-wolf', a format that became more popular in the 1980s. In such texts, no attempt is made to excuse the werewolf's bloodlust; rather, such narratives exhibit a similar logic to the biological reductionism that runs through accounts of masculinity, in which the psyche is constructed as a repository of barely repressed instincts, the unleashing of which is experienced as a kind of liberation from culture and civilization.

Outside of the genre of horror, most narratives sensitive to the 'call to become-wolf' have elaborated a version of masculinity that, while more individualistic, corporeal and attuned with nature than the disembodied 'fraternal' masculinity of hegemonic patriarchy, stops short of promoting unrestrained predation, and can ultimately 'be trusted to acquiesce in the established order'.[42] These *Big Bad Wolves* (as Joan Mellen called her study of this model of masculinity in American film) have exhibited an affinity with the outdoors, a more muscular embodiment, and aggression towards the institutions of hegemonic masculinity, but there are still powerful constraints at work which limit the extent to which such identification with nature can be enjoyed. Trained by Freud and his predecessors to mistrust excessive empathy or desire for the wilderness, such heroes continue to discipline the 'beast within', and are usually shown to be more successful in this enterprise than their 'hegemonic' brothers. In this sense, Mellen's 'big bad wolves' are framed as 'civilized' *through* their maintenance of a connection to nature.

The werewolf film *Wolf* (1994, USA) works in a similar fashion. Will (played by Jack Nicholson) is a middle-aged, sensitive, rather tired editor having difficulty adapting to an increasingly aggressive work

environment; when his boss fires him, he shows signs of withdrawing into depression. After being bitten by a werewolf, however, his 'beast within' begins to awaken, and he starts to assert himself, separating from his unfaithful wife, ruthlessly winning back his job, humiliating his rival, and forming a new relationship with Laura Alden (Michelle Pfeiffer), his boss's daughter. The film concludes, however, with Will's permanent retreat into the wilderness, in the form of a wolf. His withdrawal from society is figured as a rejection of what the film suggests is the inferior masculinity enacted by men who continue to conform to confining social conventions and tired, corrupt patriarchal institutions. Here, the association of nature with maleness takes on a more complex form than the familiar equation of nature with femininity. Indeed, like the fascist males described by Theweleit, 'what [Will] finds in the forest is culture',[43] especially as he is very explicitly linked with a notion of civilization when he meets Laura, who says 'What are you, the last civilized man?'

Wolf is self-consciously positioned as a film about masculinity. The director, Mike Nichols, consulted Robert Bly – a leader of the 'mythopoetic men's movement' – before shooting, because he 'wanted to make it about the *Iron John* nature of being a man at a time and in a place where being a man is not always an easy thing to do'.[44] Consequently, Will's experience of lycanthropy draws on the image of the Wild Man, the chief icon of the men's movement, animated primarily through Bly's Jungian manual for accessing the 'deep masculine', *Iron John: A Book About Men*. The Wild Man's pedigree in the cultural mythologies of the Western world is paralleled by that of the werewolf and the 'beast within';[45] clearly, all three images are related, arbitrating the relationship between nature and culture in human society. The Wild Man models a more harmless regression into nature than the werewolf, however, and has frequently been figured in art and legend as a wise and spiritual hermit or mage; as Bly wrote, 'The Wild Man ... resembles a Zen priest, a shaman, or a woodsman more than a savage.'[46] In this formulation, although the Wild Man makes the wilderness his home, is covered in hair, and lives 'like an animal' insofar as his existence is entirely removed from the realm of culture, he is not depicted as an inhuman beast driven

solely by savage, carnal desires. Rather, his communion with nature is seen as a source of wisdom, morality and spirituality.

In keeping with such imagery, Will's infection with lycanthropy augments the qualities of morality, loyalty, sincerity, authenticity and spirituality in his personality, rather than submerging these characteristics beneath the impulses of hunger, carnality and lust. The crisis Will experiences as a result of his affliction therefore allows him to develop his own potential in a Jungian sense; to become acquainted with his interior urges (associated with the archetype of the Shadow in Jung's schema) and thus forge a more integrated, harmonious version of himself. In the course of the narrative, Will bites his rival, who is consequently also presented with the same opportunity for self-development through crisis. This character, however, proves to be driven by lust, hatred, revenge and violence, and is thus more closely related to the Freudian representation of a man at the mercy of the repressed impulses of the 'beast within'.

By suggesting that there is an element of choice about how psychic connections with the wolf are manifested, *Wolf* underlines the extent to which the performance of masculinity is, among other things, about the careful negotiation of the border between nature and culture, or civilization and the wilderness. As Mark Dery argues, the representation in the American media of the Unabomber is a case study in the vilification of a man who was perceived to have got the balance wrong.

> The five head-shots of Kaczynski in the *Time* cover story read ... as a transformation scene straight out of *An American Werewolf in London* or *The Howling*, protracted over a lifetime. As in such films, Kaczynski metamorphoses from the high school and Harvard math nerd of the '50s and early '60s, neatly attired in the regulation suit and tie, into the shaggy-haired, sallow-faced hermit of his 1996 mug shot. The story told, as in all werewolf tales, is Wild Nature revenged upon culture – the nightmare, equal parts Darwin and Freud, of the return of what a *Cheers* episode hilariously called the 'inner hairy man': the bestial self brought to heel by evolution and civilization ...
>
> If the Unabomber–Wolfman analogy seems strained, consider the print media's tendency to collapse misanthrope and lycanthrope in their characterizations of Kaczynski: *Time*, *Newsweek* and U.S. *News & World Report* have had a field day with creepshow descriptions of the feral

> recluse; all three have employed the phrase 'lone wolf' in their sketches of the unwashed unshaven mountain man, with *Time* reporting that FBI agents had gazed, at long last, on the 'shaggy face' of the serial killer they had 'tracked like a grizzly' for the past 18 years.[47]

Dery suggests that the Unabomber was represented as a man who had 'become-wolf' – but not in the sense recommended by Bly. In imagery of the Unabomber, the werewolf was used to model the 'dark side' of the Wild Man myth; the risk that the Jungian embrace of the wolf could unleash a mindless and indiscriminate assault on 'culture'.

Variants on the approach to masculinity exemplified by the notion of the 'beast within' have continued to replay the fraught opposition between nature and culture that has been so intrinsic to modernity, underlining the centrality of this opposition to the Enlightenment model of subjectivity. As was pointed out in Chapter 2, the werewolf appears as a 'missing link' between nature and culture, in which imagery of a biological, corporeal imperative is 'mixed up' and competes with ideas about psychic discipline and subjective agency. For Žižek, such representations describe a struggle that emerges from the very concept of subjectivity, arising from the differentiation of the 'human person' (as object, as substance, as thing) from the 'subject', defined as 'a substanceless point of pure self-relating (the "I think") which is *not* "part of the world"'.[48] The problem is that within the Enlightenment schema, the 'human person' (the substance, the body) must be emptied or discarded to make way for the 'subject' (the 'I think') – which, disconnected from any substance or body is, therefore, a void.[49] Thus, when the man struggles against the 'beast within', or desires to 'become-wolf', he is encountering himself as substance, body or thing, an encounter that draws attention to the fact that 'he' (as subject) is a void – emptied of substance. Paradoxically, this encounter also *produces* the subject, since its differentiation from substance brings it into existence. In this context, the werewolf's torment is the existential angst that arises from the discovery that he – as subject – does not exist, but also the birth pangs that brings him – as subject – into being. In other words, the werewolf's eternal anguish is constitutive of an inherently contradictory subjectivity, and

this is why Žižek has argued that the monster is 'the pure "subject of the Enlightenment"'.[50]

Of course, as Simone de Beauvoir pointed out, the 'universal' subject of the Enlightenment was gendered masculine, and the oppositions that constitute the modern notion of subjectivity are also deeply gendered. In this sense, the ceaseless crisis of the male werewolf has also been a privileged crisis that has had very little to do with the experiences of women or the myriad Others who have been routinely identified as object, body or substance in contrast to the 'substanceless point of pure self-relating' that constitutes the subject. And that is why representations of the female werewolf have differed so markedly from images of male lycanthropy.

5

Women who run with the wolves

If variants on the struggle against the 'beast within' have dramatized the experience of male lycanthropy, the pervasive cultural association of femininity with nature, embodiment and biology has animated most accounts of female lycanthropy. In contrast to the male werewolf's resistance to his affliction, a range of narratives from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which featured hedonistic female werewolves revelling in their lycanthropic powers suggested that lycanthropy is more 'natural' in women than in men. Even when female werewolves are afflicted by a curse or some other external force, their lycanthropy has still been represented as 'their fault', the consequence of a feminine tendency towards the pleasures of the flesh.

For example, Sara de Camp-d'Avesnes of Franklin Gregory's *The White Wolf* (1941) is affected by the curse of lycanthropy which falls upon every seventh eldest child in her family's lineage, while Aalo, the werewolf in Aino Kallas's *The Wolf's Bride* (1930), has red hair and a witch mole; but, despite these predestined susceptibilities to lycanthropy, the condition is still presented in both cases as a result of the woman's covert lusts.[1] Aalo, for instance, although she resists the call of the *Diabolus sylvarum* ('the spirit of the forest and the wolves'),

FIG. 10 Margaret Brundage's illustration of Bassett Morgan's 'The Wolf-Woman', for the cover of *Weird Tales*, September 1927.

'nevertheless ripened in the fire of desire, like grain in the sun, for the hour that was to come'.[2] Eventually, 'of her own will she surrendered her spirit, soul and body, to the dæmon, to be guided thereafter by him'.[3] In other twentieth-century stories, women with no special propensity for evil are still threatened by seduction into lycanthropy by an evil influence, and need to be rescued by such werewolf-slaying heroes as Seabury Quinn's psychic detective Jules de Grandin.[4] In all these cases of female lycanthropy, it is 'the soul-destroying, fearful joy of Sensuality' inherent in women, who are 'more approachable to [Satan's] wiles than men',[5] which leads them into trouble. Such ideas about the feminine affinity for the dubious sensuality of forests and wolves were perhaps most clearly articulated in the repeated pictorial exhibition in the pages of the pulp magazines of scantily clad women happily consorting with wolves (*Figures 10–13*).

FIG. 11 Margaret Brundage's illustration of Seabury Quinn's 'The Thing in the Fog', for the cover of *Weird Tales*, March 1933.

The emphasis on lycanthropic sex in *The Howling* updated such themes for the 1980s, through a focus on the female werewolf Marsha, who seduces Karen's husband Bill. Indeed, unlike Eddie, the other important werewolf in the film, Marsha does not kill anyone – she simply concentrates on seducing Bill to satisfy her insatiable sexual appetite. The respective characterizations of Marsha and Eddie thus underline some gendered differences, suggesting that for male werewolves, lycanthropy finds expression primarily in the murderous hunger for flesh and blood, while for female werewolves, the opposite is true: lycanthropy is essentially a release for sexual hunger. As long ago as 1894, Kirby Flower Smith had made the same differentiation, writing that 'As the wolf is the symbol of unbridled cruelty so, in Roman parlance, the she-wolf ... represented unbridled lust' – the implication being that the 'beast in man' is expressed primarily through violence,

Fig. 12 Margaret Brundage's illustration of Arlton Eadie's 'The Wolf-Girl of Josselin', for the cover of *Weird Tales*, August 1938.

while the 'beast in woman' manifests as lust.[6] Certainly, the figuration of the female werewolf in terms of lust was not unprecedented when *The Howling* appeared; the theme had already been explored in 1976 by an Italian film blending horror and pornography entitled *La Lupa Mannara*, variously translated as *The Legend of the Wolf Woman*, *She Wolf*, *Terror of the She Wolf*, *Werewolf Woman*, and, most tellingly, *Naked Werewolf Woman* for its release in English-speaking countries. The bright red lips and long fingernails/claws of the female werewolf featured on the publicity poster for *The Howling* (*Figure 14*) signalled a similar blend of pornography and horror, and sequels to and imitations of *The Howling* maintained comparable associations. By rendering lycanthropy sexually transmissible, *Ginger Snaps* (2000, USA) (a film about adolescent female lycanthropy) underlined the threat posed by uncontrolled female sexuality.

FIG. 13 H.W. Wesso's illustration of Jack Williamson's 'Wolves of Darkness', for the cover of *Strange Tales of Mystery and Terror*, January 1932.

The view that women are prone to sexual intemperance has been institutionalized by fairy tales such as Little Red Riding Hood, in which the forest and the wolf are powerful symbols of nature. Indeed, forests have been consistently constituted within European culture as spaces that facilitate a transition from culture to nature. Little Red Riding Hood's diversion from the path among the trees signals her liability to sensual abandonment even before she meets the wolf, who focuses the diffuse dangers of the forest in an obviously sexualized and gendered way (and who may well have been a werewolf in the oral traditions from which the story evolved).[7] As Jack Zipes argues, even if orally related versions of the tale did not invest wholly negative characteristics in the forest and the wolf (and, by association, in sexual experience), the 1697 publication in France of Charles Perrault's version established the story's function as a moral tale designed to intimidate women into

FIG. 14 Publicity poster for *The Howling* (1980).

staying on the path cleared for them by a patriarchal culture, away from the sensuous temptations of wolves and forests.[8] As Zipes suggests, if Perrault's version was still a little too 'French' in its sensuality, the more puritanical version by the Brothers Grimm, published in 1812, established the moral, didactic tone which has characterized traditional interpretations of the story ever since. In the Grimms' version, Little Red Riding Hood is *instructed* by her mother not to leave the path, so that 'the conflict between freedom/wilderness/nature on the one hand versus school/straight path/order on the other is set up very early in the narrative to illustrate a socio-political situation.'[9]

For those women afflicted by lycanthropy who have thoroughly internalized the lessons of Little Red Riding Hood, the only option seems to have been martyrdom and self-denial, as in Quinn's 'The Phantom Farmhouse' (1923), in which a beautiful young werewolf begs

a priest to perform the office of the dead over her grave and the graves of her lycanthropic parents, thereby putting them to rest.[10] Similarly, in Captain S.P. Meek's 'The Curse of the Valedi' (1935), Valeska Valedi tells her would-be protector 'Go, and remember, *kill every wolf you find this night. Every one!*', knowing that she herself will be among the number killed.[11] Karen's sacrifice in *The Howling* perpetuates this tradition; after being bitten, Karen arranges for a friend to shoot her with a silver bullet, but not before she has transformed into a werewolf in front of newsroom television cameras in order to warn others about the existence of werewolves. Karen's act of martyrdom reinforces entrenched cultural taboos against the expression of hedonistic pleasure and desire by women, and her contrast with the sexually promiscuous werewolf Marsha links such apprehensions to the sexual liberation of women in the 1960s and 1970s.

A variation on the representation of the female werewolf as being at the mercy of undeniable physical urges was explored in Arlton Eadie's 'The Wolf-Girl of Josselin' (1938), in which a Frenchwoman afflicted by a hereditary curse of lycanthropy marries an Englishman and bears his son. Soon, a wolf is observed on her husband's estate and the men give chase as it carries off the baby in its mouth. When they discover the wolf, the narrator (the Englishman's friend, and the only person aware of the curse) sees immediately that '[m]other love, divine and all-conquering, had triumphed over the dread, age-old curse. The great, fierce she-wolf was actually suckling the babe it had been condemned to destroy!'[12] Here, notions about the biological imperatives of maternity replace the focus on female sensuality, with the legendary maternity of the she-wolf (via the legend of Romulus and Remus and other stories of children raised by she-wolves) serving to draw the connection between women and nature. Although this story drew on entrenched ideals of maternal behaviour, its representation of the female werewolf in a positive light marked the beginning of a shift that would become more pronounced during the twentieth century.

In 1947, a story published in *Weird Tales* was the first account of lycanthropy to portray a wolf becoming a human at the full moon rather than the other way around. The werewolf in Manly Banister's

'Eena' was female, the forest was presented as a familiar (rather than alien) environment, and men, rather than wolves, were depicted as a threat.[13] Because the story is narrated by Eena's male lover, it stopped short of inviting a full identification with the wolf/woman; but by combining established ideas about the superiority of 'pure' nature over a 'corrupt' culture, the affinity between women and nature, and critiques of an alienated masculinity (implied by the narrator's dismay at Eena's slaughter), this story was significantly different from previous narratives about lycanthropy. Here, for the first time, was a werewolf story that developed a critical revaluation of the woman/nature versus man/culture oppositions that had animated tales of lycanthropy to date. Banister's narrative innovation has been built upon by subsequent writers, notably Ursula Le Guin, whose 'The Wife's Story' is narrated by a she-wolf who is disgusted and disturbed at her mate's transformation into a human man.[14] In keeping with the feminist aim of revising the habits of subject and identity formation stemming from the Enlightenment (in which both femininity and nature are systematically othered), this narrative takes the step of encouraging sympathetic identification with the Other (in the form of a she-wolf).

By inviting a positive identification with woman/nature, Le Guin's story participated in a project that developed during the 1970s and 1980s, described by Alice Jardine as 'the valorization of the feminine' or 'the putting into discourse of "woman"'.[15] As it was developed by a number of writers, this project aimed to recuperate mythologies and symbols of the feminine which had been systematically denigrated or distorted under patriarchy, and to develop a basis for the positive experience of feminine embodiment and spirituality. The merciless fertility goddesses and supernatural seductresses of the nineteenth-century imagination, for example, were reinterpreted as the debased descendants of a prehistoric culture in which the feminine was revered. In reclaiming such images as sources of feminine empowerment, writers such as Monique Wittig, Mary Daly, Susan Griffin, Merlin Stone, Kim Chernin and Gloria Feman Orenstein found woman's association with nature to be a fertile source of inspiration. The ensuing literature of 'goddess worship' effectively valorized and rehabilitated

nature *and* femininity, merging feminist and ecological concerns.[16] Indeed, the ecological perspectives of 'goddess worship' are reflected in the repeated references to such work in the theoretical literature of ecofeminism.[17]

In a move that was indebted to Jung's theorization of the archetypal content in the collective unconscious, 'goddess' literature often asserted that knowledge of a prehistoric, powerful femininity is somehow embedded in the modern psyche. This aspect of Jung's work was founded in biology, and contrasted with the emphasis upon social environment which prevailed among his colleagues (including Freud) and which has since dominated the study of psychology.[18] Jung confirmed the biological foundations of his theory when he wrote that an archetype 'is not meant to denote an inherited idea, but rather an inherited mode of functioning ... In other words, it is a "pattern of behaviour". This aspect of the archetype, the purely biological one, is the proper concern of scientific psychology.'[19] He was by no means proposing, of course, that human behaviour is purely biologically determined; on the contrary, as Anthony Stevens has explained, Jung was suggesting that 'the essential role of personal experience was *to develop what is already there* – to actualise the archetypal potential already present in the psycho-physical organism.'[20] In effect, Jungian theory promised transformation through the development of the archetypal substance of the personality, while still acknowledging humanity's connectivity with the natural world – a combination that proved attractive to feminists interested in creating a reservoir of empowering feminine imagery. Certainly, because Jungian theory embraced the biology of humanity, it seemed a more positive starting point than most other models for exploring a femininity that has been negatively equated with nature. At the same time, it encouraged the transformative process of engagement with mythical and linguistic images that developments in feminist theory demanded.[21]

Consequently, writers engaged in the valorization of the feminine have identified and elaborated a number of archetypal images. The symbol of the cycle, for example, has been particularly evident in such writing, and has, like other imagery of femininity and nature, required

rehabilitation. As Manuel Aguirre has observed, taking a long view of Western history and culture

> the cycle gradually yields to the line and a Christian myth takes over from a pagan one. But the older cyclic time does not disappear ... whereas in former mythologies circular time had a measure of renewal, fulfilment, and endless creation, now it became the epitome of sterility, vacuous repetition, senseless eternity. The earlier cyclic ontology gave a self-fulfilling, self-validating character to human existence; the infernal cyclicness turns existence into a self-cancelling, meaningless experience.[22]

Especially since the release of *The Wolf Man* in 1941, there has been no clearer articulation of such 'infernal cyclicness' than the recurrent representation of the werewolf as a figure cursed to endure an inevitable cycle of monthly transformation. Even in the film *Full Eclipse* (1993, USA), in which lycanthropy is shown to have its merits, the werewolf's body cycle is not seen as one of these advantages. The werewolf who heads a special police force consequently develops a serum derived from his own brain, because, as he says, 'I hated being at the mercy of the lunar cycle. So primitive ... pathetic ... I learned to direct it.' Such perspectives on the cycle gained currency through the circulation of such work as Walter Heape's turn-of-the-century investigation of the oestrus cycle in female mammals, which vilified menstruation. As Thomas Laqueur has observed, Heape's work led to the conceptualization of menstruation as 'a severe, devastating, periodic action', which (rather like a werewolf) leaves behind 'a ragged wreck of tissue, torn glands, ruptured vessels, jagged edges of stroma, and masses of blood corpuscles, which it would seem hardly possible to heal satisfactorily without the aid of surgical treatment'.[23] As Laqueur points out, Heape (an eminent Cambridge don) was even inclined to call the agent which causes the sexual cycle in animals 'an "oestrus toxin," changing his mind only when he realized that there seems to exist a substance stimulating sexual activity in *men* and that there is no reason to assume the presence of a poison in his own sex.'[24] Certainly, horror narratives of anguished men who suddenly find themselves governed by 'the curse' of lycanthropy have demonized the monthly cycle, in confirmation of Aguirre's argument that modern culture has

stripped cyclic imagery of its association with renewal and fertility, representing it instead as a source of futile sterility.

The parallel between lycanthropy and menstruation has been an obvious theme for stories about female lycanthropy, especially in the wake of the feminist movement, which challenged the taboos on talking and writing about such subjects. In 'Lila the Werewolf' (1978), Peter S. Beagle's story about a man who discovers his girlfriend is a werewolf, lycanthropy is overtly compared to menstruation, as a condition which requires understanding. As Lila explains, she has lived with the problem for nine years, 'Since I hit puberty. First day, cramps; the second day, this. My introduction to womanhood.'[25] Lila is not characterized as dangerous or malicious; instead, Beagle presents her condition as a slightly more extreme manifestation of every woman's 'condition'.

> A week or so before the full moon, she would start to become nervous and strident, and this would continue until the day preceding her transformation. On that day, she was invariably loving, in the tender, desperate manner of someone who is going away; but the next day would see her silent, speaking only when she had to.[26]

Thus, the bodily cycles of werewolves and women are not demonized as a source of abject horror in Beagle's story; rather, lycanthropy is presented as a vaguely amusing domestic inconvenience. Beagle's casting of Lila's lycanthropy as a comic and suburban matter contrasts markedly with the widespread construction of male lycanthropy as a 'serious' and 'tragic' concern (an attitude that is underlined further by *My Mom's a Werewolf* (1988, USA), a comedy in which a neglected housewife is featured trying to file her teeth, wax her facial hair and shave the pelt from her legs). Nevertheless, Beagle's story also set the tone for a number of explorations of female lycanthropy by female writers, who have deliberately adopted a lighter approach to the material. Suzy McKee Charnas's 'Boobs' (1989), for example, narrates the story of Kelsey, who begins changing into a wolf when she has her first period. She takes time to adjust to her new gift for transformation, but by the end of the story she has metamorphosed from an awkward adolescent into a confident young woman who no longer has to put

up with the inconvenience of an ordinary period: 'I don't get periods at all any more. I get a little crampy, and my breasts get sore, and I break out more than usual – and then instead of bleeding, I change. Which is fine with me.'[27] In this sense, Kelsey achieves what Germaine Greer wished for when she wrote that '[m]enstruation does not turn us into raving maniacs or complete invalids; it is just that we would rather do without it.'[28]

In the context of feminist reappraisals of attitudes to nature and the body, and the Jungian recuperation of myths and symbols that has accompanied this project, the attitude to menstruation voiced by Kelsey and Greer has been challenged by a view that menstruation should be embraced and celebrated as a quintessential experience of womanhood. *The Wise Wound: Menstruation and Everywoman* (1978) by Penelope Shuttle (a feminist poet and novelist) and Peter Redgrove (a poet, scientist and Jungian analyst), for example, focuses on menstruation as a *natural* process which should be embraced in order to 'enhance the growth and powers of individual women' rather than hidden, dreaded or shunned.[29] Correspondingly, some parallels between lycanthropy and menstruation have pursued this logic, showing the lives of female werewolves to be deeply influenced by their awareness of their own bodily cycles. In such narratives, lycanthropy is presented as a cause for celebration or at least as the source of a richer experience of embodiment. Pat Murphy's lycanthropic protagonist Nadya, for instance, is intimately aware of the moon and its effect upon her body, feeling its 'pull in her belly, in her groin' as it waxes.[30]

Angela Carter's rewriting of *Little Red Riding Hood* in her short story 'The Company of Wolves' (1979) draws a connection between lycanthropy and the female coming of age marked by the onset of menstruation.[31] In Carter's narration of the famous fairy tale, Rosaleen's red cloak 'has the ominous if brilliant look of blood on snow', and her 'breasts have just begun to swell ... her cheeks are an emblematic scarlet and white and she has just started her woman's bleeding.'[32] Virginal white is mingled with red, the colour of menstrual blood and the harlot, stressing that Red Riding Hood's encounter with the wolf is a story of awakening sexuality.

In the cinematic adaptation of this story (which Carter co-scripted), Rosaleen is schooled by her grandmother to mistrust men. 'The worst kind of wolves are hairy on the inside, and when they bite you they drag you with them to hell', she is told. Rosaleen's mother, however, tells her not to listen to her grandmother, saying that the wolves in men meet their match in women. Certainly, the werewolf encountered by Rosaleen is not the straightforward villain depicted by Perrault and the Grimm brothers. Frustrated by Rosaleen's mistrust of him and afraid of emotional isolation, he is torn between the impulse to behave exactly as she fears he will behave and the desire to forge a bond of mutual trust with her. When Rosaleen finds herself alone with him at her grandmother's cottage, she remembers her mother's words, and decides to take the risk of exploring her sexuality. She throws her clothes into the fire (as Zipes reminds us she sometimes did before Perrault took away her autonomy[33]) and embraces the wolf, saying 'What big arms you have.' 'All the better to hug you with', he replies. The short story ends with the line 'See! sweet and sound she sleeps in granny's bed, between the paws of the tender wolf.'[34] The film goes a step further, showing two wolves leaving the cottage together, implying that both have assumed wolf form. In both versions, Rosaleen's encounter with the wolf in the forest is the key to her passage to sexual maturity and further self-development.

Mercedes Lackey's *The Fire Rose* (1995) rehabilitates the wolf in a similar fashion to Carter's story, but within a framework that is more closely tied to the conventional romance. A sorcerer whose arrogance in invoking a spell for lycanthropy has caused him to become permanently endowed with the head and paws of a wolf wins the love of the woman he hires to read aloud from the arcane books in which he hopes to discover a cure for his condition.[35] Although, like Mr Rochester, he remains disfigured at the end of the novel, his interior transformation has endeared him to the heroine. As Janice Radway argues, the formulaic representation of the romantic hero's transformation from an attitude of aggression or indifference to one of attentive tenderness can be read as an expression of women's demands that men become more communicative and affective. According to Radway, 'This interpreta-

tion of the romance's meaning suggests ... that the women who seek out ideal novels in order to construct such a vision again and again are reading not out of contentment but out of dissatisfaction, longing, and protest.'[36] Although Radway also acknowledges that 'the romance avoids questioning the institutionalized basis of patriarchal control over women even as it serves as a locus of protest against some of its emotional consequences', her suggestion that the romance interrogates and seeks to redefine masculinity situates Lackey's 'taming of the wolf' as a way of forwarding the feminist argument that men need to transcend traditional constructions of masculinity.[37]

While Lackey's story depicts the taming of the wolf/man, other romance narratives follow Carter's focus on unleashing the wildness in women through their encounters with lycanthropic lovers. The desire for such an experience of her sexuality was literalized for a 49-year-old woman suffering from episodes in which she believed she changed into a wolf. In describing her feelings during the final episode, she wrote 'I don't intend to give up my search for [what] I lack ... in my present marriage ... my search for such a hairy creature. I will haunt the graveyards ... for a tall, dark man that I intend to find.'[38] The dark or Gothic romance/fantasies of Tanith Lee, Cherie Scotch, Rebecca Flanders, Jane Toombs, Susan Krinard and Donna Boyd follow a similar logic. Tanith Lee, however, also acknowledges the limitations of such a model for the attainment of feminine autonomy in *Heartbeast* (1992). Laura is 'exhausted by the world, with its portents and omens, its snows and imprisoned wolves and imprisoned women, its fairy tales.'[39] After marrying a man who loves her because she 'did not have the strength to beat him off', she takes a lover, a werewolf.[40] The passion she feels, however, passifies and ensnares her, rather than liberating her, and only the deaths of both her husband and her lover enable Laura to find herself, and to exercise autonomy.

Lee's 'Wolfland' (1983), also based on *Little Red Riding Hood*, explores similar territory. Lisel (of the red cloak) is a beautiful, marriageable nineteenth-century heiress, but at 16, she is sufficiently wilful to imagine that she might not marry. Consequently, when her strange, frightening grandmother suggests to her that an 'irrevocable

marriage vow that binds you forever to a monster' might not be all that desirable, Lisel is torn – 'she desired to learn more and dreaded to learn it.'[41] What she learns is that her grandfather beat and abused her grandmother until she called upon the 'soul of the forest' to make her a werewolf, enabling her to tear her husband's throat out.[42] There was a price: Lisel's grandmother needs to pass the curse to another before she dies, to ensure that she may rest in peace, and Lisel is tricked into taking it upon herself by drinking a liqueur distilled from flowers containing the wolf-magic. The ending suggests a number of possibilities for Lisel. As her grandmother observes, 'I've put nothing on you that was not already yours ... Don't you love the cold forest? Doesn't the howl of the wolf thrill you through with fearful delight?'[43] While Lisel responds by trying 'to think of her father and the ballrooms of the city', her transformation begins, and her last coherent thought is that although she might now be obliged to live in the chateau in the forest, she could still 'visit the city, providing she was home by sunset'.[44] In this sense, Lisel has attained a certain freedom of choice by the story's end, but the cost is a severance from the world of normality (the world of her father); a conclusion that echoes feminist deliberations about the difficulties and costs for women of attaining subjective agency.

Other accounts of female werewolves' journey to selfhood have drawn more strongly on a Jungian notion of individuation, which presents self-development as a process by which the warring aspects of the psyche are integrated into a harmonious whole. Pat Murphy's *Nadya* (1996), for example, also traces the maturation of a young female werewolf. Nadya celebrates her first Change as an adolescent, when her parents take her running beneath the full moon. Later, after killing a youth who shot her parents, she flees her home disguised as a man, and as she moves across the plains of the Midwest and then up into the wilderness of Oregon she pushes back the boundaries of her identity. She is initially secretive about her lycanthropy, and forms an ill-fated relationship with a woman who lacks the courage to pursue their love. During this period, she experiences her wolfish nature and human nature as conflicted and separate. But as Nadya matures, and develops a relationship with a man who knows of and accepts her gift

for lycanthropy, she begins to experience the two aspects of her nature as more integrated dimensions of her whole self. In the final moments of the novel, as she changes from wolf to woman, she feels that

> As the moon sets, the smells fade. You accept that. You know that there will be other nights to run in the forest beneath the tall trees. And you accept who you are.
>
> You are a woman.
>
> You are a wolf.
>
> You have found your place and you have defended it from those who would do you harm. You belong in this place. You have conquered your enemy and discovered yourself.[45]

Alice Borchardt's *The Silver Wolf* (1998) follows a similar pattern, although it relies more heavily upon the conventions of the romance narrative. Like Nadya, Regeane is terrified of revealing her lycanthropic abilities, and her human instincts are often at odds with the instincts of the wolf she becomes. Hence, at the start of the novel,

> Regeane would never have admitted it in her human state, but she loved the wolf ... Sometimes, while in her human state, she wondered who was wiser, she or the wolf. The wolf knew. Growing more beautiful and stronger year after year, the wolf waited for Regeane to be ready to receive her teaching and understand it.[46]

Eventually, Regeane and the wolf reach a state of accord, in their love for Maeniel, a heroic werewolf who guides Regeane towards a better understanding of her nature. In the concluding moments of the novel, 'She closed her eyes and rested her head on [Maeniel's] shoulder. Then she felt the wolf, in the silence of her heart, rest her head against the same shoulder in perfect love and trust. And they were one.'[47]

The reconciliation of woman and wolf in such narratives also suggests the influence of Clarissa Pinkola Estés's best-selling melange of popular feminism, neo-Jungian psychology and New Age philosophy, *Women Who Run with the Wolves: Contacting the Power of the Wild Woman* (1992). In the traditions of 'goddess worship' and the work of Robert Bly, Estés mobilizes the image of the Wild Woman as a source of feminine empowerment, and sustains a positive comparison between

wolves and women, suggesting that 'the shadow that trots behind us is definitely four-footed'.[48]

> Healthy wolves and healthy women share certain psychic characteristics: keen sensing, playful spirit, and a heightened capacity for devotion. Wolves and women are relational by nature, inquiring, possessed of great endurance and strength. They are deeply intuitive, intensely concerned with their young, their mate and their pack. They are experienced in adapting to constantly changing circumstances; they are fiercely stalwart and very brave.
>
> Yet both have been hounded, harassed, and falsely imputed to be devouring and devious, overly aggressive, of less value than those who are their detractors. They have been the targets of those who would clean up the wilds as well as the wildish environs of the psyche, extincting the instinctual, and leaving no trace of it behind. The predation of wolves and women by those who misunderstand them is strikingly similar.[49]

The sympathetic characterization of the wolf in this passage took its cue from the work of environmentalists and particularly wolf biologists, who have countered negative imagery of the wolf in order to gain public support for the protection of a species that has been hunted to the point of endangerment. Rather than focusing on the wolf's alleged cunning and cruelty, or on its threat to livestock, environmentalists have claimed that wolves are in fact loyal, family-oriented, monogamous and affectionate, that they kill only what they need to eat, that they usually select sick or wounded prey, and that, far from being cold-blooded stalkers of humanity, they are prudent and retiring and will go to great lengths to avoid contact with humans.[50] Indeed, in recent decades the wolf has come to rival the dolphin as a symbol of a New Age ecologically aware sensibility, as the proliferation of photographs featuring soulful wolves on posters, calendars, bookmarks and key rings, or the sale of music which incorporates the howling of wolves, would suggest. Such revaluations of the wolf (and of the human relationship to the natural world) have paralleled the feminist reclamation of previously degraded values, as Estés' book demonstrates in a very literal fashion.

Keeping apace with the development of both popular and critical feminisms dedicated to reassessing the 'universal' subjectivity of the Enlightenment, narratives of female lycanthropy have thus

experimented with the positive revaluation of those 'negative' qualities traditionally associated with women (such as nature, embodiment, and intuition). The contrast with the eternal torment of the male werewolf is marked; as Rosi Braidotti puts it, 'if the white, masculine, ethnocentric subject wants to "deconstruct" himself and enter a terminal crisis, then – so be it!; the question for feminists has been "how can we undo a subjectivity we have not even historically been entitled to *yet*?"'[51] Here, Braidotti draws attention to the irony, for feminists, of 'deconstructing' a subjectivity that has been denied to women. Thus, while the feminist project has certainly entailed a critique of the 'universal' subject of the Enlightenment, it has also involved a constructive revisioning of subjectivity that attempts to avoid the exclusionary tactics of self–other oppositions. The following chapter explores how this revisioning has been elaborated through the intersection of feminism and postmodernism, with particular reference to the genre of fantasy.

6

A manifesto for werewolves

By positively revaluing aspects of the feminine, narratives about female werewolves have challenged the strategies by which woman has been negatively positioned as man's Other. In this sense, many recent stories about female werewolves have reflected a more general feminist concern with enabling a feminine Self produced through positive identifications rather than negative definition. Such an approach, however, has been criticized for its implicit reinscription of the dualities it seeks to evade; in particular, it remains enmeshed within the nature–culture polarity that stems from the Enlightenment. By associating femininity with 'nature', this version of feminism implicitly equates 'culture' with masculinity, a framework that maintains women's exclusion from 'cultural' fields such as science or art.

Donna Haraway's famous essay 'A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s' (1985) sought to develop a more radical approach to the question of such nature–culture distinctions, particularly in relation to theorizations of gender and selfhood. Haraway used the image of the cyborg – part human, part machine – to imagine a postmodern subjectivity which does not rely

upon modernist concepts of universality or wholeness constituted through dualisms, including the binary of man–woman:

> a cyborg world might be about lived social and bodily realities in which people are not afraid of their joint kinship with animals and machines, not afraid of permanently partial identities and contradictory standpoints. The political struggle is to see from both perspectives at once because each reveals both dominations and possibilities unimaginable from the other vantage point. Single vision produces worse illusions than double vision or many-headed monsters. Cyborg unities are monstrous and illegitimate; in our present political circumstances, we could hardly hope for more potent myths for resistance and recoupling.[1]

Here, the cyborg is celebrated for its hybridization of nature and culture, and for its incorporation of the Same *and* the Other. Its capacity to bridge such polarities is the source of Haraway's claim that she 'would rather be a cyborg than a goddess'.[2] For Haraway, the goddess celebrated by some feminists merely reverses the value of the polarities governing modernity, whereas the cyborg transgresses such oppositional frameworks.

Cyborg theory has generated interest in other manifestations of hybrid subjectivity and identity. As Haraway and others have noted, it can be adapted to explore the meanings and possibilities of monstrosity or, as Haraway put it in the title of a 1992 article, 'The Promises of Monsters'.[3] Pursuing this idea, Judith Halberstam finds cause to celebrate the monster, arguing that 'we need monsters and we need to recognize and celebrate our own monstrosities.'[4] Certainly, the werewolf's monstrous boundary crossings suggest new possibilities for the constitution of subjectivity and identity. In the context of the contemporary proliferation of biological hybridizations – the transplanting of animal body parts into human beings, transgenesis (or the genetic modification of organisms with genes from 'unrelated' organisms[5]), or the use of hormones from one organism for the medical treatment of another – technoscience even begins to suggest new possibilities for the Gothic mingling of human and wolf. Indeed, the cyborg's interfacing of organism and machine already seems passé in the context of recent

manipulations of organic life by genetic engineers, a shift which is reflected in Haraway's more recent interest in the cultural politics of transgenesis.

The celebration of monstrosity within theoretical circles has been echoed in popular culture; as David Skal notes of vampires, 'By the mid-1980s, more people were reading about vampires than at any time in history, and for the first time, they were identifying with them positively.'[6] A similar change of attitude was taking place with regard to the werewolf; while sympathetically portrayed 'gentle werewolves' had been featured in the genre of fantasy since the 1930s, and relatively humanized werewolf heroes were not unprecedented, horror stories of werewolves in the 1980s frequently solicited readers' identification with the more 'abhuman' aspects of lycanthropy. J.C. Conaway's *Quarrel with the Moon* (1982), for example, follows Josh Holman's attempts to discover the truth behind a series of grizzly events in his home town in West Virginia, only to conclude with his triumphant transformation into a wolf and assumption of leadership in the community of delinquent werewolves he has infiltrated.[7] Jeffrey Goddin's *Blood of the Wolf* (1987) and Nancy Collins's *Wild Blood* (1994) depict similar scenarios, in which protagonists who are initially resistant to their potential for lycanthropy are gradually seduced by its pleasures and powers.[8]

In feminist contexts, celebrations of the werewolf's bloodlust have also been inflected by the logic of revenge. Despite the apparent debt to Clarissa Pinkola Estés's *Women Who Run with the Wolves*, Pam Keesey's anthology *Women Who Run with the Werewolves: Tales of Blood, Lust and Metamorphosis* (1996) contains many stories that privilege the more 'abhuman' aspects of lycanthropy, rather than idealizing the female connection to nature.[9] Most of the stories in the book depict the persecution or oppression of wolf-women in some form or another, through the expectations of their families, institutionalization on the grounds of insanity, objectification by men, mistreatment by doctors, or even through their own habits of self-regulation. But none of the female werewolves in Keesey's anthology succumbs to the tragic death of the Wolf Man; rather, lycanthropy is an opportunity for revenge and survival.

In such contexts, the extent to which a story sympathizes with the werewolf's point of view has become a point of reference for lycanthropy enthusiasts, as evidenced by several entries in *Focus on Lycanthropy*, a comprehensive website bibliography of werewolf stories and other tales of transformation. The site's review of Stephen Jones's compilation *The Mammoth Book of Werewolves* (1994), for example, states: 'Not a lot of stories told from the werewolf point of view, but still worth seeking out.'[10] The implication here is that stories which facilitate identification with the werewolf are preferable. Since the early 1990s, role-playing games which require participants to adopt the persona of a vampire, werewolf or other such entity have furthered the possibilities for positive identification with Gothic monsters.[11] New communications technologies that allow users unprecedented freedom in the construction of their own subjectivities have also encouraged this trend; the usenet newsgroup alt.horror.werewolves, for example, was set up in 1992 to facilitate the discussion of horror films and books about werewolves, but quickly attracted a number of individuals claiming to be werewolves and other kinds of shape-changers.[12] Such identifications have proliferated on the web, as exemplified in more recent contexts such as the 'Anonymous Werewolf' blog, which documents the 'Musings and Rantings of a Fun Loving College Girl Afflicted with the Curse of Lycanthropy', who has 'an unfortunate habit of turning into a werewolf and occasionally devouring human flesh'.[13]

A widespread identification with hybrid icons such as the cyborg and the werewolf has become a hallmark of postmodernity; as Haraway herself noted over a decade after the publication of her 'Manifesto', 'Cross-overs, mixing, and boundary transgressions are a favorite theme of late-twentieth-century commentators in the United States.'[14] Certainly, it has become common practice among theorists to appropriate figures from genre fiction in order to explore alternative models of selfhood. Yet, although the genres of horror and science fiction are regularly featured in this discursive project, representations derived from fantasy, the 'other' genre of speculative fiction, are conspicuously absent. This is in spite of the fact that, as an appraisal of literature featuring the figure of the werewolf can amply demonstrate, fantasy

writing abounds with representations of entities that are concerned with developing 'better' ways of being. Indeed, a focus on the werewolf in *all* its cultural manifestations exposes the fact that, while there is a wealth of theoretical material available for the assessment of its appearance in the genre of horror (and its occasional use in science fiction), modern critical discourse offers very little guidance for interrogating the werewolf's frequent use by fantasists.

One of the main reasons why fantasy has been underused in speculative theory is because the body of critical work on fantasy is not easily adaptable to such an enterprise. Although a distinct genre of popular fantasy had been growing out of the pulp tradition since the 1930s (and arguably before that), very little critical work on the subject of fantasy appeared until the 1970s.[15] The body of work that materialized at this time exhibited a considerable degree of ambivalence about the value of a popular genre such as fantasy; Colin Manlove, for example, stated that 'one would not claim great things of most of the writers we have considered'.[16] Scholarly interest in popular or genre fiction (as opposed to 'serious' or 'literary' fiction) was a new development, but critics such as Manlove were pursuing time-honoured traditions of formalist literary criticism, a methodology that carried a freight of inbuilt assumptions about the 'literary merit' of texts. By adapting an approach that had been developed for the analysis of 'serious' fiction to the study of popular culture, these critics tended, therefore, to evince embarrassment about the 'lowbrow' nature of their subject matter.

Postmodernist revaluations of popular culture began to influence the discipline of literary criticism during the 1980s, introducing methodologies more appropriate to analysing popular genre fiction, and prompting a range of new works about popular fantasy;[17] but even then, while the genres of horror, science fiction and romance attracted new attention, fantasy continued to trouble critics, now on account of its 'conservatism'. Kathryn Hume, for example, commented that she finds 'the political conservatism and naiveté of [popular fantasy] increasingly distasteful'.[18] As radical critiques of modernity proliferated, fantasy's impulse towards unity, synthesis and closure, its portrayal

of benevolent and transcendent organizing principles, its positive representation of hierarchical social organizations, and its simplistic polarization of 'good' and 'bad' appeared suspect. Despite the anti-modernism of the new critical perspectives, fantasy was also seen as conservative on account of its own anti-modernism – its frequent rejection of science and technology, its suggestion that 'progress' really equals 'degeneration' and its romanticization of a pastoral past.[19] Indeed, the imagery of pastoral, pre-industrial, pre-modern societies that prevails in fantasy suggests its indebtedness to romanticism; a connection that also worked against it at a time when many critics had come to associate romanticism with the politics of the far right (again, in spite of the fact that postmodernist theoretical perspectives owe a considerable debt to the romantic tradition[20]).

As a consequence of critics' discomfort, a tendency to discuss 'the fantastic' rather than 'fantasy' (often despite a stated intention to examine 'fantasy') has characterized critical discussion since the 1970s. In such contexts, 'the fantastic' is defined as an element of the supernatural or unreal which can be introduced into any text, and also as a 'mode' which transcends genre; both perspectives that enable a consideration of canonical or 'literary' fiction, thus absolving the critic from engaging with popular fantasy.[21] As Helen Merrick observes, fantasy in such usages 'then becomes just another mode used by mainstream authors, here figured as "anti-realist" and thus "postmodern"'.[22] One of the primary sources of this approach is Rosemary Jackson's influential study entitled *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (1981), which used the terms 'fantasy' and 'the fantastic' interchangeably throughout, but did not consider works of popular fantasy by authors such as C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien or Ursula Le Guin. Rather, Jackson was concerned with 'the way in which elements of fantasy enter into, disrupt and disturb' certain texts.[23] This focus tended to force a Gothic reading on to the texts she examined, a bias that was reinforced by her stated preference for texts that 'replace familiarity, comfort, *das Heimlich*, with estrangement, unease, the uncanny'.[24] Her focus on 'subversion' also skewed the focus away from popular fantasy, towards a postmodern literature that questions the ways in which reality and subjectivity have

been constructed in modernity, through the active and self-conscious disruption of such strategies.

The resulting '"Fantastic/Fantasy" disarray' (as Neil Cornwell terms it)[25] effectively 'disappeared' considerations of popular fantasy under a mountain of turgid scholarship. The resulting dearth of critical frameworks for analysing fantasy as a distinct genre with its own social, historical, political and economic imperatives has recently become abundantly clear in the wake of Peter Jackson's cinematic adaptation of *The Lord of the Rings*, with publishers and scholars now scrabbling to produce long-overdue work that contextualizes this phenomenon. But, as scholarship that explores alternative ways of being and knowing can demonstrate, the critical neglect of fantasy has also limited theoretical engagements with the speculative dimensions of such fiction. The cyborg and the Gothic monster have staked their claims to a 'postmodern' or 'progressive' subjectivity; but how can the fantasy werewolf contribute to speculative theory about the future of being and knowing? Indeed, on what grounds is the werewolf in fantasy (as opposed to the werewolf in Gothic horror) to be understood?

The most obvious point of departure for such an investigation is the scant body of literature that has, despite confusions of terminology, maintained a focus upon popular fantasy.[26] These studies have collectively argued that the use of magic, the pursuit of a quest, and the elaboration of an alternative world are all generic features of fantasy. Certainly, a number of narratives about lycanthropy belong to this tradition; Poul Anderson's *Three Hearts and Three Lions* (1953) and Christopher Stasheff's *Her Majesty's Wizard* (1986), for example, place werewolves as secondary characters on quests in alternative worlds. Yet, the werewolf of such fantasy is often virtually indistinguishable from the werewolf of horror, with the lycanthrope in *Her Majesty's Wizard*, for example, describing his experiences in wolf form in terms reminiscent of the Wolf Man: 'When I am wolf, there is nothing left of conscience, pity, or remorse left within me. All that's left are appetites.'[27] The representation of the werewolf in J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (1999) follows similar lines.

Other fantasy novels in this tradition, such as *The Talisman* (1985) by Stephen King and Peter Straub, Brian Stableford's *The Werewolves of London* (1992), Patricia A. McKillip's *The Book of Atrix Wolfe* (1995), and Pamela Belle's *The Wolf Within* (1995) feature werewolves as more complex protagonists; but so do a range of other texts that do not necessarily combine magic, a quest and an alternative world (conventions which characterize, as Attebery observes, the relatively limited tradition of 'high fantasy'.[28]) In other words, it is possible to identify a vision of the werewolf that offers an alternative to the vision offered by the genre of horror, across a range of texts that do not necessarily conform to the conventions of high fantasy, but that have in common a more positive approach to the problem of lycanthropy. In this sense, a focus on narrative conventions narrows the view too much, drawing attention to the mechanics rather than the thematics that underpin the genre of fantasy.

Pursuing this logic, several studies of popular fantasy observe that fantasy is characterized by nostalgia for an archaic past, pastoral or ecological themes, anti-modernism, religious overtones, or a Taoist emphasis upon harmony and balance.[29] This approach can shed more light upon the cultural significance or status of fantasy, because it moves beyond a concern with narrative conventions to investigate the themes and values that characterise the genre. Certainly, such scholarship goes further towards explaining why some werewolf stories are better understood within the framework of fantasy than within that of Gothic horror. The werewolves in such fiction are (or become) personally fulfilled, integrating their lupine and human needs more successfully than the tragic Wolf Man and his successors. Indeed, this breed of werewolf often finds love, happiness, stability and spiritual growth. Although the narrative devices and preoccupations of the horror genre are not always entirely shunned in such accounts of lycanthropy, these stories are more strongly characterized by a willing acceptance of embodiment, a recognition of the inevitable cycles of birth and death, a sense of connection with the natural world, and an emphasis on spirituality – all features which have been identified with the genre of fantasy. Such themes can be variously connected to

the influences of feminism (especially ecofeminism), environmentalism, Jungian theory, New Age philosophy and Eastern religion that have converged in the genre of fantasy. They have also, of course, reflected a romantic concern with the themes of Nature and Spirit. A consideration of the ways in which these various strands of thought coalesce in fantasy goes a long way towards suggesting how fantasy might be incorporated into speculative theory about alternative ways of being and knowing.

Modern fantasy was forged largely in the pulps of the 1930s, when a number of stories featuring a convergence of magic and romance in a medieval setting appeared – a synthesis that was influential in the germination of fantasy as a genre distinct from 'science fiction' or 'horror'. Seabury Quinn, who returned repeatedly to the theme of the werewolf during his writing career, abandoned the character of Jules de Grandin, whose exploits in the hunting down and extermination of werewolves had previously set the tone for the theme of lycanthropy in *Weird Tales*, and published three werewolf 'fantasies' in quick succession between 1938 and 1940. The first of these, entitled 'Fortune's Fools' (July 1938), featured de Grandin's ancestor, Ramon Nazara y de Grandin, 'gentleman of Provence and knight of Aragon', whose chivalrous rescue of a beautiful woman leads to his captivity in the castle of a clan of marauding werewolves. The woman helps him escape, but they are set upon in a forest by the werewolves. In the midst of the mêlée, the woman finds the flower she has been seeking, which she believes will help her to wreak revenge upon her tormentors. 'It is a bloom of hell, and whoso eats of it straight shifts his shape into the beast he most resembles. Thereafter for three twelvemonths he must live in bestial form, with only little intervals of human shape', she explains.[30] She helps de Grandin defeat their attackers in the form of a great black panther with 'moss-green' eyes, and then disappears among the trees. Although lycanthropy is still presented as a source of horror in this story, the focus is on the woman's transformation into a beautiful and benevolent beast, an emphasis which Quinn developed further in his next two werewolf stories, in which unfortunate circumstances transform a woman beloved by a knight into a wolf.[31] In both of

these subsequent narratives, the wolf is a sympathetic character whose dogged devotion to her lover in spite of her altered form eventually enables them to be reunited.

Quinn's stories are notable for their sympathetic focus on a feminine experience of lycanthropy, and draw on the structure and thematics of the fairy tale, a genre that Marina Warner has argued carries 'a whiff of femininity'.[32] This shift towards the feminine in the generating texts of modern fantasy lends some support to Charlotte Spivack's speculation that fantasy is a 'feminine' form.[33] Certainly, while by no means all explorations of the werewolf in fantasy are written by women or are explicitly feminist, a high proportion of fantasy narratives focused on lycanthropy explore themes which have been a consistent feature of feminist critical thought, and many trace a specifically female experience of lycanthropy. Indeed, the development of the female werewolf in twentieth-century culture has been inseparable from the development of the genre of fantasy.

Quinn's characterizations of benevolent, loyal wolves also diverged from the traditions of Gothic horror, and presaged the rehabilitation of the wolf within environmentalism. Don D. Elgin argues that environmentalist perspectives are central to fantasy when he argues that fantasy is a form related to comedy (as opposed to tragedy) and therefore exhibits a profound appreciation of ecology. Using 'ecology' to refer to the symbiotic relationships between humanity, other forms of life, and the earth, Elgin suggests that our current ecological crisis is rooted in Western literary and philosophical traditions that have privileged tragic art. The human-centred logic of tragedy, argues Elgin, has assumed 'that nature is made for human kind; that human morality transcends natural limits; and that the individual human personality is supremely important' – assumptions that have brought environmental disaster upon us.[34] But if tragedy neglects ecological concerns, comedy positions humanity 'as but one part of a system to which it must accommodate itself and whose survival must be a primary concern if it hopes to continue to exist'.[35] Having established this framework of analysis, Elgin goes on to demonstrate that the principles of comic philosophy are central to the fantasy novel. He argues that

fantasy reflects ecological concerns because it suggests 'a continually changing world which requires the evolution of all forms. It sees death and destruction as an inevitable part of that cycle, but it also sees the renewal of life and the continuance of an ever-dynamic system as at least possible.'[36] For Elgin, 'the fantasy novel ... understands and accepts death, decay, and change as essential parts of a system which also contains satisfaction, joy, and freedom.'[37]

Certainly, it is the sanctioning of an ecological perspective that largely differentiates representations of the werewolf in fantasy from its cousins in the genre of horror. In horror, nature is an alien presence (the beast within) that destroys the tragic werewolf hero by forcing him to behave like an animal against his conscious will. The fantasy werewolf, on the other hand, develops a far more positive and accepting relationship with the inner wolf, a stance that promotes survival. Tanith Lee's *Lycanthia* (1981) is sensitive to these genre differences. The werewolves in the novel understand the pleasures of embodiment, and their physical vitality is positively contrasted with the protagonist Christian's insipidity. When he witnesses their transformation into wolves, his response makes it clear that he is unable to appreciate their joy in embodiment, and can only read their abilities according to the discourse of horror: 'It was so fluent, this transformation, so hideously natural – yes, *natural*. There was no other word for it.'[38] By juxtaposing her own delight in the werewolves against Christian's negative attitude towards them, Lee highlights the contrasts between characterizations of lycanthropy in fantasy and horror respectively, showing that these differences are largely founded in differing valuations of the forces of nature and biology.

Other narratives go so far as to cast werewolves as defenders of the environment. The novels of S.P. Somtow and Nancy Collins pursue this logic, both of which portray good native American werewolves with an intimate connection to the land battling against the incursion of bad werewolves from Europe who have forgotten their origins in nature.[39] Indeed, both Collins and Somtow employ the concept of a 'werewolf Messiah' – a gifted and compassionate werewolf whose arrival heralds the beginnings of reconciliation between the dissolute, cosmopolitan

tribes originating from Europe and the wise but dwindling and despondent Native American tribes. The role-playing game *Werewolf: The Apocalypse* has provided a more immersive experience of this logic, in which players assume the roles of lycanthropic 'Champions of Gaia'.[40] Members of the alt.horror.werewolves discussion group have also taken upon themselves responsibility for the environment; as their FAQ page explains, 'humanity has had to deal with a number of ecological problems. ... We seek to balance the two halves of our nature, so that someday we can teach the rest of humanity how to balance its drive to conquer with the reality that it needs nature to survive.'[41]

If the perspectives of feminism and environmentalism have been central to the emergence of fantasy as a genre in its own right, so too has Jungian theory. Because Jung's notion of individuation presents self-development as a type of journey or quest, in which the warring aspects of the psyche are integrated into a harmonious whole, it has resonated with the narrative structure of much fantasy. This would certainly suggest why some werewolf stories are better understood within the framework of fantasy than within that of Gothic horror. Within a Gothic framework, the psyche is visualized as permanently and antagonistically divided between the rational restraint of the conscious mind and the irrational drives of the unconscious. This model of psychology was validated by Freudian theory, in which fantasy was seen as a negative impulse that exacerbates psychic conflict; as Freud wrote, 'a happy person never phantasies, only an unsatisfied one'.[42] Jung, on the other hand, saw fantasy as 'the creative activity whence issue the solutions to all answerable questions; it is the mother of all possibilities' – a statement that positions fantasy as a positive impulse that should be embraced.[43] Werewolf stories that pursue the logic of fantasy certainly explore the possibilities of integrating the antagonistic aspects of the werewolf's identity, rather than documenting the process by which the conflict between the human and the wolf leads to spiritual torment, violence and death.

In Michael Cadnum's *Saint Peter's Wolf*, for example, Benjamin Byrd experiences disorientation, anxiety and horror as he realizes that he has become a werewolf. His lover Johanna, however, who is

also a werewolf, guides him through these difficulties, sharing with him her own experiences. '[W]hen I first began, I killed people, too', she tells him.[44]

> But then it changed. As the nights went by, I did not want to kill. I wanted to run, and nothing more. And when I had to move, and to keep moving, because there was always someone beginning to discover me, I was not running away from what I had done. I was surviving, and learning the sort of creature I was really meant to be.[45]

By the end of the novel, Benjamin is no longer the man with 'a safe and an office' he once was.[46] He reflects that 'I was not a man, now, and I was not a wolf. I was one of those other creatures, the beings of legend, who arrive with the amazing, miraculous news, and vanish.'[47] Having confronted his Shadow, Benjamin has moved on to develop a more harmonized and enlightened subjectivity that transcends both man and wolf.

Somtow's *Moon Dance* also adopts a Jungian approach, through its characterization of a young werewolf with a multiple personality disorder. By prioritizing the psychic conflict between the boy and wolf, it draws from the dualistic representations of the werewolf associated with the genre of horror; but the novel also develops a narrative about the boy's individuation (or the unification of his disjointed parts in the role of Saviour) more typical of fantasy. Following a Jungian logic, the boy's psyche is visualized as consisting of many components: 'I am a single body with many souls. There are evil men and good men within me, young and old, male and female and even *winkte*, man-woman.'[48] The novel also emphasizes that such subjective experience is inevitably situated within the broader parameters of nature – an emphasis that is given full expression in the novel's finale, when the werewolf Messiah undertakes the mystical Moon Dance.

> The light swirled about the boy's head. It seemed ... that he was growing in stature, making up for the years he had been trapped in the body of a little boy ... now he seemed on the brink of adolescence ... now it was summer and the grass rustled and his golden hair was flung back as the hot wind raced over the plain and now it was autumn and the wind stripped the leaves from the oaks and roared and the grass was matted with rain.[49]

In this frieze of imagery, the magical, accelerated process of individuation experienced by the werewolf Messiah is accompanied by rapid shifts of weather and season, suggesting that the project of selfhood, while important in its own right, is also indissolubly linked to nature.

In this sense, this passage owes much to the romantic conceptualization of the sublime, in which spiritual enrichment is attained through an immersion in or connection with nature. This focus on the interdependency of 'spirit' and nature is common in fantasy, in which protagonists frequently achieve spiritual fulfilment through intimacy with nature. New Age philosophy also tends to draw on such associations, as in alt.horror.werewolves participants' notion of 'spiritual therianthropy', which is explained as an experience of connection with the animal world, which 'contacts us through totems, through dreams, through our very souls'.[50] In more critical contexts, critiques of modernist subjectivity (with its emphasis on reason – 'I think' – rather than spirit) have also led to a resurgence of interest in spirituality, despite an ingrained resistance to the discussion of such themes in the discourses of rationalist science.

Indeed, as Philippa Berry observes, some recent theorizing has begun to present 'a new understanding of spirit, not as the opposite term of a binary couple, but rather as facilitating a wholly new mode of awareness', an awareness 'which not only invites the thinker to abandon their residual attachment to dualistic thinking, but also offers a potent challenge to their desire for subjective mastery and knowledge'.[51] In such contexts, spirituality, like the werewolf, draws attention to the impossibility of separating nature from culture, the human person from the subject. A return to Žižek's reading of Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling's work can suggest how spirituality operates in this way; for Žižek, Schelling's declaration that 'Nature is visible Spirit, Spirit is invisible Nature' called attention to a 'double surplus that "'sticks out"'; the fact that there is a 'spiritual element of corporeality', but also a 'corporeal element of spirituality'.[52] In this sense, discourses about spirituality register the absurdity of the Enlightenment attempt to divorce the subject or 'I think' from the body or human person, by insisting on their connectivity. Accordingly, just as the 'spectral'

monsters of Gothic horror have facilitated critiques of the Enlightenment model of subjectivity and speculation about alternative ways of being, so too might the 'spiritual' subjects of fantasy literature.

Although the title of their book suggests a focus on the science-fiction cyborg, Janice Rushing and Thomas Frentz come close to developing a more fantasy-oriented reading of the icon, through linking the cyborg to the figure of the 'spiritual hunter'. They note the resurrection of the sublime that reveals postmodernism's roots in romanticism, but express concern that postmodernism 'represses Spirit into the unconscious', invoking Jungian theory as an antidote because the notion of individuation encourages the *conscious* exploration of spirituality.[53] Yet they also quote approvingly from the neo-Jungian texts of Robert Bly and his followers Robert Moore and Douglas Gillette (and in this sense, Jungian theory can be seen to cultivate a dialogue between critical and popular contexts in the same way that Freudian theory facilitated traffic between such fields through accounts of the 'beast within'). Moore and Gillette's *King, Warrior, Magician, Lover: Rediscovering the Archetypes of the Mature Masculine* (1991) argues that the absence of meaningful initiation rituals in Western society is symptomatic of spiritual impoverishment, and is also behind a 'crisis of masculine identity'.[54] In support of this view, Rushing and Frentz advocate the resurrection of spiritual initiation ceremonies such as those associated with hunting. This approach draws on the logic of deep ecology, which has been developed out of the observation of native cultures by some environmental writers, and aims to foster a greater sense of connectedness with nature through advocating activities such as hunting. Gary Snyder, for example, endorses 'spiritual' hunting, in which the hunter should aim to become 'physically and psychically one with the animal'.[55] Yet, such an emphasis on the interconnectedness of nature and spirit is also echoed in ecofeminist thought – even though, as Marti Kheel observes, ecofeminist philosophy is 'diametrically opposed' to hunting.[56]

The spiritualization of hunting that emerges in populist and scholarly adaptations of Jungian theory arises out of Jung's emphasis on biological and evolutionary origins, a focus that quickly leads to as-

sumptions that hunting is a 'natural' or 'instinctive' urge that may therefore facilitate our 'harmonization' with an 'alienated' nature. Some of the implications of such an approach can be illuminated with reference to representations of lycanthropy. In the film *Wolf* (1994, USA), for example, a seductively filmed slow-motion sequence captures the intensity and thrill of Will Randall/Jack Nicholson's pursuit and slaughter of a deer, inviting audience identification with his experience. Here, a sense of 'the natural order of things' is developed, in which the weak perish and the strong survive. The werewolf's immersion in nature circumvents questions about the ethics of killing, because ethics are positioned as a function of culture. In this context, the advocacy of the 'spiritual hunt' in the work of Bly and of Rushing and Frentz implies a neglect of ethical questions about hunting and other cultural manifestations, justified by a retreat into 'nature'. The visualization of the psyche as a repository of 'fixed' natural impulses operates here to undermine ethical endeavours, by suggesting that human 'nature' is ultimately beyond ethics (a logic that is frequently evoked to justify social inequities or injustices in a range of contemporary contexts).

The ease with which imagery of the sublime can end up justifying a retreat from humane ethics is addressed by feminist philosopher Geraldine Finn, when she notes that concepts like 'transcendence' and 'spirituality' 'are abstract and contentious categories, mere slogans as long as their meanings are not made clear and concrete – slogans which, like democracy, freedom, and progress, have been used to support a lot of rather nasty political practices in their time'.[57] In her more recent work, Donna Haraway also explores the ethical ambiguities that arise when 'hybrid' forms such as monsters and cyborgs are celebrated, noting that figures such as the vampire 'do not rest easy (or easily) in the boxes labeled good and bad'.[58] Such ambiguities have led to a revival of interest in ethics, particularly as a means of structuring relationships that are not grounded in an exploitative self–other dynamic. Feminism has been central to this trend, with Finn, for example, advocating an '*ethical* encounter with others (with otherness)',[59] and ecofeminist Val Plumwood arguing for the nurturing

of a 'mutual self' which 'recognise[s] both the otherness of nature and its continuity with the human self'.[60]

A focus on ethics has also been played out in popular culture. As alt.horror.werewolves discussions and debates around the thematics of the role-playing game *Werewolf: The Apocalypse* have demonstrated, identification with (or as) a werewolf carries the risk of sanctioning antisocial or unethical behaviour (such as hunting and killing human beings). This has led alt.horror.werewolves participants to argue that 'most of us don't like the "ravening beast" idea' and that werewolves have been the victims of 'bad press'.[61] Some fiction about werewolves – and especially female werewolves – pursues a similar logic. Pat Murphy's Nadya, for example, will only kill a human being in self-defence: when threatened by a man with a rifle, she attacks him, but once he is disarmed 'she hesitated for a moment. ... She had established her dominance, and that was enough. She could let him live. But he shifted beneath her suddenly, attacking her again, clubbing at her with his useless rifle. She went for his throat, tearing at the thin skin to let the blood flow.'[62] Other werewolves demonstrate a similar sense of restraint with regard to the taking of life; as Sylvie's mentor tells her in Cheri Scotch's *The Werewolf's Kiss* (1992), 'You were always a compassionate woman; it stands to reason that you would be a responsible werewolf.'[63] While such narratives emphasize the feeling of power that accompanies transformation into the form of a wolf, they are also concerned to develop a sense of responsibility and respect for community in their werewolf protagonists.

Recent developments in evolutionary theory lend support to a renewed focus on ethics, through reconsideration of the work of the 'other' evolutionary scientist, Jean Baptiste de Lamarck. Lamarck's ideas about the inheritance of acquired characteristics have long been dismissed by Darwinists and neo-Darwinists, despite the fact that Darwin himself took Lamarck's ideas seriously.[64] But recently, neo-Lamarckian molecular geneticists focusing on the immune system have challenged neo-Darwinist assertions that acquired characteristics cannot be inherited, by finding that the immune system does in fact recode DNA in response to changes in the body, and that these changes

are then encoded in the reproductive cells and can be transmitted to offspring.[65] This work is of interest to cultural critics and social theorists because, as the researchers have implied, 'ethical and moral attitudes and lifestyle choice *may* impact on our future genetic endowment'.[66] In such a context, the abdication of ethical responsibilities through a reversion to nature or reference to an ungovernable 'human nature' is no longer possible, because ethical choices may be central to the shape that 'nature' takes, or to 'what, at last, we want to become'.[67]

The convergence in fantasy of feminist and environmentalist concerns with a renewed emphasis on spirituality and ethics (via romanticism, Jungian theory and New Age philosophy) is a potent combination that poses many challenges to dominant representations of a dualistic subjectivity, and suggests a number of ways in which subjectivity might be rethought. But fantasy's most significant contribution to the theorization of selfhood is perhaps its frequent representation of absence from, or transcendence of reasoning consciousness, a theme that draws on the dynamics of Eastern religions such as Taoism or Zen Buddhism as well as the traditions of romanticism. Fantasy writing is frequently concerned to communicate such an experience, characteristically undermining the centrality of the subject by evoking worlds in which the individual is an integral component of a greater whole, or positioned within a more panoramic or epic context.[68] Further, protagonists are often subjected to a spiritualized experience whereby they lose a sense of the boundaries between themselves, others and the natural world; in other words, the sense of self (as conscious, reasoning subject) is shed through a sublime experience of connectivity. When it is considered that a focus on subjectivity is central to modern and postmodern thought (indeed, as Žižek argues, the construction of 'reality' within modernity is orchestrated to bring the subject into being[69]) the decentring of or flight from subjectivity in fantasy constitutes a radical or subversive move that undermines the whole point of the Enlightenment project.

Indeed, the 'radical' or 'subversive' subjectivities of the cyborg and the monster appear to pursue a rather conservative privileging of the subject by comparison with fantasy's approach – especially when

it is recalled that in Gothic horror the 'voidness' of the subject is a source of terror that, through its differentiation of the subject from the human person or body, is also constitutive of subjectivity. In this context, the use of Gothic monsters to speculate about alternative constructions of selfhood maintains a residual commitment to those origins. In fantasy, on the other hand, the encounter with 'voidness' is a source of joy rather than terror; a process to be embraced rather than dreaded. Further, because the encounter with the void is accessed via the sublime experience of *connectivity*, it is not then constitutive of a subjectivity that depends upon the *separation* of subject and body. Indeed, rather than facilitating subject formation (as in Gothic horror), fantasy appears to facilitate the dissolution of the subject.

Nevertheless, that dissolution is generally temporary. In Patricia McKillip's *The Book of Atrix Wolfe*, for example, a werewolf mage fashions a magical working that loses him in '[b]arren crags and ancient forests, winds scented with honey, wolf, wildflowers, swift water so pure it tasted like the wind, deep snow lying tranquilly beneath moonlight, summer light cascading down warm stone under sky so bright it held no color'.[70] The working 'blazed brighter and brighter in his eyes, until, trying to see his making ... he could see only light'.[71] As the spell is completed, however, he is returned to himself and his surroundings: 'He turned blindly, standing, it seemed, in the eye of the sun. Then he heard the odd silence on the field, as if, around him, no one moved, no one even thought. The light faded at his sudden fear; he began to see again. ... Color returned to the world.'[72] In this sense, the logic of fantasy returns us to subjectivity as inevitably as the logic of Gothic horror, because the notion of absence from the self is implicated in the '*installation* of the metaphysics of presence'.[73] In other words, the notion of transcendence of or absence from the self depends upon the presence of a self.

Yet, whereas the reconstitution of the self in Gothic horror is founded upon the repeated denial or repression of 'voidness', the return to subjectivity in fantasy preserves conscious awareness of 'voidness' and its implications for self, Other and the environment. In a discursive context that seeks to engage in explicit and conscious

analysis and even alteration of the dynamics of selfhood (especially of the exploitative relationship between self and Other) fantasy thus provides a better framework than Gothic horror for the cognisant and deliberate exploration of such themes. Certainly, this is why fantasy werewolves survive, learn, develop ethical frameworks and achieve spiritual fulfilment, whereas Gothic werewolves keep making the same mistakes until they die.

Tanith Lee explores the implications and limitations of such encounters with the not-self, when the girl in the red coat asks the werewolf: 'Man into wolf. Is it possible?'[74] He replies: 'Do you actually think ... that any one of us is truly what we're pleased to call "real"? All matter, flesh, skin, trees, stone, bricks, blood – it's all illusory, fluid, nonexistent, formed from nothing.'[75] Later, when the girl has lost her red coat and is buying a new one, she is perturbed by the women in the shop:

> They were so interested in all the other aspects of their lives, that for them I hardly existed. I had become a sort of ghost. I left the town near evening, by the night train for the south. In the city I knew I would be recognized, and spoken to, I knew I should be perfectly alive and real.[76]

As Lee's conclusion suggests, it is probably impossible and perhaps undesirable to abandon the experience of self-conscious subjectivity at this historical juncture. Yet, the occasional encounter with the not-Self is, if we are to heed the messages emanating from the academy as well as from a spectrum of popular cultures, profoundly desirable. If we are to take seriously the neo-Lamarckians' suggestion that our ethical and spiritual choices may affect our genetic future, it may even be necessary for our survival. Certainly, as the werewolf has discovered, it can be liberating and even empowering to discover that, as Lee's modern Red Riding Hood muses, 'There's no self to become.'[77]

CODA

In the footsteps of the werewolf

We have tracked the werewolf a considerable distance, through dungeons, castles, graveyards, remote alpine forests, snowdrifts, secluded villages, spotless drawing rooms, dark inner-city alleyways, dusty country towns, slums, zoos, bedsits, leafy suburban parks and the fragile ecosystems of an endangered wilderness. We watched it emerge from the wilds of a pre-modern past into the modern world, where it kept to the shadows in order to survive. Those who caught glimpses of it skirting the forest's edge in the half-light, fleeting across the visages of enemies, subordinates, peers and loved ones, or even gazing out of a mirror, concocted various explanations for what they had seen. Some interpreted it as a manifestation of madness, others as a cannibalistic impulse, a form of atavism, an astral projection, a belief originating in the practices of primitive societies, or shamanistic trickery.

Assimilating these disquisitions with its acute sensory perceptions, the werewolf learned that its subjectivity was deeply divided. It learned to think of itself as torn between its lupine and human urges, as unbalanced and disabled by its transformative capabilities. Sometimes, enraged by this discovery, it avenged itself by preying mercilessly and unrepentantly on humanity, turning its back on the 'civilized' society

to which it could never fully belong; and the occasional spectator would applaud these excesses and wish to emulate the werewolf's disdain for human culture. Increasingly, however, the werewolf would struggle miserably and futilely to deny its lupine cravings. Those who heard its dismal howls and felt the urge to respond with a sympathetic answering call found new ways of explaining the werewolf's presence, describing it as symbolic of fundamental psychic structures, or as a behavioural archetype...

As forests dwindled, cities spread, and the air began to carry new and unpleasant odours, the werewolf found increasing refuge in a few remaining pockets of wilderness, where it could lick its wounds, contemplate the damage wreaked upon itself and the environment by modernity, and rediscover the pleasures afforded by its lupine form. After its period of alienation from its lupine endowments, a soft footfall upon wet earth, the scent of pine needles, a warm cave, a bask in the sun or the intimate nuzzle of another wolf now seemed more intensely pleasurable. Those patient enough to follow the werewolf to its secret sanctuaries felt admiration or envy as they watched it cast off its human form to cavort in the snow or tear across a prairie. At a time when many had come to feel frustrated at humanity's increasing estrangement from nature, the werewolf's easy converse with its environment, and the richness of its sensual and spiritual existence, had come to seem desirable.

Yet the werewolf has not forgotten its sojourn in civilization. Even though the wilderness offers a kind of forgetfulness, the sound of children playing or hikers talking animatedly still transports it back to the bittersweet challenges of being human. But, no longer consumed by rage, fear, self-loathing, or the desire for revenge, the werewolf lets such humans be, respecting their right to exist. Often, it even returns to the city, taking pleasure in the diversity, the ingenuity and the promise of humanity. And wherever it goes, people are struck by its generosity, fairness and warmth, and find themselves emulating those qualities, even as they wonder at the origins of a wet footprint consisting of a human heel and four padded toes.

Notes

Introduction

1. Barry Holstun Lopez, *Of Wolves and Men* (London, Toronto and Melbourne: J.M. Dent, 1978), p. 140.
2. Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (1949), trans. H.M. Parshley (London: Picador, 1988), pp. 29, 176–8.

Chapter 1

1. Joseph Reed, 'Subgenres in Horror Pictures: The Pentagram, Faust, and Philoctetes', in Barry Keith Grant (ed.), *Planks of Reason: Essays on the Horror Film* (London and Metuchen NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1984), p. 102.
2. Charlotte F. Otten, 'Introduction', in C.F. Otten (ed.), *A Lycanthropy Reader: Werewolves in Western Culture* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), p. 13, referring to Paulus Aegineta, *The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, trans. Francis Adams (London, 1844–47), vol. 3, ch. 16. Other references to lycanthropy in early literature appear in the Roman poet Virgil's eighth *Eclogue*, first century BC, which describes a young man's transformation into a wolf by the power of herbs, and Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, first century AD, which features a number of accounts of lycanthropy.
3. See the twelfth-century *Lai de Bisclavret* by Marie de France; twelfth-century *Guillaume de Palerne* (anon.); thirteenth-century *Lai de Melion*

(anon.); Old Norse *Völsungsaga* (anon., written down *c.* thirteenth century); fourteenth-century *Arthur and Gorgalon* (anon.).

4. See Jacobus Sprenger and Heinrich Kramer, *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486); Jean Bodin, *De la Demonomanie des Sorciers* (Paris, 1580); Henri Boguet, *Discours des Sorciers* (Lyons, 1590); George Bores, trans., *A True Discourse Declaring the Damnable Life and Death of One Stubbe Peeter* (original trial manuscript) (London, 1590); James I, *Daemonologie* (Edinburgh, 1597).
5. See Johann Wier, *De Praestigiis Daemonum* (Basel, 1563); Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584); Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1621).
6. Laurent Bordelon, 'Preface', *A History of the Ridiculous Extravagancies of Monsieur Oufle* (1711; originally published in French, 1710) (London and New York: Garland Publishing, 1973), p. i.
7. Ibid., p. 8.
8. Ibid., p. 5.
9. David Punter, *The Literature of Terror: A History of Gothic Fictions from 1765 to the Present Day*, vol. 2: *The Modern Gothic* (London and New York: Longman, 1996), pp. 202–3.
10. Tobin Siebers, *The Romantic Fantastic* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 21.
11. The asterisked statement appears as a footnote in the original publication. Charles Robert Maturin, *The Albigenses*, vol. 2 (1824) (New York: Arno Press, 1974), pp. 262–3.
12. Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1976), pp. 152, 153.
13. Leopold von Ranke, 'Preface' to *Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations from 1494–1514* (1824), reprinted in F. Stern (ed.), *The Varieties of History* (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. 57.
14. Ranke, quoted in Peter Gay and Victor G. Wexler (eds), *Historians at Work*, vol. 3 (New York, Harper & Row, 1975), p. 17.
15. Ranke, 'Preface' in Stern (ed.), *The Varieties of History*, p. 57.
16. In *Émile* (1762), Rousseau wrote: 'The misuse of books is the death of sound learning. People think they know what they have read, and take no pains to learn. Too much reading only produces a pretentious ignoramus. There was never so much reading in any age as the present, and never was there less learning.' Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile*, trans. Barbara Foxley (London: J.M. Dent, 1974), quoted in Niall Lucy, *Postmodern Literary Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 45–6.
17. Edward Said, paraphrased by Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), p. 300.

18. Sabine Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves: Being an Account of a Terrible Superstition* (London, Smith & Elder, 1865), p. xii.
19. Siebers, *The Romantic Fantastic*, pp. 23–4.
20. See, for example, Alex Owen, *The Darkened Room: Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England* (London: Virago, 1989); Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Viking, 1990); McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; Ruth Robbins and Julian Wolfreys (eds), *Victorian Identities: Social and Cultural Formations in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (London: Macmillan/New York: St Martin's Press, 1996).
21. 'The Wehr-Wolf', *The Story-Teller, or Journal of Fiction*, vol. 2 (1833), pp. 114, 116.
22. This understanding was exemplified in the *Naturphilosophie* (philosophy of nature) deriving from the work of Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling (1775–1854), who argued that 'Nature is visible Spirit, Spirit is invisible Nature.' Cited in Henri F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 202. See also *Romanticism in Science: Science in Europe, 1790–1840*, ed. Stefano Poggi and Maurizio Bossi, *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science*, vol. 152 (1994). As Bossi states ('Preface', p. ix), this volume is entirely devoted to essays exploring various aspects of the 'unitary vision of the universe' characteristic of Romantic science.
23. 'The Wehr-Wolf', p. 118.
24. Dudley Costello, 'Lycanthropy in London; Or, the Wehr-Wolf of Wilton-Crescent', *Bentley's Miscellany* 38 (October 1855), p. 366.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., p. 363.
27. Kelly Hurley has noted the Gothic mode's 'virtual disappearance in the middle of the century', in *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism, and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 4. Certainly, between the late 1850s and about 1875, there was a significant absence of any new werewolf fiction.
28. Frederick Madden, 'Introduction', in F. Madden (ed.), *William and the Werwolf* (London: William Nicol, Shakspeare-Press, 1832), p. xiii.
29. Algernon Herbert, 'On Werewolves', in Madden (ed.), *William and the Werwolf*, p. 1.
30. T.W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 50.
31. Sally Shuttleworth, *Charlotte Bronte and Victorian Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 12–13.
32. Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development*

of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom (1871) (London: John Murray, 1913), p. 312.

33. Shuttleworth, *Charlotte Bronte and Victorian Psychology*, p. 13.
34. Mrs Catherine Crowe, 'The Lycanthropist', in Mrs C. Crowe, *Light and Darkness; or, Mysteries of Life*, vol. 3 (London: Henry Colburn, 1850), p. 236. Reprinted in *Reynolds's Miscellany*, vol. 5, no. 125 (30 November 1850), pp. 293–4.
35. Ibid., pp. 242–3.
36. Ibid., pp. 246–7.
37. The characterization of Sergeant Bertrand as a werewolf, however, did not prevent his continued representation as a ghoul, vampire or madman by other writers wishing to present his exploits in a different light. The *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* of 27 June 1874, for example, published the following passage: 'Bertrand the Ghoul is still alive: he is cured of his hideous disease, and is cited as a model of gentleness and propriety.' Quoted in Claire Russell and W.M.S. Russell, 'The Social Biology of Werewolves', in J.R. Porter and W.M.S. Russell (eds), *Animals in Folklore* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer/Totowa NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1978), p. 149.
38. Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves*, p. 259.
39. Ibid., pp. 259–60.
40. Alexander Young, 'A Terrible Superstition', *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science and Art*, vol. 9, no. 202 (February 1873), p. 171.
41. Andrew Wynter, 'Werewolves and Lycanthropy', in A. Wynter, *Fruit Between the Leaves*, vol. 1 (London: Chapman & Hall, 1875), p. 122.
42. Elliott O'Donnell, *Werwolves* (London: Methuen, 1912; repr. Oracle Publishing, 1996), p. 129.
43. Ibid., p. 133.
44. Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves*, p. 6. As J.F. McLellan pointed out in 1883, 'Treatises solely confined to lycanthropy are rare both in mediæval and in modern times. ... Incidentally, however, lycanthropy has engaged the attention of a large number of writers, most of whom theorize regarding its origin.' McLellan, 'Lycanthropy', *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edn, vol. 15 (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1883), p. 92. Baring-Gould's study was a thorough collation of the incidental references to lycanthropy published prior to the appearance of *The Book of Were-wolves* in 1865.
45. John Fiske, 'Werewolves and Swanmaidens', in J. Fiske, *Myths and Myth-Makers: Old Tales and Superstitions Interpreted by Comparative Mythology* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1873), p. 70; originally published in *Atlantic Monthly* 28 (1871), pp. 129–44.
46. Clive Leatherdale, *The Origins of Dracula: The Background to Bram Stoker's Gothic Masterpiece* (London: William Kimber, 1987), p. 141.
47. Ibid., p. 142.

48. Bram Stoker, 'Walpurgis Night', *The Story Teller* 3 (May 1914), p. 10.
49. Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves*, p. xii.
50. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England*, p. 24.
51. Ibid., pp. 37–46.
52. The re-assessment of the witch trials was carried over into fiction as well. Crowe wrote 'A Story of a Weir-Wolf' in 1846, which portrayed the sufferings of a maiden wrongly accused of lycanthropy. Mrs Catherine Crowe, 'A Story of a Weir-Wolf', *Hogg's Weekly Instructor*, vol. 3 no. 64 (16 May 1846), pp. 184–9. William Forster based his play *The Weirwolf: A Tragedy* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1876) on Crowe's tale. A novel entitled *Bound By a Spell; or the Hunted Witch of the Forest*, 1885 (no further publication details supplied), by Louisa Lilias Greene, gave a similarly sympathetic portrayal of the sufferings of a 'witch' accused of lycanthropy.
53. Young, 'A Terrible Superstition', p. 171.
54. Charles Dickens to John Forster, quoted in Patricia Marks, 'Household Words', in Alvin Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Magazines: The Victorian and Edwardian Age, 1837–1913* (Westport CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1984), p. 170.
55. Young, 'A Terrible Superstition', p. 171.
56. Ann Cvetkovich, *Mixed Feelings: Feminism, Mass Culture, and Victorian Sensationalism* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), p. 20.
57. H.L. Mansel, 'Sensation Novels', *Quarterly Review* 113 (April 1863), p. 482, quoted in Cvetkovich, *Mixed Feelings*, p. 20.
58. J. Greenwood, 'Penny Packets of Poison', in J. Greenwood, *The Wilds of London* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1874); reprinted in Peter Haining (ed.), *The Penny Dreadful; or, Strange, Horrid and Sensational Tales!* (London: Gollancz, 1975), p. 367.
59. Roland Barthes, 'Michelet Today', in Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, trans. R. Howard (New York: Hill & Wang, 1986), p. 198.
60. George W. Cox, *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. 1 (London: Longmans & Green, 1870), p. 459.
61. Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850–1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 23.
62. William Thoms, quoted in Richard M. Dorson, *The British Folklorists: A History* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 172.
63. 'On the Popular Superstitions of Europe: Lycanthropy', *The Anglo-American*, vol. 1, no. 8 (June 1843), p. 173.
64. Ibid., p. 175.
65. Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves*, p. 6.

66. For example, John Graham Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland, Illustrated from History and Practice* (Edinburgh, 1834); George Webbe Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1859); Walter K. Kelly, *Curiousities of Indo-European Tradition and Folk-lore* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1863).
67. The article drew from the following works, among others: Henry Fanshawe Tozer, *Researches into the Highlands of Turkey* (London: John Murray, 1869); W.R.S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People: As Illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life* (London: Ellis & Green, 1872); John T. Naake, *Slavonic Fairy Tales; Collected and Translated from the Russian, Polish, Servian and Bohemian* (London: Henry S. King, 1874).
68. See Gilbert Campbell, 'The White Wolf of Kostopchin', in G. Campbell, *Wild and Weird: Tales of Imagination and Mystery* (London: Ward & Lock, 1889), reprinted in Brian J. Frost (ed.), *The Book of the Werewolf* (London: Sphere, 1973), pp. 75–106; Fred Whishaw, 'The Werewolf', *Temple Bar* 126 (November 1902), pp. 568–79; Clemence Housman, *The Were-Wolf* (London: John Lane/Chicago: Way & Williams, 1896), originally published in *Atalanta* (1895), reprinted in Otten (ed.), *A Lycanthropy Reader*, pp. 286–320; Rudyard Kipling, 'The Mark of the Beast', *Pioneer* (12 & 14 July 1890), reprinted in R. Kipling, *Life's Handicap: Being Stories of Mine Own People* (1891) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), pp. 195–207; Eden Phillpotts, 'Loup-Garou!', in E. Phillpotts, *Loup-Garou!* (London: Sands, 1899), pp. 1–34; Mary Hartwell Catherwood, 'The Beauport Loup-Garou', *Atlantic Monthly* 72 (November 1893), pp. 630–38; H. Beaugrand, 'The Werwolves', *Century Magazine,* vol. 56, no. 6 (October 1898), pp. 814–23.
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70. See Sutherland Menzies, 'Hugues, the Wer-Wolf: A Kentish Legend of the Middle Ages', *Court Magazine and Monthly Critic* 13 (1838), pp. 259–74, reprinted in Frost (ed.), *Book of the Werewolf*, pp. 53–73; Crowe, 'A Story of a Weir-Wolf', pp. 184–9; Forster, *The Weirwolf*; Greene, *Bound by a Spell*; Lilian Moubrey and Walter Herries Pollock, *The Werewolf: A Romantic Play in One Act* (London: William Heinemann, 1898); Phillpotts, 'Loup-Garou!', pp. 1–34; Whishaw, 'The Were-Wolf', pp. 568–79.
71. Dorson, *The British Folklorists*, p. 162.
72. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language, Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in February, March, April, and May, 1863*, Second Series (New York, 1869), p. 371, quoted in ibid., p. 163.
73. Dorson, *The British Folklorists*, p. 181.

74. Angelo de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology or the Legends of Animals*, vol. 2 (London: Trübner, 1872), pp. 422–3.
75. Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves*, p. 179.
76. Cox, *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. 1, pp. 232–3.
77. Dorson, *The British Folklorists*, pp. 172–4.
78. Kelly, *Curiousities of Indo-European Tradition and Folk-Lore*, p. 243.
79. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, p. 315.
80. Ibid., p. 308.
81. Dorson, *The British Folklorists*, p. 193.
82. Charles Hardwick, 'Werewolves and the Transmigration of Souls', in C. Hardwick, *Traditions, Superstitions and Folklore* (Manchester: A. Ireland/London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1872), pp. 224–41.
83. Fiske, 'Werewolves and Swanmaidens', p. 70.
84. Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present* (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), p. 63.
85. Caroline Taylor Stewart, 'The Origin of the Werewolf Superstition', *University of Missouri Studies: Social Science Series*, vol. 2, no. 3 (April 1909), p. 1.
86. Ibid., p. 28.
87. C.W. Leadbeater, 'The Astral Plane', in *Transactions of the London Lodge of the Theosophical Society* 24 (April 1895), p. 39.
88. Adolphe D'Assier, *Posthumous Humanity: A Study of Phantoms* (London: George Redway, 1887), p. 259.
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91. Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 12.
92. Hurley, *The Gothic Body*, p. 5.
93. See, for example, Jean Bellemin-Noël, 'Des formes fantastiques aux thèmes fantasmatiques', *Littérature* 2 (May 1971), cited in Rosemary Jackson, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (New York: Methuen, 1981), p. 62; William Patrick Day, *In the Circles of Fear and Desire: A Study of Gothic Fantasy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 10.
94. Sigmund Freud, cited in Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1951), p. 34.
95. Sigmund Freud, *Studies on Hysteria* (1895), cited in Richard Wollheim, 'Introduction' to S. Freud, *The Case of the Wolf-Man: From the History of an Infantile Neurosis* (San Francisco: Arion Press, 1993), p. 7.
96. Hurley, *The Gothic Body*, pp. 16–17.
97. Day, *In the Circles of Fear and Desire*, p. 51.

98. See Martin Tropp, *Images of Fear: How Horror Stories Helped Shape Modern Culture (1818–1918)* (Jefferson NC and London: McFarland, 1990), p. 98.
99. Jefferson Hunter, *Edwardian Fiction* (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 61.
100. Algernon Blackwood, 'The Camp of the Dog', in A. Blackwood, *John Silence: Physician Extraordinary* (1908) (London: Eveleigh Nash & Grayson, 1929), p. 384.
101. See Margery Williams, *The Thing in the Woods* (London: Duckworth, 1913); Gerald Biss, *The Door of the Unreal* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons/London: Knickerbocker Press, 1920); Robert W. Service, *The House of Fear* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1927); Charles Swem, *Werewolf!* (New York: A.L. Burt, 1928); Alfred H. Bill, *The Wolf in the Garden* (New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1931); Frances Layland-Barratt, *Lycanthia* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1935); Eden Phillpotts, *Lycanthrope: The Mystery of Sir William Wolf* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1937); Jack Mann, *Grey Shapes* (London: Wright & Brown, 1938).
102. For some more recent examples of this approach, see Basil Copper, *The House of the Wolf* (Sauk City WI: Arkham House, 1983); Stephen King, *Cycle of the Werewolf* (New York: Signet, 1983); Charles L. Grant, *The Dark Cry of the Moon* (West Kingston RI: Donald M. Grant, 1985). In film, see *The Beast Must Die* (1974, UK), *Legend of the Werewolf* (1974, UK), *Haunted Honeymoon* (1986, UK/USA), and *Howling V: The Rebirth* (1989, Hungary/UK/USA).
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105. Phillpotts, *Lycanthrope*, p. 148.
106. Slavoj Žižek, 'Introduction: The Spectre of Ideology', in S. Žižek (ed.), *Mapping Ideology* (London and New York: Verso, 1994), p. 21.

Chapter 2

1. Judith Halberstam, *Skin Shows: Gothic Horror and the Technology of Monsters* (Durham NC and London: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 3.
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3. Sabine Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves: Being an Account of a Terrible Superstition* (London: Smith & Elder, 1865), p. 75.
4. Andrew Wynter, 'Were-wolves and Lycanthropy', in A. Wynter, *Fruit Between the Leaves*, vol. 1 (London: Chapman & Hall, 1875), p. 109.

5. M.M. Erckmann-Chatrian, 'The Man-Wolf' (originally published in French, 1860), in M.M. Erckmann-Chatrian, *The Man-Wolf and Other Tales* (1872), trans. F.A. Malleson (London: Ward, Lock & Tyler, 1876), pp. 88–9.
6. Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves*, p. 87.
7. Clemence Housman, *The Were-Wolf* (London: John Lane/Chicago: Way & Williams, 1896), originally published in *Atalanta* (1895), reprinted in Charlotte F. Otten (ed.), *A Lycanthropy Reader: Werewolves in Western Culture* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), p. 292.
8. H. Beaugrand, 'The Werwolves', *Century Magazine,* vol. 56, no. 6 (October 1898), p. 817.
9. See Frederick Marryat, *The Phantom Ship* (London: Henry Colburn, 1839), reprinted as 'The White Wolf of the Hartz Mountains', in Montague Summers (ed.), *The Supernatural Omnibus* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1931), pp. 553–4; Gilbert Campbell, 'The White Wolf of Kostopchin', in G. Campbell, *Wild and Weird: Tales of Imagination and Mystery* (London: Ward & Lock, 1889), reprinted in Brian J. Frost (ed.), *The Book of the Werewolf* (London: Sphere, 1973), p. 85; Housman, *The Were-Wolf*, p. 291.
10. Campbell, 'The White Wolf of Kostopchin', p. 85.
11. Marryat, 'The White Wolf of the Hartz Mountains'.
12. Eric S. Stenbock, 'The Other Side: A Breton Legend', in Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader*, p. 280; originally published in *The Spirit Lamp* 4 (1893), pp. 52–68.
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14. Elliott O'Donnell, *Werwolves* (London: Methuen, 1912; reprint Oracle Publishing, 1996), pp. 277–8.
15. Ibid., pp. 180–93.
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17. Housman, *The Were-Wolf*, p. 293.
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19. Wynter, 'Were-wolves and Lycanthropy', pp. 116–17.
20. C.F. Gordon Cumming, 'Wolves and Were-Wolves', *Temple Bar* 90 (November 1890), p. 366.
21. George W.M. Reynolds, 'Wagner the Wehr-Wolf', *Reynolds's Magazine of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art*, vol. 1, no. 5 (1847), pp. 67–8.
22. Campbell, 'The White Wolf of Kostopchin', p. 78.
23. Dudley Costello, 'Lycanthropy in London; Or, the Wehr-wolf of Wilton Crescent', *Bentley's Miscellany* 38 (October 1855), p. 368.
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25. Ibid., p. 369.

26. Max Müller, 'The Savage', *Nineteenth Century* 17 (January 1885), p. 111.
27. Halberstam, *Skin Shows*, p. 3.
28. Mary Russo, *The Female Grotesque: Risk, Excess and Modernity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 8.
29. Reynolds, 'Wagner the Wehr-Wolf', p. 67.
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31. Charles H. Bennett, *The Fables of Aesop and Others. Translated into human nature, designed and drawn on the wood by Charles H. Bennett* (London: W. Kent, 1857; reprinted London: Chatto & Windus, 1874, 1978).
32. Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, p. 193. For similar accounts of an 'internal' and 'external' grotesque, see Rosemary Jackson, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (New York: Methuen, 1981), p. 58; and Russo, *The Female Grotesque*, p. 8.
33. Kirby Flower Smith remarked upon the nudity of the werewolf no fewer than eight times in the course of his analysis of the werewolf in literature. See K.F. Smith, 'An Historical Study of the Werwolf in Literature', *PMLA*, vol. 9, no. 1 (n.s. v.2, no. 1) (1894), pp. 1–42.
34. Mrs Catherine Crowe, 'The Lycanthropist', in Mrs C. Crowe, *Light and Darkness; or, Mysteries of Life*, vol. 3 (London: Henry Colburn, 1850), p. 234; reprinted in *Reynolds's Miscellany*, vol. 5, no. 125 n.s. (30 November 1850), pp. 293–4.
35. Ibid., pp. 234–5.
36. Charles Robert Maturin, *The Albigenses*, vol. 2 (1824) (New York: Arno Press, 1974), pp. 262–3.
37. Otto Weininger, *Ueber die letzten Dingen* (Vienna, 1904), cited in Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 221.
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40. Rudyard Kipling, 'The Mark of the Beast', *Pioneer* (12 and 14 July 1890), reprinted in R. Kipling, *Life's Handicap: Being Stories of Mine Own People* (1891) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), p. 201.
41. Maturin, *The Albigenses*, vol. 2, p. 262.
42. Sally Shuttleworth, *Charlotte Bronte and Victorian Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 34.

43. Henri F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious: the History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 197.
44. Shuttleworth, *Charlotte Bronte and Victorian Psychiatry*, p. 34.
45. Wynter, 'Werewolves and Lycanthropy', p. 106.
46. 'Mental Epidemics', *Reynolds's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art*, vol. 2, no. 43 (5 May 1849), p. 686. Similar sentiments were expressed by Joseph M. Sullivan, 'The Trial of Gilles Garnier', *Green Bag: An Entertaining Magazine for Lawyers* 15 (1903), p. 86: 'The case of Gilles Garnier furnishes an example of pure ignorance, superstition, and cruelty unparalleled in the history of jurisprudence.'
47. 'Wehrwolves', *Household Words*, vol. 15, no. 370 (25 April 1857), p. 408.
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49. Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom* (1871), vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1913), p. 308.
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54. Herbert Sussman, *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 3
55. Young, 'A Terrible Superstition', p. 171.
56. Frank Norris, *Vandover and the Brute* (1904) (London: John Calder/New York, Grove Press, 1914), p. 276.
57. Kelly Hurley, *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 4.
58. C.W. Leadbeater, 'The Astral Plane', in *Transactions of the London Lodge of the Theosophical Society* 24 (April 1895), p. 39.
59. Quoted in Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, p. 202.
60. Slavoj Žižek, 'Introduction: The Spectre of Ideology' in S. Žižek (ed.), *Mapping Ideology* (London and New York: Verso, 1994), p. 20.
61. Ibid, p. 21.
62. John Fiske, 'Werewolves and Swan-maidens', in J. Fiske, *Myths and Myth-Makers: Old Tales and Superstitions Interpreted by Comparative Mythology* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1873), pp. 69–70; originally published in *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 28 (1871), pp. 129–44.
63. Smith, 'An Historical Study of the Werwolf in Literature', p. 4.

64. O'Donnell, *Werwolves*, pp. 52–53.
65. Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out*, revised edn (New York and London: Routledge, 2001), p. 136.

Chapter 3

1. Henri F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 312.
2. Mary Midgley, *Beast and Man: The Roots of Human Nature* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1978), p. 43.
3. Adam Douglas, *The Beast Within: Man, Myths and Werewolves* (London: Orion, 1993), pp. 93–4.
4. Joseph Grixti, *Terrors of Uncertainty: The Cultural Contexts of Horror Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 95.
5. Ibid.
6. S. Freud, '"A Child is Being Beaten": A Contribution to the Study of the Origin of Sexual Perversions', in J. Strachey (ed.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 17 (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), pp. 203–4.
7. As Bryan Turner has suggested, 'there is good evidence to believe that much of the Freudian view of the relationship between suppressed sexuality, neurosis and civilization was an application of Nietzsche's critical philosophy'. Bryan Turner, 'Theoretical Developments in the Sociology of the Body', *Bodies: Australian Cultural History* 13 (1994), p. 18.
8. S.Freud, cited by Richard Wollheim, 'Introduction' to S. Freud, *The Case of the Wolf-Man: From the History of an Infantile Neurosis* (1918) (San Francisco: Arion Press, 1993), p. 14.
9. The Wolf-Man (Sergei Pankejeff), 'My Recollections of Sigmund Freud', trans. Muriel Gardiner, in M. Gardiner (ed.), *The Wolf-Man* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), p. 146.
10. Carlo Ginzburg, 'Freud, the Wolf-Man, and the Werewolves', in C. Ginzburg , *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method*, trans. J. and A. Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), pp. 147–8.
11. In fact, the Wolf-Man was born on 6 January 1887 by the Gregorian calendar, and Christmas 1886 by the Julian calendar used in Russia.
12. Ginzburg, 'Freud, the Wolf-Man, and the Werewolves', p. 148.
13. Gardiner, 'Introduction' to The Wolf-Man (Sergei Pankejeff), 'The Memoirs of the Wolf-Man', trans. Gardiner, in Gardiner (ed.), *The Wolf-Man*, p. 4.
14. Ginzburg, 'Freud, the Wolf-Man, and the Werewolves', p. 154.
15. Ibid.

16. See, for example, Douglas, *The Beast Within* (London: Orion, 1993), pp. 169–70.
17. Whitney Davis, *Drawing the Dream of the Wolves: Homosexuality, Interpretation, and Freud's 'Wolf Man'* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 190.
18. See, for example, Judith Halberstam, *Skin Shows: Gothic Horror and the Technology of Monsters* (Durham NC and London: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 19.
19. The Wolf-Man was psychoanalysed twice by Freud, and twice by Freud's disciple, Ruth Mack Brunswick. He became close friends with another psychoanalyst, Muriel Gardiner, who encouraged him to write his memoirs later in life. For many years he received a stipend from Freud, and later the Freud Archives, in exchange for which he seems to have been tacitly expected to make himself available to psychoanalysts visiting Vienna. He also contributed his own perceptions of psychoanalysis and Freud in a variety of forums. His sense of identity was so profoundly tied up with the psychoanalytic movement that he would frequently sign his name as 'the Wolf-Man'.
20. S. Freud, 'The Question of Lay Analysis: Conversations with an Impartial Person', in J. Strachey (ed.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 20 (London: Hogarth Press, 1959), p. 212.
21. Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men* (London: Virago, 1990), p. 70.
22. R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (St Leonards NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1995), p. 8.
23. Ibid., p. 10.
24. Ibid., p. 9.
25. Dorothy Scarborough, *The Supernatural in Modern English Fiction* (London and New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1917), p. 172.
26. Richard Bagot, *A Roman Mystery* (London: Digby Long, 1899), p. 283.
27. See, for example, H. Warner Munn, 'The Werewolf of Ponkert', *Weird Tales*, July 1925, reprinted in Brian J. Frost, *Book of the Werewolf* (London: Sphere, 1973), pp. 161–95; and Greye La Spina, 'The Devil's Pool', *Weird Tales*, June 1932, pp. 728–62. This figure shared many characteristics with the Devil of Christian tradition; indeed, two novels appearing around 1930 developed this type of scenario into a form of religious allegory; see James Branch Cabell, *The White Robe: A Saint's Summary* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1928); and Aino Kallas, *The Wolf's Bride*, trans. A. Matson and B. Rhys (London: Jonathon Cape, 1930).
28. Halberstam, *Skin Shows*, p. 108. Also see Carol C. Clover, *Men, Women and Chainsaws: Gender in the Modern Horror Film* (Princeton NJ: Princeton

University Press, 1992), p. 13.

29. Andrew Tudor, *Monsters and Mad Scientists: A Cultural History of the Horror Movie* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 27.
30. Letter from Robert Harris to censorship board, quoted in David J. Skal, *The Monster Show: A Cultural History of Horror* (London: Plexus, 1994), p. 194.
31. Chaney was popularly known as 'The Man of a Thousand Faces' and his metamorphoses into a different freak of nature (or supernature) for each new film were lavishly described and photographed in publicity releases and fan magazines. Like the Wolf Man he played, Chaney Jr suffered an unhappy relationship with his father, and was only persuaded to adopt his father's name at Universal's insistence.
32. Universal Studios' follow-ups to *The Wolf Man* were *Frankenstein Meets the Wolf Man* (1943, USA), *House of Frankenstein* (1944, USA), *House of Dracula* (1945, USA), and *Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein* (1948, USA). Imitations by other studios included Producers' Releasing Corporation's *The Mad Monster* (1942, USA), Twentieth Century Fox's *The Undying Monster* (1942, USA), and Columbia's *Cry of the Werewolf* (1944, USA).
33. James B. Twitchell, *Dreadful Pleasures: An Anatomy of Modern Horror* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 220; Skal, *The Monster Show*, p. 216.
34. Frank Hamel, *Human Animals* (London: William Rider, 1915), p. 10. Hamel was paraphrasing Walter K. Kelly, 'The Werewolf', in W.K. Kelly, *Curiousities of Indo-European Tradition and Folk-lore* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1863), p. 259.
35. Edward Topsell, *A Historie of Four-Footed Beastes* (London: William Jaggard, 1607), p. 737 (frequently cited in studies of lycanthropy).
36. Sabine Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves: Being an Account of a Terrible Superstition* (London: Smith, Elder, 1865), p. 105.
37. Montague Summers, *The Werewolf* (1933) (New York: University Books, 1966), p. 114.
38. Cyprien Robert, *Les Slaves de Turquie, Serber, Monténégrins, Bosniaques, Albanais et Bulgares*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1844), p. 69, quoted in ibid., p. 148.
39. Avicenna, quoted in Robert Burton, *An Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), vol. 1 (London and Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1932), p. 141.
40. Hamel, *Human Animals*, p. 10.
41. See, for example, Pat Kirkham and Janet Thumim, 'Me Jane', in P. Kirkham and J. Thumim (eds), *Me Jane: Masculinity, Movies and Women* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1995), pp. 11–35.
42. Gene DeWeese, *The Adventures of a Two-Minute Werewolf* (New York: Doubleday, 1983), p. 16.
43. See, for example, *The Bowery Boys Meet the Monsters* (1954, USA); *Mad*

Monster Party? (1966, USA); *Son of Dracula* (1973, USA); *The Monster Squad* (1987, USA); *Waxwork* (1988, USA); *Big Fish* (2003, USA).

44. Gregory A. Waller, 'Made for Television Horror Films', in Gregory A. Waller (ed.), *American Horrors: Essays on the Modern American Horror Film* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), pp. 150–51.
45. Ibid., p. 150.
46. R.H.W. Dillard, 'Even a Man Who is Pure at Heart: Poetry and Danger in the Horror Film', in W.R. Robinson (ed.), *Man and the Movies* (Baltimore MD: Penguin, 1967), p. 75.
47. See Tudor, *Monsters and Mad Scientists*, p. 2.
48. Linda Badley, *Film, Horror, and the Body Fantastic* (Westport CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1995), p. 12.
49. Robin Wood, 'An Introduction to the American Horror Film', in Andrew Britton et al. (eds), *American Nightmare: Essays on the Horror Film* (Toronto: Festival of Festivals, 1979), p. 7.
50. Ibid., p. 8.
51. Wood then enumerated what he saw as the various sources of the Other embodied in the monster's form: woman, the proletariat, other cultures, minority ethnic groups within a dominant culture, alternative ideologies or politics, bi- or homosexuality, and children – in other words, all those groups differing from a dominant community of white heterosexual capitalist middle-class males (ibid., p. 10). For each of his categories of the Other, he provided a list of horror films that exemplify a version of monstrosity based on characteristics deriving from that particular version of Otherness. Significantly, not one of these lists contained an example of a werewolf film. While Wood's focus on 'surplus repression' enabled him to produce a basic taxonomy of the externalized Other, his uncritical acceptance of 'basic repression' as a 'necessary' means of subduing the 'uncoordinated animal' within led him to overlook the 'other' category of the Other – that of the internalized or psychologized 'beast within' that erupts from the depths of the 'monogamous heterosexual bourgeois patriarchal capitalist' subject. This oversight meant that Wood also missed the recurrent expression of anxieties about masculinity in many horror narratives, in which masculine subjectivity and power are presented as precarious.
52. See Richard Noll (ed.), *Vampires, Werewolves, and Demons: Twentieth Century Reports in the Psychiatric Literature* (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1992), p. 92; Bruce Kawin, 'The Mummy's Pool', in Barry Keith Grant (ed.), *Planks of Reason: Essays on the Horror Film* (Metuchen NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1984), p. 13; Badley, *Film, Horror, and the Body Fantastic*, p. 12.
53. Stephen King, *Danse Macabre* (New York: Berkley, 1982), p. i.

54. Halberstam, *Skin Shows*, pp. 24, 6.
55. Mary Russo, *The Female Grotesque: Risk, Excess and Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 8.
56. Gregory A. Waller, 'Introduction', in Waller (ed.), *American Horrors*, p. 9.
57. Ibid., p. 10.
58. Walter Evans, 'Monster Movies: A Sexual Theory', in Barry Keith Grant (ed.), *Planks of Reason: Essays on the Horror Film* (Metuchen NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1984), p. 55.
59. Badley, *Film, Horror, and the Body Fantastic*, p. 120.
60. Paul Hoch, *White Hero, Black Beast: Racism, Sexism and the Mask of Masculinity* (London: Pluto, 1979), pp. 44–5.
61. Stephen Jones, *The Illustrated Werewolf Movie Guide* (London: Titan Books, 1996), p. 16.
62. Hoch, *White Hero, Black Beast*, p. 61.
63. Sigmund Freud, 'The Economic Problem of Masochism' (1924), in James Strachey (ed.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 19 (London: Hogarth Press, 1961), p. 162, quoted in Barbara Creed, 'Dark Desires: Male Masochism in the Horror Film', in Steven Cohan and Ina Rae Hark (eds), *Screening the Male: Exploring Masculinities in Hollywood Cinema* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 121.
64. Creed, 'Dark Desires', p. 131.
65. Tudor, *Monsters and Mad Scientists*, p. 3.
66. Mark Jancovich, 'Screen Theory', in Joanne Hollows and M. Jancovich (eds), *Approaches to Popular Film* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 147.
67. Badley, *Film, Horror, and the Body Fantastic*, p. 120.
68. Mulvey's article argues that the viewer of popular film is forced to identify as masculine, thus participating in the objectification of female characters. See Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' (1975), in *The Sexual Subject: A Screen Reader in Sexuality* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 22–34.
69. Badley, *Film, Horror, and the Body Fantastic*, pp. 105 and 120.
70. James H. Kavanaugh, 'Feminism, Humanism and Science in *Alien*', in Annette Kuhn (ed.), *Alien Zone: Cultural Theory and Contemporary Science Fiction Cinema* (New York and London: Verso, 1990), p. 76, quoted in K. Hurley, 'Reading Like an Alien: Posthuman Identity in Ridley Scott's *Alien* and David Cronenburg's *Rabid*', in Judith Halberstam and Ira Livingston (eds), *Posthuman Bodies* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 209.
71. Barbara Creed, 'Horror and the Monstrous-Feminine – An Imaginary

Abjection', *Screen*, vol. 27, no. 1 (January–February 1986), pp. 62, 68; cited in Hurley, 'Reading Like an Alien', p. 209.
72. Hurley, 'Reading Like an Alien', pp. 209–11.
73. Ibid.
74. Halberstam, *Skin Shows*, p. 174.
75. Cited in Noll (ed.), *Vampires, Werewolves, and Demons*, p. 83.
76. Badley, *Film, Horror, and the Body Fantastic*, p. 3.

Chapter 4

1. R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (St Leonards NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1995), p. 83.
2. Carl Jung, 'On the Psychology of the Unconscious', quoted by Richard Noll (ed.), *Vampires, Werewolves, and Demons: Twentieth Century Reports in the Psychiatric Literature* (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1992), p. xvii.
3. Calvin S. Hall and Vernon J. Nordby, *A Primer of Jungian Psychology* (London: Croom Helm, 1974), pp. 41–53.
4. Henri F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 710.
5. Sigmund Freud, 'From the History of an Infantile Neurosis', in M. Gardiner (ed.), *The Wolf-Man* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), p. 239.
6. Carlo Ginzburg, 'Freud, the Wolf-Man, and the Werewolves', in C. Ginzburg , *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method*, trans. J. and A. Tedeschi (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p.154.
7. Hermann Hesse, *Steppenwolf* (1927, English trans. 1929), trans. Basil Creighton (New York: Bantam, 1969), pp. 46–7.
8. Ibid., p. 47.
9. Ibid., p. 69.
10. Hermann Hesse, 'Author's Note' (1961), in H. Hesse, *Steppenwolf,* trans. B. Creighton and revised by W. Sorell (London: Allen Lane, 1974), pp. 5–6.
11. Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 46.
12. Paul Hoch, *White Hero, Black Beast: Racism, Sexism and the Mask of Masculinity* (London: Pluto Press, 1979), p. 16.
13. See W.M.S. Russell and Claire Russell, 'The Social Biology of Werewolves', in J.R. Porter and W.M.S. Russell, *Animals in Folklore* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer/Totowa NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1978), p. 166; the Ecclesiastical Ordinances of King Cnut (1017–1035), reprinted in B. Thorpe (ed.), *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (London: 1840), pp. 160–161 (frequently cited in studies of lycanthropy); Mary R. Gerstein, 'Germanic Warg: The

Outlaw as Werwolf', in Gerald James Larson (ed.), *Myth in Indo-European Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 131–56.

14. Adam Douglas, *The Beast Within: Man, Myths and Werewolves* (London: Orion, 1993), pp. 262–3, citing *Independent*, 3 July 1990, p. 2.
15. Robert Eisler, *Man Into Wolf: An Anthropological Interpretation of Sadism, Masochism, and Lycanthropy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951), pp. 29 , 33.
16. Ibid., pp. 33–4.
17. Ibid., pp. 51–2.
18. Ibid., p. 42.
19. Russell and Russell even argue that modern conceptions of lycanthropy are largely indebted to the culture of ancient Rome. They suggest that this 'patrilineal society' superseded an older matrilineal society, arguing that lycanthropy is 'a former totem become disreputable, a matrilineal symbol reinterpreted in the terms of a patrilineal society under stress.' Russell and Russell, 'The Social Biology of Werewolves', p. 175.
20. It is significant that in spite of anthropological interest in American Indian legends of lycanthropy around the turn of the century which extended to the medium of film in the form of two short silents of 1913 (*The Werewolf*, USA, based on H. Beaugrand's story of 1898) and 1914 (*The White Wolf*, USA) – both of which featured a Native American transforming into a wolf – only one story published in the USA between the wars explored this aspect of the myth: Ralph Allen Lang, 'The Silver Knife', *Weird Tales*, January 1932, pp. 117–120.
21. See Margery Williams, *The Thing in the Woods* (London: Duckworth, 1913); Gerald Biss, *The Door of the Unreal* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons/ London: Knickerbocker Press, 1920); Seabury Quinn, 'The Blood-Flower', *Weird Tales*, March 1927, pp. 317–30; Charles Swem, *Werewolf!* (New York: A.L. Burt, 1928); Alfred H. Bill, *The Wolf in the Garden* (New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1931).
22. Just two stories from this period depict a woman overcoming the evil entity, and on both occasions she is a professional psychic, a vocation that, as Alex Owen demonstrates, was perceived to be uniquely demanding of the 'feminine virtues', particularly those of faith, instinctive morality, and intuition. Alex Owen, *The Darkened Room: Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Nineteenth Century England* (London: Virago, 1989). The stories referred to are Greye La Spina, 'Invaders from the Dark', *Weird Tales* April/May/June 1925, and Jessie Douglas Kerruish, *The Undying Monster: A Tale of the Fifth Dimension* (New York: Macmillan, 1936).
23. Jessica Benjamin and Anson Rabinbach, 'Foreword', in Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 2: *Psychoanalyzing the White Terror* (1978), trans. Chris Turner and Erica Carter (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), p. xvi.

24. Quoted by Robert G.L. Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism: The Free Corps Movement in Postwar Germany 1918–1923* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), cited in Barbara Ehrenreich, 'Foreword', in K. Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 1: *Women, Floods, Bodies, History* (1978), trans. Stephen Conway (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1987), p. x.
25. Most famously, the case of Stubbe Peeter, widely translated and circulated throughout Europe. For the English translation of the case, see George Bores, trans., *A True Discourse Declaring the Damnable Life and Death of One Stubbe Peeter* (original trial manuscript) (London, 1590).
26. See, for example, Joannes Fridericus Wolfeshusius, *De Lycanthropis: an verè illi, ut fama est, luporum and aliarum bestiarum formis induantur, Problema Philosophicum. Pro sententia Joan. Bodini Iurecos. Galli... adversus dissentaneas aliquorum opiniones noviter assertum* (Leipzig, 1591); Conrad Ziegrae, *Disputatio contra Opliantriam, Lycanthropiam, et Metempsychosim* (Wittenburg, 1650); Michael Mei, *De Lycanthropia* (Wittenburg, 1654); Conrad Niphanius, *De Lycanthropia* (Wittenburg, 1654); Christopherus Wantscherus, *De lupo et lycanthropia* (Wittenburg, 1666); Jacobus Fridericus Müller, *De transmutatione hominum in lupos* (Leipzig, 1673); Samuel Schelwig, *De Lycanthropia* (Gdansk, 1679); Theophilus Lauben, *Dialogi und Gespräsche von der lycanthropia oder der Menschen in Wölff Verwandlung* (Frankfurt, 1686).
27. Robert G.L. Waite, *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), pp. 26–7.
28. Quoted in Martin A. Lee, *The Beast Reawakens* (London: Little, Brown, 1997), p. 24.
29. A section of the German Action Front of National Socialists is called 'Werewolf', and a group of Moscow neo-fascists call themselves 'The Werewolf Legion'.
30. Manuel Aguirre, *The Closed Space: Horror Literature and Western Symbolism* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 147.
31. Mark Jancovich, *Rational Fears: American Horror in the 1950s* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 2–3.
32. By 1958, 72 per cent of the movie-going public belonged to the 12–25 age bracket. David J. Skal, *The Monster Show: A Cultural History of Horror* (London: Plexus, 1994), p. 255.
33. Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 207.
34. E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), pp. 287–8.
35. Ibid., p. 232.
36. Mary Hartwell Catherwood, 'The Beauport Loup-Garou', *Atlantic Monthly*

72 (November 1893), p. 633.
37. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), p. 28.
38. Jonathon Auerbach, '"Congested Mails": Buck and Jack's "Call"', *American Literature* 67 (1995), pp. 51–76.
39. John P. Sisk, 'Call of the Wild', *Commentary* 78 (July 1984), pp. 52–5.
40. Erich Balla, *Landsknechte wurden wir: Abenteuer aus dem Baltikum* (Berlin, 1932), p. 111, quoted in Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 1, p. 183.
41. Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 1, p. 184.
42. Joan Mellen, *Big Bad Wolves: Masculinity in American Film* (New York: Pantheon, 1977, p. 5.
43. Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 2, p. 67.
44. Sheldon Teitelbaum, 'Wolf: Makeup Transformation', *Imagi-Movies* (Summer 1994), p. 26, quoted in Badley, *Film, Horror, and the Body Fantastic*, p. 157.
45. See Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (New York: Octagon Books, 1970); Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak (eds), *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972); Roger Batra, *Wild Men in the Looking Glass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness*, trans. Carl T. Berrisford (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).
46. Robert Bly, *Iron John: A Book About Men* (New York: Vintage, 1990), p. x.
47. Mark Dery, 'Wild Nature', *21C: Scanning the Future: The Magazine of Culture, Technology and Science* 4 (1996), p. 49.
48. Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out*, revised edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 134, 137.
49. Ibid. p. 134.
50. Ibid., pp. 134, 136.

Chapter 5

1. Franklin Gregory, *The White Wolf* (New York: Random House, 1941); Aino Kallas, *The Wolf's Bride: A Tale from Estonia*, trans. A. Matson and B. Rhys (London: Jonathon Cape, 1930).
2. Kallas, *The Wolf's Bride*, pp. 31, 35.
3. Ibid., p. 39.
4. See Gerald Biss, *The Door of the Unreal* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons/ London: Knickerbocker Press, 1920); Seabury Quinn, 'The Blood-Flower',

Weird Tales, March 1927, pp. 317–30; S. Quinn, 'The Wolf of St. Bonnot', *Weird Tales*, December 1930, reprinted in Brian J. Frost (ed.), *Book of the Werewolf* (London: Sphere, 1973), pp. 197–235; S. Quinn, 'The Thing in the Fog', *Weird Tales*, March 1933, pp. 275–305; Frances Layland-Barratt, *Lycanthia* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1935).

5. Layland-Barratt, *Lycanthia*, p. 308.
6. Kirby Flower Smith, 'An Historical Study of the Werwolf in Literature', *PMLA*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1894), p. 3. Susan Bordo has made a similar point about female lust, observing that hunger in women 'has always been a potent cultural metaphor for female sexuality': see Susan Bordo, 'Reading the Slender Body', in Mary Jacobus, Evelyn Fox-Keller and Sally Shuttleworth (eds), *Body/Politics: Women and the Discourses of Science* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 101.
7. In stressing the oral origins of the tale, Jack Zipes suggests that Charles Perrault almost certainly knew of the werewolf trials which had taken place in France less than a century earlier, because his mother grew up in Touraine, where the alleged werewolf Jacques Roulet was sentenced to death in 1598. Jack Zipes, 'The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood' in J. Zipes (ed.), *The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 20.
8. Ibid., p. 31.
9. Ibid., p. 35.
10. S. Quinn, 'The Phantom Farmhouse', *Weird Tales*, October 1923, reprinted in Douglas Hill (ed.), *Way of the Werewolf: An Anthology of Horror Stories* (London: Panther, 1966), pp. 13–37.
11. Captain S.P. Meek, 'The Curse of the Valedi', *Weird Tales*, July 1935, p. 86.
12. Arlton Eadie, 'The Wolf-Girl of Josselin', *Weird Tales*, August 1938, p. 148.
13. Manly Banister, 'Eena', *Weird Tales*, May 1947, reprinted in Frost (ed.), *Book of the Werewolf*, pp. 251–65.
14. Ursula K. Le Guin, 'The Wife's Story', in Ursula K. Le Guin, *The Compass Rose* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1983), pp. 255–9. Other examples of the wolf-into-man variant on the myth of lycanthropy are: Bruce Elliott, 'Wolves Don't Cry', *Magazine of Fantasy and Science-Fiction*, April 1954, reprinted in Rod Serling (ed.), *Rod Serling's Triple W: Witches, Warlocks and Werewolves* (New York: Bantam Books, 1963), pp. 141–51; Peter David, *Howling Mad* (New York: Ace, 1989).
15. Alice Jardine, *Gynesis: Configurations of Woman and Modernity*, Ithaca (New York: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 25.
16. See, for example, Monique Wittig, *Les Guérillères*, trans. David Le Vay (London: Peter Owen, 1971); Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father* (Boston

and London: Beacon Press, 1973); Susan Griffin, *Woman and Nature: The Roaring inside Her* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978); Merlin Stone, *When God Was a Woman* (New York: Dial Press, 1979); M. Sjöö and B. Mor, *The Great Cosmic Mother: Rediscovering the Religion of the Earth* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987); Kim Chernin, *Reinventing Eve: Modern Woman in Search of Herself* (New York: Times Books, 1987); Gloria Feman Orenstein, *The Reflowering of the Goddess* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1990).

17. See, for example, Leonie Caldecott and Stephanie Leland (eds), *Reclaim the Earth: Women Speak Out For Life on Earth* (London: Women's Press, 1983); Judith Plant (ed.), *Healing the Wounds: The Promise of Ecofeminism* (Philadelphia, New Society, 1989); Irene Diamond and Gloria Feman Orenstein (eds), *Reweaving the World: The Emergence of Ecofeminism* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1990); 'Ecological Feminism', *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 6 (Spring 1991); Greta Gaard (ed.), *Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, Nature* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993); Alaine Low and Soraya Tremayne (eds), *Sacred Custodians of the Earth? Women, Spirituality, and the Environment* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001).
18. Anthony Stevens, *Archetype: A Natural History of the Self* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), p. 21.
19. Carl Gustav Jung, 'Foreword to Harding: "Woman's Mysteries"', trans. R.F.C. Hull, in *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, vol. 18, ed. H. Read, M. Fordham and G. Adler (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 518, § 1228.
20. Stevens, *Archetype*, p. 16.
21. Not all feminists perceived Jungian theory in such a positive light. Mary Daly accused Jung of a tokenistic attitude towards women, arguing that 'it is possible for women to promote Jung's garbled gospel without awareness of betraying their own sex, and even in the belief that they are furthering the feminist cause.' Mary Daly, *Gyn/ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (1978) (London: Women's Press, 1984), p. 280. Simlarly, Demaris Wehr has argued that because of his 'unexamined acceptance of male-generated gender-related images, Jung has dealt primarily with the inner world of the male and its projections.' (Demaris S. Wehr, *Jung and Feminism: Liberating Archetypes* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987), pp. 126 and 125. Estella Lauter acknowledges Jung's failure to question the origins and purpose of such male-generated images of the feminine, but suggests that this does not necessarily invalidate his theory of archetypes because '[i]f archetypal images mark the places (intersections) where the gap between "inner" and "outer" becomes visible – that is, if they represent persistent problems of human experience – then the images of

the goddess mark recurrent questions about female experiences rather than essential characteristics of Woman. They mark generative experiences – of problems that occur without being completely solved – that can lead to new resolutions as well as to the repetition of old ones.' Estella Lauter, *Women as Mythmakers: Poetry and Visual Art by Twentieth-Century Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 208. In this sense, Lauter brings to mind Drucilla Cornell's concept of the 'recollective imagination', which Cornell elucidates when she writes that '[t]he feminist reconstruction of myth ... involves recovering the feminine as an imaginative universal which will feed the power of the feminine imagination. This use of the feminine as imaginative universal does not, and should not, pretend to simply tell the truth of Woman as she was, or is. Indeed, it does the opposite. It insists that the truth of Woman is always an impossibility. This is why our mythology is self-consciousness and artificial mythology: Woman is continuously re-created as she is re-written.' Drucilla Cornell, *Transformations: Recollective Imagination and Sexual Difference* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), p. 109.

22. Manuel Aguirre, *The Closed Space: Horror Literature and Western Symbolism* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 117–18.
23. Marshall, *Textbook*, p. 92 (no further details supplied), paraphrasing Walter Heape, 'Menstruation of *Semnopithecus entellus*', *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 185, no. 1 (1894), quoted in Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 221, 296 n76.
24. Laqueur, *Making Sex*, p. 220, quoting W. Heape, 'Ovulation and Degeneration of Ova in the Rabbit', *Proceedings of the Royal Society* 76 (1905), p. 267.
25. Peter S. Beagle, 'Lila the Werewolf', in P.S. Beagle, *The Fantasy Worlds of Peter S. Beagle* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1978), p. 22.
26. Ibid., p. 24.
27. Suzy McKee Charnas, 'Boobs', in Pam Keesey (ed.), *Women Who Run with the Werewolves: Tales of Blood, Lust and Metamorphosis* (Pittsburgh and San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1996), p. 41; originally published in *Isaac Asimov's Science Fiction Magazine*, vol. 13, no. 7 (July 1989), also reprinted in Stephen Jones (ed.), *The Mammoth Book of Werewolves* (London: Robinson Publishing, 1994).
28. Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch* (1970) (London: Granada, 1981), p. 64.
29. Penelope Shuttle and Peter Redgrove, *The Wise Wound: Menstruation and Everywoman* (1978) (London: HarperCollins, 1994), p. 16.
30. Pat Murphy, *Nadya* (New York: Tor, 1996), p. 122.

31. The reading of *Little Red Riding Hood* as a narrative concerned with female puberty is also suggested by Jungian analyst Bruno Bettelheim. See Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976).
32. Angela Carter, 'The Company of Wolves', in A. Carter, *The Bloody Chamber and Other Stories* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1979), p. 141.
33. Zipes includes a translation of Paul Delarue's transcription of 'Conte de la mère grande' from Delarue's *Le Conte Populaire Français* (Paris: Erasme, 1957, pp. 373–4), an oral version of the tale in which Little Red Riding Hood throws her clothes on to her grandmother's fire, in Zipes, 'The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood', pp. 21–2.
34. Carter, 'The Company of Wolves', p. 147.
35. Mercedes Lackey, *The Fire Rose* (New York: Pocket Books, 1995).
36. Janice A. Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill NC and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), p. 215.
37. Ibid., p. 217.
38. Quoted in Harvey A. Rosenstock and Kenneth R. Vincent, 'A Case of Lycanthropy', *American Journal of Psychiatry* 134 (1977), pp. 1147–9; reprinted in Richard Noll (ed.), *Vampires, Werewolves and Demons: Twentieth Century Reports in the Psychiatric Literature* (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1992), p. 114, also reprinted in Charlotte F. Otten (ed.), *A Lycanthropy Reader: Werewolves in Western Culture* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), pp. 31–3.
39. Tanith Lee, *Heart-Beast* (London: Headline, 1992), pp. 134–5.
40. Ibid.
41. Tanith Lee, 'Wolfland', in Tanith Lee, *Red as Blood: or, Tales from the Sisters Grimmer* (New York: Daw, 1983), p. 117.
42. Ibid., pp. 130–31.
43. Ibid., p. 134.
44. Ibid., pp. 134, 136.
45. Murphy, *Nadya*, p. 379.
46. Alice Borchardt, *The Silver Wolf* (New York: Del Rey, 1998), p. 7.
47. Ibid., p. 450.
48. Clarissa Pinkola Estés, *Women Who Run with the Wolves: Contacting the Power of the Wild Woman* (London: Rider, 1992), p. xiii.
49. Ibid., p. 4.
50. See, for example, Adolph Murie, *The Wolves of Mount McKinley*, US National Park Service Fauna Series, no. 5 (1944), p. 30; Anon., 'The Virtuous Wolf', *Defenders of Wildlife News*, vol. 42, no. 1 (1967), p. 50; L. David Mech, *The Wolf: The Ecology and Behaviour of An Endangered Species* (Garden City NY: Natural History Press, 1970).

51. Rosi Braidotti, *Metamorphoses: Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), p. 15.

Chapter 6

1. Donna Haraway, 'A Manifesto For Cyborgs: Science, Technology and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s' (1985), *Australian Feminist Studies* 4 (1987), p. 8.
2. Ibid., p. 37.
3. Donna Haraway, 'The Promises of Monsters: A Regenerative Politics for Inappropriate/d Others', in Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson and Paula A. Treichler (eds), *Cultural Studies* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 295–337.
4. Judith Halberstam, *Skin Shows: Gothic Horror and the Technology of Monsters* (Durham NC and London: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 27.
5. Donna Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan©_Meets_OncoMouse™: Feminism and Technoscience* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 56.
6. David J. Skal, *The Monster Show: A Cultural History of Horror* (London: Plexus, 1994), p. 344.
7. J.C. Conaway, *Quarrel with the Moon* (New York: Tor, 1982).
8. Jeffrey Goddin, *Blood of the Wolf* (New York: Leisure, 1987); Nancy A. Collins, *Wild Blood* (New York: Roc, 1994).
9. Pam Keesey (ed.), *Women Who Run with the Werewolves: Tales of Blood, Lust and Metamorphosis* (Pittsburgh and San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1996).
10. Ian from alt.horror.werewolves, 'Jones, Stephen (ed.), *The Mammoth Book of Werewolves*', in 'Transformation Stories List', www.transformationlist.com/tsl/translist.html (updated 16 December 1999).
11. White Wolf Game Studio's series of role-playing games set in the 'World of Darkness' are exemplary of this trend. Several werewolf storylines followed the success of *Vampire: The Masquerade* (1991), beginning with *Werewolf: The Apocalypse* (1992), and followed by the historical variants of *Dark Ages: Werewolf* and *Werewolf: The Wild West.* In 2004, the old 'World of Darkness' was retired and replaced by a new one, with *Werewolf: The Forsaken* (2005) as the new werewolf game set in this universe.
12. 'AHWW Full FAQ', www.swampfox.demon.co.uk (2001).
13. http://theanonymouswerewolf.blogspot.com/.
14. Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan©_Meets_OncoMouse™*, p. 52.
15. The following publications appeared during the 1970s: Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre*, trans. Richard

Howard (Cleveland and London: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1973); Gary Wolfe, 'Symbolic Fantasy', *Genre* (1975), pp. 194–209; Colin N. Manlove, *Modern Fantasy: Five Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); W.R. Irwin, *The Game of the Impossible: A Rhetoric of Fantasy* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976); Eric S. Rabkin, *The Fantastic in Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); Stephen Prickett, *Victorian Fantasy* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1979).

16. Manlove, *Modern Fantasy*, p. 260.
17. In 1979, the First International Conference on the Fantastic in Literature and Film was organized (an event that has since been renamed the International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts and that is held every year), and the same year saw the publication of the following reference guides to fantasy literature: Roger C. Schlobin (ed.), *The Literature of Fantasy: A Comprehensive, Annotated Bibliography of Modern Fantasy Fiction* (New York: Garland, 1979); Marshall B. Tymn, Kenneth J. Zahorski, and Robert H. Boyer (eds), *Fantasy Literature: A Core Collection and Reference Guide* (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1979). In the early 1980s the following publications appeared: B. Attebery, *The Fantasy Tradition in American Literature: From Irving to Le Guin* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1980); Roger C. Schlobin (ed.), *The Aesthetics of Fantasy Literature and Art* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press/Brighton, Harvester, 1982); John H. Timmerman, *Other Worlds: The Fantasy Genre* (Bowling Green OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1983); Ann Swinfen, *In Defence of Fantasy: A Study of the Genre in English and American Literature since 1945* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984). Collectively, these studies established that Tolkien was by no means single-handedly responsible for the development of fantasy writing, identifying a number of other writers who also produced works of fantasy in the 1940s and 1950s, including James Blish, Ray Bradbury, C.S. Lewis, Mervyn Peake, Fletcher Pratt, L. Sprague de Camp and Poul Anderson, many of whom had begun their careers writing for the pulp magazines. Writers working in the 1960s and 1970s such as Peter Beagle, Susan Cooper, Stephen R. Donaldson, Alan Garner, Ursula Le Guin, Patricia McKillip, Michael Moorcock, Andre Norton, and Roger Zelazny were also identified as important influences upon the consolidation of fantasy as a genre in its own right.
18. Kathryn Hume, 'Postmodernism in Popular Literary Fantasy', in C.W. Sullivan III (ed.), *The Dark Fantastic: Selected Essays from the Ninth International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), p. 181. This attitude is further exemplified in Armitt's dismissal of popular genre fantasy as 'consolationist wish-fulfilment'. Lucie Armitt, *Theorising the Fantastic* (London and New York: Arnold,

1996), p. 60. It is also reflected in a predisposition among postmodernist critics (such as contributors to the collections of essays drawn from the International Conferences on the Fantastic in the Arts) to ignore popular genre fantasy in favour of texts and theoretical perspectives expressive of the 'subversive' strategies of the (literary) fantastic.

19. For a discussion of these trends in fantasy see Lisa M. Heilbronn, 'Natural Man, Unnatural Science: Rejection of Science in Recent Science Fiction and Fantasy Film', in Michele K. Langford (ed.), *Contours of the Fantastic: Selected Essays from the Eighth International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), pp. 113–19.
20. See Joseph Tabbi, *Postmodern Sublime: Technology and American Writing from Mailer to Cyberpunk* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995); Jennifer Wicke, 'Fin de Siècle and the Technological Sublime', in Robert Newman (ed.), *Centuries' Ends, Narrative Means* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 302–15; Robert Burns Neveldine, *Bodies at Risk: Unsafe Limits in Romanticism and Postmodernism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998); Richard Coyne, *Technoromanticism: Digital Narrative, Holism, and the Romance of the Real* (Cambridge MA:and London: MIT Press, 1999).
21. See Irwin, *The Game of the Impossible*, pp. 8–9, and Rabkin, *The Fantastic in Literature*, p. 41, for definitions of 'the fantastic' as an element that disrupts 'reality'. See Rosemary Jackson's *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (New York, Methuen, 1981) for a discussion of the fantastic as a mode; William Coyle also conceptualized it as a mode in his introduction to W. Coyle (ed.), *Aspects of Fantasy: Selected Essays from the Second International Conference on the Fantastic in Literature and Film* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), p. 2. Tzvetan Todorov's study *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre* (1973) was influential in popularizing the term; see Allienne R. Becker, 'Introduction' in A.R. Becker (ed.), *Visions of the Fantastic: Selected Essays from the Fifteenth International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), pp. xi–xiii, for an overview of the French tradition of inquiry into 'the fantastic' which influenced Todorov.
22. Helen Merrick, 'Feminist/Science/Fictions: A Case Study of Feminist Cultural Production in Critical and Popular Communities', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Western Australia, 1998, p. 92.
23. Jackson, *Fantasy*, p. 10. Also see Armitt, *Theorising the Fantastic*, p. 3.
24. Jackson, *Fantasy*, p. 179. This effect is compounded by her study's orientation as a contribution to the critical tradition established by Todorov, whose characterization of 'the fantastic' also evinced a considerable degree of overlap with Gothic; he wrote, for example, that 'the fantastic produces a particular effect on the reader – fear, or horror, or simply curiosity

– which the other genres or literary forms cannot provoke'. Todorov, *The Fantastic*, p. 92.

25. Neil Cornwell, *The Literary Fantastic: From Gothic to Postmodernism* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), p. 27. Jackson is not solely responsible for this situation. The problem is also attributable to the mingling of studies of 'the fantastic' with studies of 'fantasy' in the various volumes of selected papers from the International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts. Academic conferences inevitably attract a diversity of subject matter and approaches, and it is clear from these collections that the annual conference has traditionally attracted scholars of the literary 'fantastic' as well as of popular 'fantasy'. Because a conference paper is necessarily of economical length, any attempt to differentiate fantasy from the fantastic is rare in these volumes, a consistent omission which has cumulatively eroded any sense of fantasy as a distinct genre.
26. See, for example, Manlove, *Modern Fantasy*; Attebery, *The Fantasy Tradition in American Literature*; Timmerman, *Other Worlds*; Swinfen, *In Defence of Fantasy*; and Charlotte Spivack, *Merlin's Daughters: Contemporary Women Writers of Fantasy* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1987).
27. Christopher Stasheff, *Her Majesty's Wizard* (New York: Del Rey, 1986), p. 160.
28. Attebery, *The Fantasy Tradition in American Literature*, p. 12.
29. See, for example, Ursula Le Guin, *The Language of the Night: Essays on Fantasy and Science Fiction*, ed. Susan Wood (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1979); Attebery, *The Fantasy Tradition in American Literature*; Swinfen, *In Defence of Fantasy*; Don D. Elgin, *The Comedy of the Fantastic: Ecological Perspectives on the Fantasy Novel* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1985); Robert Reilly, ed., *The Transcendent Adventure: Studies of Religion in Science Fiction/Fantasy* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1985); Spivack, *Merlin's Daughters*; and Kath Filmer, *Scepticism and Hope in Twentieth Century Fantasy Literature* (Bowling Green OH: Bowling Green State University Press, 1992).
30. S. Quinn, 'Fortune's Fools', *Weird Tales*, July 1938, p. 35.
31. S. Quinn, 'Uncanonized', *Weird Tales*, November 1939, pp. 32–47; S. Quinn, 'The Gentle Werewolf', *Weird Tales*, July 1940, pp. 76–95.
32. Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairytales and Their Tellers* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1994), p. xiv.
33. Spivack, *Merlin's Daughters*, pp. 7–8. Also see Brian Attebery, *Strategies of Fantasy* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), p. ix.
34. Elgin, *The Comedy of the Fantastic*, p. 11.
35. Ibid., p. 16.

36. Ibid., p. 182.
37. Ibid., p. 184.
38. Tanith Lee, *Lycanthia, or, The Children of the Wolves*, (New York, Daw, 1981), p. 120.
39. S.P. Somtow, *Moon Dance* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1991); Nancy A. Collins, *Wild Blood* (New York: Roc, 1994).
40. Mark Rein-Hagen et al., *Werewolf: The Apocalypse* (Clarkston CA: White Wolf Publishing, 1992).
41. 'AHWW Full FAQ', www.swampfox.demon.co.uk (2001).
42. Sigmund Freud, cited in Armitt, *Theorising the Fantastic*, p. 41.
43. C.G. Jung, *Psychological Types*, trans. H. Godwin Baynes (London: Paul, Trench & Trubner/New York: Harcourt & Brace, 1926), p. 573.
44. Michael Cadnum, *Saint Peter's Wolf* (London: Arrow, 1991), p. 319.
45. Ibid., p. 320.
46. Ibid., p. 330.
47. Ibid., p. 340.
48. Somtow, *Moon Dance*, p. 357.
49. Ibid., p. 531.
50. 'AHWW Full FAQ', www.swampfox.demon.co.uk (2001).
51. Philippa Berry, 'Introduction', in Philippa Berry and Andrew Wernick (eds), *Shadow of Spirit: Postmodernism and Religion* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 4–5.
52. Slavoj Žižek, 'The Spectre of Ideology' in S. Žižek (ed.), *Mapping Ideology* (London and New York: Verso, 1994), p. 20.
53. Janice Hocker Rushing and Thomas S. Frentz, *Projecting the Shadow: The Cyborg Hero in American Film* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 26.
54. Robert Moore and Douglas Gillette, *King, Warrior, Magician, Lover: Rediscovering the Archetypes of the Mature Masculine* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1991), pp. xvi–xvii.
55. Gary Snyder, *Earth House Hold: Technical Notes and Queries to Fellow Dharma Revolutionaries* (New York: New Directions, 1969), p. 120, quoted by Marti Kheel, 'License to Kill: An Ecofeminist Critique of Hunters' Discourse', in Carol J. Adams and Josephine Donovan (eds), *Animals and Women: Feminist Theoretical Explorations* (Durham NC and London: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 100.
56. Kheel, 'License to Kill', p. 88.
57. Geraldine Finn, *Why Althusser Killed His Wife* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1996), pp. 158–9.
58. Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan©_Meets_OncoMouse™*, p. 215.
59. Finn, *Why Althusser Killed His Wife*, p. 155.

60. Val Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 159 and 160.
61. 'AHWW Full FAQ', www.swampfox.demon.co.uk (2001).
62. Pat Murphy, *Nadya* (New York: Tor, 1996), p. 378.
63. Cheri Scotch, *The Werewolf's Kiss* (New York: Diamond Books, 1992), p. 163.
64. Darwin used Lamarck's premise as the starting point for his own theory of 'pangenesis', which posited that organisms could respond to environmental changes by producing 'gemmules' that could be passed to the reproductive organs, and thus on to the next generation. See Edward J. Steele, Robyn A. Lindley and Robert V. Blanden, *Lamarck's Signature: How Retrogenes Are Changing Darwin's Natural Selection Paradigm* (St Leonards NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1998), p. 8.
65. Ibid., pp. 2–3.
66. Ibid., p. 221.
67. Rosi Braidotti, *Metamorphoses: Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), p. 11.
68. See Swinfen, *In Defence of Fantasy*, pp. 233 and 231; Gary K. Wolfe, 'The Encounter with Fantasy', in Schlobin (ed.), *The Aesthetics of Fantasy Literature and Art*, pp. 1–15; David M. Miller, 'Mommy Fortuna's Ontological Plenum: The Fantasy of Plenitude', in Langford (ed.), *Contours of the Fantastic*, 207–16.
69. Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out*, revised ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 2001), p. 137.
70. Patricia A. McKillip, *The Book of Atrix Wolfe* (New York: Ace, 1995), p. 238.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid. pp. 238–9.
73. Niall Lucy, *Postmodern Literary Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 102.
74. Tanith Lee, 'Bloodmantle', in Tanith Lee, *Forests of the Night* (London: Unwin, 1989), p. 9.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid., p. 11.
77. Ibid., p. 9.

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