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# Expellees Tell Tales

## *Partisan Blood Drinkers and the Cultural History of Violence after World War II*

MONICA BLACK

This article examines stories told after 1945 by ethnic German refugees from the Banat region of Yugoslavia about encounters they had with Partisans—fighters in Josip Broz Tito’s army—who had become vampires. The essay situates these tales firmly within their place of origin and views them as an idiom through which Yugoslavian Germans described wartime acts of, encounters with, and anxieties about violence. This idiom had diverse cultural roots, and was inflected by memories of partisan warfare in World War I, as well as by gender, religious culture and local folklore surrounding blood. Through a contextualized reading of stories about blood-drinking Partisans, the essay offers a window onto a psychology of violence and its legacies in the wake of war and makes a plea for taking fantasy and the monstrous seriously as objects of historical analysis.

*In the time of battle, the Partisans drink no water, no wine or schnapps, only blood!*<sup>1</sup>

After World War II, ethnic-German former inhabitants of the Yugoslavian Banat region—often referred to as Danube Swabians, or *Donauschwabern*—recalled chilling encounters they had with “Tito Partisans” who had become vampires.<sup>2</sup> When provoked in particular ways, or even for no reason at all, Swabians reported, Partisans—members of the multiethnic, communist-revolutionary and insurgent fighting force led by Josip Broz Tito during the war—would suddenly froth at the mouth and fall into terrifying, demonic and convulsive states, which could only be ameliorated by drinking blood—and Swabian blood (*Schwabenblut*) at that.

Tales of vampire Partisans were recorded in the late 1940s and early 1950s by a folklorist and former National Socialist and SS man named Alfred Karasek (1902–70). Today, they belong to one of the largest legend archives in Germany.<sup>3</sup> Karasek gathered all sorts of stories and prophecies told after the war by expellees (*Vertriebene*), as ethnic-German refugees from eastern Europe came almost uniformly to be identified in West Germany.<sup>4</sup> These stories and prophecies often featured visions of retribution and redemption—describing upraised fists materializing in night skies stained the color of blood or apparitions of the Virgin Mary or Jesus.<sup>5</sup> Equal parts oral reportage, folklore and fantasy, the tales in the Karasek archive narrate experiences and perceptions of violence in the chaotic last moments of the war and its immediate aftermath.

In Yugoslavia as in many parts of Europe, the months following the war saw not a cessation but a continuation of violence. Across much of the continent, forms of authority shifted dramatically, and governments fell and new ones gradually emerged or were installed to take their place. Mass reprisals, purges, rapes, summary executions, wholesale expropriations, public rituals of humiliation and retribution, pogroms, private vendettas and mass population displacements and expulsions characterized the experiences of a great many Europeans *after* the war ended, and this settling of scores often took shape along national or ethnic lines.<sup>6</sup> The Banat Swabian experience belongs to this history. Unlike some of their fellow Danube Swabians—those from the neighboring regions of Bačka and Baranya, for example, of whom about half were evacuated in 1944—only around 10 percent of Banat Germans left before the war ended.<sup>7</sup> Identified in its wake with the defeated Nazi overlords who had begun occupying Yugoslavia in 1941, most ethnic Germans had their land confiscated and some were stripped of their citizenship by the new communist government.<sup>8</sup> They faced summary executions, massacres, deportations.<sup>9</sup> They were rounded up en masse, and some were sent to concentration and labor camps, where they died in considerable numbers.<sup>10</sup> Some 27,000 to 37,000, the bulk of whom were women aged 18–40, were sent to the Soviet Union to perform forced labor, and many Swabian children under age sixteen—some 35,000 to 40,000—were separated from their parents.<sup>11</sup> Like ethnic German refugees from other parts of Europe, Swabians were ultimately forced to make new homes for themselves in East or West Germany, Austria or elsewhere.<sup>12</sup>

There now exists a substantial literature, historical and sociological, on postwar German refugee populations. This literature has been concerned chiefly with the politics surrounding refugees in East and West Germany, the difficulties they encountered in assimilating to majority populations, and with the memory of flight and expulsion in post-1945 German history.<sup>13</sup> This essay's object is different. It hopes to contribute to an interpretive, cultural history of late-wartime and postwar violence in Europe, of which German flight and expulsions formed a considerable part. It highlights storytelling, oral tradition, memory and rumor during World War II and in its chaotic aftermath as forms of communication, ways of explaining a world turned upside down.<sup>14</sup> Tales about Partisans who drank Swabian blood were the very idiom in which many Swabians explained violent wartime and postwar encounters to themselves and others. Those tales, as we will see, were anything but a "German national" reaction to "Slavic" Partisans. They had multiform, transnational origins commingling Danube Swabian, Austrian, "Reich" German, Balkan, Serbian and many other cultural elements. They were an indigenous response to unprecedented circumstances that called on a diverse repertoire of local knowledge.

A certain path has already been cleared for the essay's endeavors by folklorist Utz Jeggle. In a highly evocative but all-too-brief 1987 essay, Jeggle described tales about Partisan blood drinkers as a psychological response, in part, to the cataclysm of ethnic war and defeat and underscored how communal crisis often appears to unleash phantasms, wild rumors and uncanny stories.<sup>15</sup> He classified the tales as "legends" (*Sagen*)—that is, as examples of a specific narrative genre—because, he argued, they claimed to refer to reality and simultaneously told of something "numinous, unbelievable." What gives legends the power and authority of reality, Jeggle wrote, is that through being told and retold, they permit the unthinkable to be thought, and in that sense verify "events that seem to lie outside our reality."<sup>16</sup>

There is a great deal to these observations, as the considerable scholarship on the role of rumor in history powerfully attests. Yet, as is true of other historical cases in which rumor has played a role, tales about blood-drinking Partisans, as uncanny as they appear at first glance, cannot be attributed exclusively to an eruption of irrationality in a moment of chaos and distress.<sup>17</sup> Some were recounted years after the war ended,

when many Banat Swabians had started new lives in new places, far from forced labor camps and transport trains. And yet the tales did have chimerical and fantastic aspects, and these are crucial, I would argue, to how the stories should be interpreted. What made vampire narratives so compelling and worthy of telling and retelling for Banat Swabians was precisely the fact that they were rooted equally and irretrievably in fantasy and reality, memory and history. As we will see, these stories constituted a highly visceral form of knowledge of a set of experiences for a particular community. They formed a specific and meaningful way for Swabians to talk about things that had come to pass and that often must have seemed like things that had happened before. The tales had their basis in oral traditions, popular prejudices and local knowledge, as well as in folklore and memories that stretched back at least to World War I in the region—and probably much further. They spoke to the phantasmagorical elements of a war of conquest and extermination, but were also linked to explicit events. Tales about Partisans who drank Swabian blood have things to tell us about the cultural history of violence in the immediate post-World War II period and offer us access to a particular mental world. They also remind us that just as experience finds its wellspring in memory, so too is memory nourished by experience.

#### PARTISAN FEVER

The Danube Swabians were among the as many as 15 million German citizens and members of German minority populations who fled or were expelled from their home communities in eastern and southern Europe at the end of World War II.<sup>18</sup> In West Germany, German refugees began to tell of their experiences of what came generally to be known as “the expulsion” (*die Vertreibung*) as soon as the war ended. Some of these accounts appeared in print. A team of eminent West German historians working under the auspices of the Federal Ministry of Expellees, Refugees and Victims of War, for example, collected and published scores of testimonies as part of a multi-volume work, the *Documentation of the Expulsion of the Germans of East-Central Europe*.<sup>19</sup> Historians working on the *Documentation* selected the testimonies they used in the volumes carefully, vigorously scrubbing them of expressions of self-pity, explicit anticommunism and polemic.<sup>20</sup>

In sharp contrast to the relatively measured tone of the *Documentation's* testimonies were the often far more graphic accounts published by church presses and in refugee newspapers, newsletters and books. Some of these described extraordinary, even fantastical acts of cruelty and violence committed by Czechs, Poles, Soviets, "partisans" and others against expellees and refugees during their flight from their homelands.<sup>21</sup>

Yet none of the stories in the genre of what we might call expellee narratives—published or unpublished—is quite comparable to those told by Danube Swabians about Partisans who drank blood. Many times over in the late 1940s and well into the 1950s, often long after they had fled or been driven from their former towns and villages, Swabian refugees repeated stories of brutal and terrifying encounters they had had with "Tito Partisans." Afflicted by something called "Partisan fever" (*Partisanenseuche*, *Partisanenwahn*), the latter would allegedly fall into frenzied states in which they would become unnaturally physically powerful and cry out for "sweet Swabian blood" through gritted teeth. Later, it was said, they would come back to their senses, sometimes withdrawing into a corner to mutter incoherently to themselves.

That tales about blood-drinking Partisans were captured for posterity at all is due in considerable measure to the folklorist and SS man Alfred Karasek. Born in the Sudetenland, Karasek grew up in Bielitz, in Austrian Silesia, which became part of Poland after World War I.<sup>22</sup> During World War II, he was involved in the process of "resettling" ethnic Germans from Volhynia and Bessarabia in Germany. He was also a member of the Sonderkommando Künsberg, a unit that operated (after 1941) as part of the Waffen SS. It swept behind the Wehrmacht to confiscate the contents of diplomatic and state archives and libraries deemed to be of particular strategic or scholarly interest to the Nazi state. After 1945 Karasek more or less seamlessly returned to civilian life and to his scholarly work. The main portion of that work was his contribution to the revanchist field of "expellee folklore," or *Vertriebenenvolkskunde*, which focused on the effects, on ethnic-German communities, of their expulsion from eastern Europe in the aftermath of the war.

One of the first tasks of expellee folklore, from Karasek's point of view, was to gather stories from expellees about their experiences. Since the beginning of his career in the 1920s, much of Karasek's work had been devoted to collecting fables and legends. As a young researcher, he

had traveled to German-speaking communities in the Sudetenland, Silesia, Volhynia and far beyond, gathering tales that he supposed to have both ethnic and regional characteristics. He continued this work after World War II. Himself a refugee, he traveled from place to place and camp to camp, chronicling stories in various settings, formal and informal, where expellees and expellee organizations met. It was in these settings that he recorded stories about Partisan fever, among other narratives related to the expulsion. It is important to note that though Karasek was a revanchist and former Nazi, and though he published tales about such wonders as the return of the dead and apparitions of the Virgin, the Christ child and avenging angels, he appears not to have published the blood-drinker stories he was told by Danube Swabians.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps he found the tales too fantastic to take seriously—even as evidence of German victimization, a not-infrequent theme of his postwar writing, published and unpublished.

Yet as suggested above, the episodes that Danube Swabian expellees witnessed and described were no mere phantasms, at least not entirely. Partisan fever was a recognized medical condition in Yugoslavia in the postwar years. Clinics specialized in its etiology and treatment, and symposia were organized to discuss research into its causes and effects. One of the first to publish on it in the German-speaking world was the Slovenian-Jewish psychoanalyst and antifascist Paul Parin, who had himself served the Partisans as a doctor during the war.<sup>24</sup> In 1948, Parin published an article on war neurosis, based on observations he made while serving as the chief physician in Swiss medical missions to Prijedor and Zagreb in Yugoslavia between 1944 and 1946. He noted that *Partizanska bolešt*, or “Partisan disease,” was “so common in that country that practically everyone is accustomed to and capable of diagnosing it.”<sup>25</sup> The most remarkable symptom of the condition, Parin wrote, was the “attack” (*der Anfall*). He described in detail one such episode, which he had witnessed on a Danube ferry between Belgrade and Pančevo in August 1945. An otherwise unremarkable young man, around twenty-two, strong, healthy and dressed in a sergeant’s uniform, suddenly broke off speaking and lay down on the deck. His eyes began to turn in his head and he ground his teeth. His breathing became intermittent, his face went purple and his pupils dilated. He dug his fists with such force into his coat pockets that one of them was torn through. After a moment the soldier’s arms and legs began to flail. He threw himself on to his back and began to fire with

an invisible machine gun. He screwed his eyes up tight and then began to scream at what Parin took to be his (again, invisible) fellow Partisans. Soon after, he again became calm, and when he regained consciousness, seemed to have no memory of the incident.<sup>26</sup>

In their general outlines, and in terms simply of *what it looked like*, the depictions of Partisan fever given by German expellees from the Banat accorded quite accurately with Parin's observations. They emphasized the loss of control over their bodies that Partisans seemed to exhibit when in the throes of an attack, the flailing of limbs and the gnashing of teeth. Expellees telling about Partisan fever also spoke of moments in which the person suffering from the condition appeared to be experiencing a different reality, talking to people who were not present or shooting with invisible guns. A Swabian woman named Judit Prohaska, from Brestovac, explained: "They writhe on the ground, cry out for Swabian blood, and act as though they are shooting, even though they have no weapon in their hands. Almost everyone of us who has been in a camp in the city or lived amongst the Serbs somewhere has heard about it or experienced it himself."<sup>27</sup>

Not only did Prohaska's account concur in many respects with Parin's observations, but accounts given by different Swabians also tended to be fundamentally similar to one another. In many ways, stories about Partisan fever exemplify what John Horne and Alan Kramer, in their work on World War I rumors, have called a legend complex: they are a cluster of narratives that, though different in their individual details, nonetheless have an internal coherence or share central themes or essential elements.<sup>28</sup> We might also say, as Prohaska's statements suggest, that tales of Partisan fever comprised a group of stories whose outlines and dominant motifs already seemed to be known to everyone telling them: almost all Swabians, Prohaska said, had seen episodes of the affliction or heard about them. The special tendency of women Partisans to be afflicted was one such dominant motif; "the Partisan" as a sinister, inhuman and uniquely transgressive figure was another. In some tales, Partisans were said to suffer severe bouts of conscience that could cause their sickness to become manifest. In others, Partisan confessions of guilt led to an increased desire to drink Swabian blood. The following account, published in the expellee newsletter *Neuland* in 1950, captures a number of the themes common



to the legend complex surrounding Partisan fever. It is worth excerpting at some length:

Thousands of witnesses tell of a terrible sickness that ... most often afflicts gun-toting Partisan wenches (*Flintenweiber*). The sickness takes the form of epileptic-like episodes, wherein the body of the afflicted is overtaken as if by a demon and hurled to the ground and left writhing in the mud and filth and dust. Intermittently, the afflicted make bestial sounds, and foam comes from their mouths and noses until their bodies, as if lashed by the furies, collapse, battered and flayed.... Hundreds of these unhappy creatures, who tortured their victims in the most improbable ways before murdering them by cutting off their ears or noses, gouging out their eyes, cutting off their womanly or manly sex organs, or ripping out their tongues, found a terrible end. [This was despite the fact that] they had seen themselves as gods [during the war] and acted as though they had absolute power over life and death. During an attack, those afflicted report snatches of their horrifying experiences [in the war]; others, with bloodshot eyes, express their desire, like wolves, to drink “fascist” blood....<sup>29</sup>

What does this account tell us? In short: Partisan fever mostly afflicted female Partisans; it transformed its victims—who had only recently masqueraded as the god-like arbiters of life and death—into ravening beasts; it led to episodes in which those afflicted by it would suffer dramatic physical symptoms—characterized as the punishments of the furies—and then confess to terrible crimes; it produced a desire to drink “fascist” blood.

Moreover, Partisan fever, the extended passage above further suggests, was also believed to be catching. It was said that a Partisan hearing the cries of another in the throes of an attack could herself (or himself) succumb to an attack.<sup>30</sup> A Swabian named Philipp Ungar said that hearing mention of or speaking with a German could cause an attack, as could “a troubled conscience.”<sup>31</sup> Ungar, like some other Swabians, claimed that Partisans being with other Partisans invited attacks. One woman explained, “When they have an attack, they foam at the mouth and have to talk constantly.... They have to tell all about the past, everything, even their most secret thoughts and about the most horrible things they did. When an attack overcomes them, none of them hears any longer what

the others are saying.... [They] try to yell over each other and everyone tries to outdo the others' horror stories with his own."<sup>32</sup> Another Banat refugee, living in a settlement near Darmstadt in 1951, explained:

the Serbs say the sickness takes many forms. It can lie, like a heavy stone, on the heart [of the sufferer] and crush it to death. The afflicted will scream from the pain and beg that someone take his burden from him. And when he is on his deathbed, he will want to confess and acknowledge his sins, so that it will go easier for him.... Mostly they say that increases the evil craving. Then he will have foam coming from his mouth, and will cry out for blood and want to drink it.... There is one I remember still: one of the Partisan leaders, who became melancholic from the fever. He would huddle up in a dark corner, in a ball, and mutter quietly, they are coming to get me, the murdered ones, [and] one after the other they came to him.<sup>33</sup>

It will have become clear from these few initial examples that Partisan fever, among other things, seems to have a lot to do with Swabians' alternating feelings of revenge (Partisans being punished by the furies and the ghosts of the dead) and victimization, a commonplace theme in the generally one-sided and self-pitying memorial culture of the early Federal Republic.<sup>34</sup> But feelings of victimization cannot alone explain the particular symbolic and emotional character of the stories, nor the events they described: of all things, why blood drinking? Why "Tito Partisans"? Why did Tito Partisans get infected with the fever by admitting guilt, by hearing about the war or by hearing about Swabians? Interpreting Partisan fever means being aware of the tendency many Germans had after World War II to think of themselves foremost as victims *and* being attentive to the forms popular discourses of victimization took. After all, many expellees told about their experiences after the war, but stories about Partisan blood drinkers are specific to Danube Swabians. Their content is rooted in a locality and in that locality's unique historical legacies and circumstances.

The most immediate of those legacies and circumstances was Yugoslavia's wartime and immediate postwar history. Following the invasion and dismemberment of the country by the Axis powers in 1941, there ensued some of the most extreme fighting of the whole of the war, which took the form of merciless campaigns of terror and counter-terror by the Germans, their allies and various Yugoslav resistance factions.<sup>35</sup> In Serbia,

the Germans' campaign against Tito's Partisans involved a policy of terror carried out "against the population as a whole without distinction."<sup>36</sup> This policy "consist[ed] of the extermination of all those even remotely suspected of supporting the Partisans."<sup>37</sup> In this period, and until the fall of 1944, the Banat remained under the direct military occupation of the Reich. Swabians there enjoyed the protection of the German army, and, if they were fortunate enough to qualify on racial and political grounds as members of the *Volksgemeinschaft*—the racial, national or "people's" community—they also benefited economically and socially from that privileged status.<sup>38</sup> Some availed themselves of Jewish property—agricultural and industrial—that was "aryanized" under the new order.<sup>39</sup> Others participated in wartime violence. Banat Swabians joined the infamous SS Division Prinz Eugen, which was responsible for atrocities and reprisals against civilians. They also played a role in the notorious counterinsurgency operations of the Wehrmacht's 342nd Infantry Division in northwest Serbia in 1941, with some working as *Erfassungskommando*—"requisition" details charged with seizing livestock and fodder from their neighbors.<sup>40</sup> All in all, Thomas Casagrande writes, "the overwhelming majority of the German-speaking population was an important source of support for the German occupation regime."<sup>41</sup>

At the same time, living under the occupation, Swabian identity underwent a shift. Until the 1930s ethnic Germans were a minority population among others in a multiethnic Yugoslavia. With Hitler's rise to power, and because of their overwhelming support for the Nazi cause and Nazi war thereafter, Danube Swabians now constituted a wholly distinct group. They were not just a minority ethnic population, but ideological enemies and targets of Partisan revenge.<sup>42</sup> This became especially clear once the German army retreated. With Tito and the communists in the saddle, Swabians found themselves on the receiving end of violence and displacement. Scattered to the four winds thereafter, it would have been surprising if all sorts of rumors had *not* flourished among them. A legacy of insecurity, of status gained and lost, of horrific violence—committed, witnessed, endured—may have produced an atmosphere in which even fantastic rumors of violence were unlikely to have been discounted as improbable.<sup>43</sup>

National Socialism forms a second, proximate legacy bearing on Swabian narratives about Partisan blood drinkers. Nazi thinking had

deeply politicized blood, reordered the cultural meanings imputed to it, and heightened the value of blood deemed “German.” In Yugoslavia, as was true under the German occupation in other parts of Europe, having the “right” blood often meant the difference between life and death. But the Nazis also proclaimed German blood to be “precious” and treated it as part of a symbolic economy that was at once racial, moral and spiritual. Blood was used in the Banat—and this, too, was true across much of the Nazi empire—to establish a connection between the conquering Germans and local soil, thus allowing the Nazis to claim sovereignty over occupied territory. In April 1941 in the Banat city of Pančevo, a local German was killed by “Chetniks.” This event had followed the killing of eight other Germans by the Yugoslav army a few days earlier. When German troops arrived to occupy Pančevo shortly after, they ordered the corpses of the nine men exhumed. Their coffins were displayed on a catafalque in a local park, covered with flowers, before ultimately being reburied. A local German-language newspaper referred to the dead as “blood witnesses” (*Blutzeugen*), whose spirit would ensure that the local earth remained “German for eternity.”<sup>44</sup>

Wartime and postwar terror and violence and Nazi preoccupations with blood are important proximate contexts to bear in mind as we move forward. But longer-term frames of reference are equally significant. Some predated World War II and are likely to have disposed Swabians to understand and report on their experiences after the war in particular ways. To begin with, and most signally, partisan conflict itself was far from an unknown experience for inhabitants of the region. Indeed for many Swabians it would have been a part of living memory, with origins in World War I. From the start of that conflict, the Habsburg Army had feared the threat of *komitadji* (Serb guerilla) violence in Serbian portions of the empire and in Serbia itself. The Serb population as a whole was readily transformed in the minds of Habsburg military leaders, ordinary soldiers and civilians alike into a “shadow army of spies and saboteurs.” The *komitadji* became a “liminal figure, who destabilized the boundary between civilian and soldier.”<sup>45</sup>

Habsburg military commanders saw *komitadji* simultaneously through the lens of history and memory, imagining partisan Serbs in terms inherited from earlier conflicts. According to Jonathan E. Gumz, Serb partisans in World War I were linked to the nationalist uprisings of 1848, and became,

in the minds of military leaders, a “‘revolutionary’ phantom that combined the nation and mass politics.”<sup>46</sup> This pattern—of seeing one’s present enemy in terms left over from prior conflicts—was in no way unique to the Habsburg Army or to the history of Austria. The German army, too, had feared the possibility of a *levée en masse* during its invasion of Belgium and France in 1914. In that war, Germans connected the threat of popular insurrection to the specter of the *franc-tireur*—an image of a lawless, deceitful, inhuman fighter—inherited from the Franco-Prussian War.<sup>47</sup>

To these memories of earlier conflicts, irregular warfare, and ethnic discord we should also add that “disproportionately large numbers of Wehrmacht officers serving in Yugoslavia were actually Austrian” and had a particular, historical hostility to Serbs.<sup>48</sup> This hostility went back at least as far as the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, and to Serb atrocities in those conflicts.<sup>49</sup> As Ben Shepherd notes, “It was after all Austria which, for several years before WWI, had engaged in increasingly antagonistic rivalry with Serbia over control of the Balkans, and whose heir to the throne had been assassinated by a Serb in 1914.”<sup>50</sup> The commanding general in Serbia in World War II, Franz Böhme—author of a notorious reprisal order that called for the lives of 100 Serbs for every German killed—was himself Austrian and called on his largely Austrian troops to “avenge themselves for the Austrian blood spilt as a result of ‘Serb treachery’” in World War I.<sup>51</sup>

Yet given the explicitly ethnic quality of these historical patterns, it is noteworthy that Danube Swabians after World War II emphasized Partisan fever as an affliction not of Serbs (or any particular ethnic group), but of *Partisans*. Two women from the Banat, living in the Piding expellee camp in Bavaria in the early 1950s, reported,

our German soldiers, even those who fought ... in the woods [a euphemism for partisan fighting], never got it, and no German POW or imprisoned Swabian ever got it.... Even among the Serbs, only the Tito Partisans got it. The Nedić people [Serb fighters connected to Milan Nedić, the leader of German-allied Serbia], who also fought ... in the woods, showed no signs of having such episodes (*haben solche Anfälle nicht gezeigt*), nor did even the proper soldiers on the Russian side. So it is not a soldiers’ sickness that orderly, respectable soldiers get, but something else.<sup>52</sup>

A Swabian engineer named Sachradnik similarly noted, “It is for certain that these attacks and nervous problems affected the Partisans more than a regular army is affected by war. It must have something to do with the lawlessness of Partisan warfare and with all those sorts of terrible events.”<sup>53</sup>

In other words, whatever their complicated origins, Swabian tales about bloodthirsty Partisans were not rooted, at least not principally, in ethnic hubris or racism—a theme that has tended to dominate scholarship on the Third Reich at war until quite recently.<sup>54</sup> Rather, they described a specific fear of *Partisans* (whatever their ethnicity), which may have had immediate historical referents, especially for that generation of Swabians who had lived through the First World War. Stories about violence committed by *komitadji* had been especially widespread in the Banat during that prior conflict, and focused on the particular danger posed by an unseen enemy, who is immoral because he is “lawless” and refuses to conform to the rules of warfare (by wearing uniforms, for example).<sup>55</sup> This notion also emerged in World War II stories about Partisan blood drinkers. Yet while in the earlier context, *komitadji* and Serb seem to have been virtually synonymous, this was not true in the later context. Deep-seated fears of the Partisans were more likely a composite of memories of irregular fighting in World War I, Partisan violence in World War II and postwar anti-German reprisals under the Tito-led, communist regime.<sup>56</sup> In other words, thinking with the fearsome image of the Partisan—inhuman, treacherous, barbarous; lurking in the woods, invisible, anarchic—helps us historicize how Danube Swabians may have perceived and interpreted Partisan fever. “Race” does not.

Gender, on the other hand, does. As we have seen, a number of Danube Swabians insisted after World War II that women were more often afflicted than men with Partisan fever.<sup>57</sup> Engineer Sachradnik explained, “fits [of Partisan fever] mostly afflicted girls and women, men more seldom.” He attributed this to women’s lack of “inner robustness and the hard conscience [of] men,” which led insurgent fighting to take “the greatest toll on their nerves and affect them the most.”<sup>58</sup> To understand these statements we have to return again to the region’s history in the First World War. In that conflict, the Habsburg Army believed that Serbian women were fighting as *komitadjis*. The army considered this grossly transgressive, and it only served to deepen their perception of partisan treachery.<sup>59</sup> The belief that women fighters were shooting at the army from behind was taken as yet

another indication that the *levée en masse* the Habsburg Army feared was indeed taking shape.

Then, in the wake of World War I, another image of the armed woman emerged among German and Austro-Hungarian soldiers who, following the 1917 October Revolution, fought the Bolsheviks at the Eastern Front: the *Flintenweib*, or “gun-toting wench.” The reader may recall the term’s use in the extended passage quoted above (p. 84). It is highly pejorative. In his evocative study of the Freikorps movement, Klaus Theweleit notes that *Flinte*, a word for gun, could also refer to the penis or a prostitute; the *Flintenweib* was a “fantasized proletarian woman who awakens ... fear in hardened soldiers.” In Theweleit’s reading, the armed “proletarian whore” has a penis; with it, she provokes fears of castration, and ultimately of “total annihilation.”<sup>60</sup> Erich F. Berendt, a Freikorps-man who fought the Bolsheviks in East Prussia in 1919, described *Flintenweiber* in his memoirs as the kind of “barbarous furies only Bolshevism could devise ... bestialized and without any human feeling.”<sup>61</sup> Clearly, the *Flintenweib* image, which made the right-wing paramilitary rounds after World War I, was embedded in multiple German-speaking cultures—inside and outside Germany, from the Baltic to the Balkans. More generally, the image of the emancipated Bolshevik woman inspired panic among nationalist conservatives throughout Europe.

That there were actual, and not merely phantom, women Partisans in Yugoslavia in World War II, and in relatively significant numbers, surely only added to the terror inspired by blood-drinking Partisans.<sup>62</sup> Women fighters in the Banat in both World Wars suggested a world turned upside down, one in which the usual rules (already violated by male Partisans) had ceased to have meaning. As engineer Sachradnik’s comments above indicate, violence was thought to have a more devastating effect on women; it was not “natural” for them, and they were not thought to have the “robustness” of constitution necessary to master its effects. More pointedly, the frequency of the claims on the part of Danube Swabians about the tendency of women Partisans to be afflicted with *Partisanenseuche* suggests that their participation in combat was beyond comprehension, a massive breach in the order of things. But clearly the woman fighter conjured more than one image: on the one hand, the castrating *Flintenweib*; on the other, a psychologically feeble weakling—which of course

fit the contemporary stereotype of women as being prone to “hysteria” in traumatic situations.

An additional parallel between the contexts of the two World Wars in the Banat is the emphasis placed on specific *kinds* of violence allegedly carried out by partisans in each instance. Habsburg officers in World War I “actively disseminated stories among troops” about soldiers being castrated or having their noses or ears lopped off or their corpses mutilated.<sup>63</sup> Danube Swabian expellees told of similar acts after World War II—of Partisans who blinded their victims, or cut off their noses, ears, tongues or genitalia. Following Marc Bloch, Horne and Kramer point out that the German army’s response to rumors about *francs-tireurs* in Belgium and France at the outset of World War I may have “drawn on themes which the human imagination ... has ceaselessly recycled since the dawn of time.”<sup>64</sup> Bloch’s interest in *fausses nouvelles* (false news) disseminated during World War I led him to view certain kinds of narratives as always originating in preexisting collective representations—particularly those having to do with bodily violation.<sup>65</sup> Tales of partisan violence in both World Wars in the Banat share a number of overlapping elements, including themes of bodily mutilation, desecration and moral/gender transgression. These are the kinds of narratives that reappear again and again “over long stretch[es] of history, point[ing] to the existence of certain archetypal or mythic narratives that translate fears and fantasies lodged deep in human consciousness.”<sup>66</sup> This suggests that the kinds of dangers people perceived, the fears they had of Partisans as liminal figures, lurking “in the woods” and waiting to cut off hands and ears and sexual organs, can be linked to a deep substratum of the human imagination and psychology. In many different historical moments, certain images of bodily violation appear over and over. Yet Partisans *did* engage in mutilations of their enemies in World War II—Swabians, presumably, among them. They gouged out eyes, sliced off ears and genitalia.<sup>67</sup> Knowledge and rumors of such acts likely produced feelings of profound bodily vulnerability, and there may have been considerable fluidity, even an indivisibility, between stories of mishandling and mishandling “itself.” Tales of violation may have arisen in particular instances from reality, but they were structured by known images, representations, and tales of violation (whether directly or indirectly known or experienced). Experience ordered imagination; imagination ordered experience.



VAMPIRE STORIES

The contexts described above, both proximate and longer-term, may have been conducive to the telling of uncanny stories. At the same time, none of the circumstances described—whether memories of earlier conflicts, Nazi preoccupations with blood, the terror inspired by irregular combat, transgressive women fighters or transgressive forms of violence—was wholly unique to Yugoslavia in World War II. Partisan warfare took place in other parts of Europe, and had taken place before. In Poland, Ukraine and the Baltic states—Hitler and Stalin’s “bloodlands”—local populations paid a terrible price.<sup>68</sup> But if the context of the war in Yugoslavia was not singular, Partisan vampire stories certainly were. Thus, while context provides us with a setting, a sense of possibilities, limitations and preexisting conditions, it does not provide an interpretation or a sense of meaning. For that, we will have to go a bit deeper.

Let us return to the category of “bodily violation,” and the very specific form of it—blood drinking—with which we are dealing. In many cultures in different moments in time, people have talked about other people taking, collecting, stealing, drinking or otherwise using their blood, mostly toward nefarious ends. Europe has its vampire legends, which, moreover, find some of their roots in the Banat—a subject to which I will return momentarily. Europe is also the home of the infamous blood libel and its narratives of Jews ritually murdering Christian children to extract their blood for religious uses. In colonial Africa, tales flourished about *mumiani*—agents of British imperialism (firemen, game rangers and mine managers among them) who stole blood in Tanganyika, Rhodesia, Uganda and elsewhere.<sup>69</sup> And in the 1930s and 1940s, in the puppet state of Manchukuo under Japanese occupation, Chinese told about vampire doctors who dug up graves, cut corpses open and took out their organs and blood.<sup>70</sup> Clearly, while stories about blood drinking, stealing, and collecting can be found in many places, they have unique characteristics in each setting.

Some historical tales about taking blood, like the blood libel, are pure fantasy. Others, Ruth Rogaski points out, are quite true to life. In the Manchurian case, Chinese stories about grave-robbing doctors could describe the very real and monstrous experiments conducted by the Japanese Imperial Army’s biological warfare division, Unit 731, mostly

on Chinese prisoners.<sup>71</sup> But all tales of blood stealing and blood drinking and the like present the historian with questions of considerable epistemological complexity, as Luise White points out in *Speaking with Vampires*, her sophisticated and innovative study of rumor in colonial Africa. Like Rogaski's stimulating work on Manchurian vampire doctors, White's work has lessons for historians across many fields. Bear in mind, Partisans *said* they drank blood, as demonstrated by the epigraph at the beginning of this essay—"in the time of battle, the Partisans drink no water, no wine or schnapps, only blood!" *How* they meant this, of course, is debatable. In the Serbian language, "drinking blood" can be used colloquially to mean doing harm, hurting or killing someone.<sup>72</sup> Partisans may have spoken about blood drinking in different, figurative ways and had their words interpreted literally. This may explain why none of the sources I have read indicate anyone ever actually *seeing* blood drinking take place, only Partisans calling for Swabian blood. At the same time, Partisans *had* lopped off ears and gouged out eyes; they had been armed women who killed men. Just how transgressive were they? This may have been an open question for some Swabians. Karasek recorded a story in which a Swabian man described a woman Partisan who apparently worked at or near a camp in Borski Rudnik. In the throes of Partisan fever, the woman—"a terrible wench" (*sehr schlechtes Frauenzimmer*)—latched on to a Swabian. "A guard had to come and free him," the man reported, "else she would have bitten through his throat with her teeth; he had already bled a lot."<sup>73</sup>

This image of throat biting and blood drawing provokes the obvious question: were tales about Partisan sickness indeed vampire stories? Danube Swabians never used the term, to my knowledge, in their narratives of *Partisanenseuche*. But the Banat was a part of the vampire's original central European and Balkan homeland. It was there, on the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier in 1725, that a medical official in the Austrian army first wrote back to Vienna to describe a most curious set of developments. Local villagers in Medvegja, near Belgrade, had dug up a corpse, run it through with a stake and burned it. The dead person in question, whom locals referred to as *vampyr*, had been coming out of the grave to harm the living. A few years later, another medical officer described the "execution" of another vampire in another village; his report "rapidly reached all the European capitals ... [and] spread the monster's fame."<sup>74</sup>

The vampire represented a crisis for Christendom, Erik Butler writes, because it “did not fit ... established demonological categories, parodied the incorruptible bodies of the saints, and perverted the idea that the souls of the dead had a definite location in the divine plan.” More broadly, Butler argues that vampires “both as a signifier and as a signified, [move] between the categories of self and other, the familiar and the strange ... the temporal and the eternal.”<sup>75</sup> Neither fully dead nor alive, the vampire is a creature recognizably human and yet terrifyingly not. But as anyone who begins to delve into the literature on the vampire (historical, folkloric, literary, philological) will quickly note, beyond these general observations, there is simply no agreed-upon definition of the term or what it represents or even where it comes from. There is, in a word, no such thing as a “real” vampire, even metaphorically, but rather a suggestive collection of traits, characteristics and stories.<sup>76</sup> While the vampire might have supernatural qualities and abilities, White’s and Rogaski’s work confirms that we need not imagine him or her that way—as an undead creature who leaves the grave at night to consume the blood of the living. She need not look like Bela Lugosi or Max Schreck. The vampire can be a mine manager, a fireman, a doctor in a clean, white coat in a laboratory filled with sharp, bright instruments; she can be an extractor, a monstrous, parasitical being that takes things away, takes life away, crosses boundaries, preys on the vulnerable.

Given the specific location from which tales of Partisan blood drinkers emerged, the region’s folkloric traditions, not to mention the vampire of literature and screen—well established by the middle of the twentieth century—could Banat Swabians have talked about blood-drinking Partisans and *not* have been talking about vampires? Like *komitadji* in World War I, like the castrating *Flintenweib*, like ideas about precious, empire-conquering blood, the vampire was part of “background” social knowledge in the region. Stories about Partisan fever were tales of blood drinking and contagion—and contagious blood drinkers. These motifs were fundamental to vampire legends as they developed since the eighteenth century in Habsburg central Europe.<sup>77</sup> At a minimum, stories about Partisan blood drinkers told about having things taken away. But they also told of harm, victimization, degradation, madness, disease, contagion, humiliation and powerlessness.

Folklore and oral tales need not have an internal logic, much as we may feel compelled to search for one. White for example writes that “inaccuracies in [stories of blood extraction in Africa] make them exceptionally reliable historical sources ... [because] they offer historians a way to see the world the way the storytellers did, as a world of vulnerability and unreasonable relationships.”<sup>78</sup> And in the Banat, I hasten to suggest, of *inversion*. Danube Swabians had endured a great deal of political, social and economic upheaval since the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Those who wound up citizens of Yugoslavia after the Treaty of Trianon often experienced a reduction of their status, including the seizing of their larger estates in that nation’s 1919 land reform.<sup>79</sup> Their position, as discussed, was greatly enhanced by the Nazis’ arrival. Then, in the wake of war, their fortunes changed radically yet again. For a period after the war ended, they were on the receiving end of violence. They were mistreated, expropriated, placed in camps, even murdered. The blood drinker of Danube Swabian telling was a vampire: a predator; a fearsome, transgressive extractor; a product of local culture that distilled disembodied and generalized anxieties and displaced guilt. She was also an irremediable composite of reality, memory and fantasy—an unkillable, lurking enemy who infects by telling and confessing and biting, and whose crazed desires can be slaked only by consuming her victims, by taking things away.

For an overwhelmingly Catholic population, it may have been especially meaningful that this unkillable enemy could not properly perform the sacrament of reconciliation.<sup>80</sup> Blood drinking obviously has connections to “the history of sacrificial blood”—but in Banat Swabian tales it indicated perversion.<sup>81</sup> Abandoned by God, the Partisan’s confession of sins led not to his absolution but to increased depravity—a heightened desire to drink Swabian blood. Partisans, who Swabians claimed had seen themselves as “gods” during the war, were cursed thereafter, reduced to a state of parasitism, inhumanity, and disease—and yet they remained terrifying fiends just the same.

I said above that blood drinkers were products of “local,” not “German,” or “Swabian” culture. Despite profound tensions between Swabians and their neighbors during and after the war, despite tremendous ethnic, religious, linguistic, political and social diversity, the Banat remained, as it had been, a world of shared ideas.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, Danube Swabians and Serbs seem equally to have believed in blood drinkers and held each other respon-

sible for their appearance. Swabians claimed that their Serbian neighbors blamed Partisan fever on the “fascists.” It was the fascists, Serbs said, who taught the Partisans to drink blood. A Swabian woman claimed that her Serbian neighbor, Stoja Miložowic [*sic*], had told her, “very seriously,” that

the fascists put their people’s [Serbs’] blood in jars and stored it in their pantries. They drank it to make themselves strong. New settlers [those who replaced the departed Swabians] found the jars in their houses and had to throw them all away, they found them so disgusting. She told me once, you see, you Swabians drank the blood of our people, like was said in the newspaper during the war.<sup>83</sup>

Two other Swabians explained, “The Serbs—the communists and the Partisans—tell sometimes that they got [Partisan fever] from the Germans. [The Germans] tried something out on them, some kind of secret medicine and that’s what caused them to get it. They say this because they alone have the sickness and no one else.”<sup>84</sup> In other words, both Swabians and Serbs thought someone was drinking blood, even if they had their own ideas about whose and why.

Like the vampire and the gun-toting, castrating Partisan wench, blood stored in jars may also have been part of background knowledge. As Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia has described, at the end of the sixteenth century, for a variety of reasons, the blood libel began to decline in the core lands of the Holy Roman Empire. Narratives of ritual murder migrated eastward. As the stories moved, the coherence of ritual murder discourse, such as had once existed, began to disintegrate. Dissonant motifs began to appear in stories about ritual murder “as fragments that did not quite add up to a coherent whole.” One of these elements was the collecting of blood in jars.<sup>85</sup> Perhaps this narrative element bears some connection to the blood-filled jars that allegedly stocked the kitchens of the Banat. In a marginal note in one of his files, Karasek tried to rationalize the idea, stating that what had been believed by Serbs and Swabians alike to be blood in jars was probably nothing more than preserved tomatoes.<sup>86</sup> The issue is not whether or not blood was stored in Balkan pantries, but how stories and elements of stories travel from place to place and acquire new life in new settings, become meaningful in new ways, explain new problems.

Vampires, *komitadjis*, blood in jars, the confession of sins; armed women who subverted the gender order by committing violence against

men—all belonged to a local world shaped simultaneously and equally by historical experience and by shared knowledge and lore, which in turn influenced Swabian encounters with Partisan fever. Stories move, and they change as they move. Local history, myths and memories shape experiences and interpretations of events, just as experience structures what can be known and how it can be known. There is no disputing whether or not Swabians encountered Partisans during and after the war who exhibited frightening symptoms. Some Partisans, in the throes of illness, behaved violently, hurling themselves to the ground and shooting at invisible enemies, as was attested not just by Swabians but also by doctors like Paul Parin. In the course of these episodes, some Partisans may well have cried out for German or Swabian blood. The point is that what Swabians knew of these behaviors and encounters was shaped by a local epistemology formed (among other things) through collective memories of violence in two World Wars, ideas about blood and blood drinking (religious, folkloric, Nazi) and self-justifying ideas about what “proper warfare” entailed. Stories of Partisan blood drinkers among Danube Swabians were meaningful because they explained things, how things were, how they got to be that way and what it meant. They were warnings about the possibility of terrible harm, and about having escaped harm. They were also the way Danube Swabians narrated their experiences in World War II and thereafter. When they sat with Karasek and told him tales of ravening, bloodthirsty “wolves” who foamed at the mouth, they told of their great anxieties, losses, and the inversion of their former lives.

#### FANTASIES AND THE LEGACIES OF VIOLENCE

Whether or not Partisans were vampires, they were monsters. As Jeffrey Jerome Cohen writes, monsters are the “embodiment of difference,” breakers of categories.<sup>87</sup> They are hybrid creatures, weirdly human and yet terrifyingly other. They are abjectly *wrong*, unseemly, unnatural, anathema. When the monster’s practices replicate “ours,” those practices become demonic, unholy. The Partisan was a monster because she inverted the gender and the military order: she carried a gun, fought in the woods and behaved violently, biting and even castrating her victims; yet she was neither a man nor a “proper” soldier. Drinking the blood present in the

Eucharist was an act of worship in mass; drinking *Schwabenblut* a fiendish perversion. Making one's confession could absolve the sinner or burden him with even more guilt. Many witnesses of Partisan fever linked the affliction and the desire to drink blood to "godlessness," or claimed that the sickness was the "mark of Cain for ... the atrocious, bloody deeds [*Bluttaten*]" of the Partisans.<sup>88</sup> Cain, the original monster, had wickedly slain his own brother and become the embodiment of evil walking the earth, cursed by God and marked as such for all eternity. By making Partisans into Cain, Swabians became Abel, the sacrificial lamb, the first martyr. The language and images of Christian martyrdom suffuse the tales in the Karasek archive, and there are dozens of stories about apparitions of the Virgin Mary. In many of these tales, Partisans are depicted as cursed by God, people to whom the divine would not reveal itself because they were communists and did not believe. Historians have shown that a tendency among Germans to Christianize their suffering was commonplace after World War II.<sup>89</sup> We should hardly expect it to be otherwise: Christianity had provided the core narratives through which Europeans understood the world for centuries. But the story of Cain and Abel and the language of martyrdom and the monstrous also helped expellees describe the shock of inversion, a dramatic reversal of fortunes. By talking about how God would avenge himself upon evil, vampire Partisans for the shedding of innocent blood, expellees affirmed that he was on their side—the right side.

Monsters simultaneously embody social anxieties and form the discourse in which people talk about those anxieties. Each time the monster reappears, he or she becomes something new and specific—expressing the anxieties of that moment. But monsters are not just terrifying, and they are not just embodiments of anxiety. They are also ridiculous: "the thundering giant becomes the bumbling giant."<sup>90</sup> Women Partisans were monstrous, inhuman fiends *and* they were frail and deserving of mockery. By telling about terrifying Partisans brought low by an affliction that debilitated their minds and bodies and turned them into voracious, yet sickly, predators, Swabians domesticated their anxieties and experienced a proximate form of revenge for their losses, a surrogate form of power in their powerlessness.

Whether of the farcical or horrifying variety, monsters are not created from whole cloth. They are constructed through a recombination

of known representations. “[W]hat nourished fantasies [about Partisans who drank blood]?” Utz Jeggle asked.

Surely [they were not created] out of nothing. Rather, the material ... came from an external source; [while] the texture ... was internal. In this sense, historical legends expand upon the stuff of reality in a way that is not conscious in every instance, and indeed is probably buried in the unconscious, precisely because it is so appalling. Just as the dreamer’s imagination gives birth to wolves, murderers and all kinds of monsters, it is also conceivable that in these tales there adheres not only the injustices one has suffered, but also fantasies of crimes one has committed.

Partisan symptoms of insanity—foaming at the mouth, indications of possession—Utz Jeggle argued, should be read and understood as expressions of terror spawned *both* by real violence *and* by fantasies and anxieties about Swabians’ own guilt or crimes or transgressions committed by their group. It goes without saying, perhaps, that stories about Partisan cruelty and blood drinking and references to God’s vengeance and biblical justice excluded all discussion of German aggression and violence in the Balkans during World War II. It excluded mass killings of Jews, Serbs, Sinti, Roma and anyone else the Wehrmacht decided was in league with the Partisans. The fact that most Banat Swabian leaders had thrown their lot in with the Nazis was also excluded from narratives about Partisan blood drinkers. In the Karasek collection, there are stories in which, as Jeggle points out, expellees talk about the graves they had to leave behind being desecrated in their absence, the gravestones in their cemeteries being used to build swimming pools, the gold being extracted from the teeth of their abandoned dead. Of course, in one way or another, all of these acts are known to have been perpetrated by the Nazis against their victims, particularly the Jews. Given evidence of this kind, Jeggle concludes, Partisan blood drinker tales are an instance of the return of the repressed. They are manifestations of transference, in a psychoanalytic sense, a way of coping with the psychological dissonance provoked by myriad acts of violence, disgrace, horror and unspeakable acts—committed and endured.<sup>91</sup>

Some historians bristle at this kind of explanation. Some are reticent about bringing psychology (let alone monsters) to bear on analyses of the past. Almost reflexively, historians worry about anachronism or about



applying supposedly universalist models of mind to people in unique historical settings. We worry, too, about the political implications of imputing irrational motivations to past actors or about what it might mean actually to take the irrational in history seriously. Moreover, if the self, subjectivity and reality are constructed through social practices, language, discourse and culture, what good does it do us to talk about such “individual” feelings as guilt?<sup>92</sup> But surely when confronted with the kinds of evidence we have seen in this essay, we need a robust way of looking at historical experience, one that takes not just history, memory and “context,” into account, but also feelings, fantasies and monsters. We need a history that dips into both folklore and the unconscious.

Stories about vampire Partisans were local stories, made from indigenous knowledge. They took their shape from Swabians’ collective memories of war, their legends and religious practices surrounding blood, as well as prevailing, contemporary standards about who was a proper soldier and who was not and about how women should act, the effects of violence on their psychology, and what was natural and unnatural behavior for them. But Partisan vampire stories were also about profound bodily insecurity and the possibility of disintegration; they were about repressed guilt, fears of annihilation—particularly masculine annihilation—and the dissolution of a community and its place in the world. Those stories were formed from relationships, in the village or the neighborhood, and the histories, hierarchies, grievances, estrangements, injustices and dread of those relationships. We can hardly expect the cultural history of violence in the wake of a war of such fantastic, apocalyptic and pathological dimensions as World War II—a war that unleashed so many wild demons—to come down to us in the unadorned language of the crop report or the bank statement. This is why human beings have stories, why expellees tell tales.

## NOTES

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1. A “Tito Youth,” in Kladanj in Bosnia, according to Peter Schneider, originally of St. Hubert, Yugoslavian Banat, 1951. Archives of the Johannes-Künzig-Institut für ostdeutsche Volkskunde, Freiburg, Sammlung Karasek, Neue Sagenbildung (hereafter JKI/SK/NS), 04/02-126. (All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.)

2. Throughout the essay, I capitalize “partisan” only when referring to Tito’s Partisans. The Banat is bounded by the Danube, Tisza and Mures Rivers; once part of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Empire, it is today split between Serbia, Romania and Hungary. The term Danube Swabian came into use in the 1920s to distinguish ethnic Germans of Yugoslavia from other ethnic-German groups who had been subjects of the Kingdom of Hungary before the Treaty of Trianon. Zoran Janjetović, *Between Hitler and Tito: The Disappearance of the Vojvodina Germans* (Belgrade: n.p., 2000), 10. In my research, Danube Swabians mostly referred to themselves as Swabians (*Schwaben*) or Germans (*Deutsche*). The standard survey of the German minority in Yugoslavia is Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Nationalitätenpolitik in Jugoslawien: Die deutsche Minderheit, 1918–1978* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980). A brief synopsis of the Banat Germans’ history is Željko Šević, “The Unfortunate Minority Group: Yugoslavia’s Banat Germans,” in Stefan Wolff, ed., *German Minorities in Europe: Identity and Cultural Belonging* (New York: Berghahn, 2000), 143–63. See also Ingomar Senz, *Die Donauschwaben* (Munich: Langen Müller, 1994); and Norbert Spannenberger, “Yugoslawien,” in Walter Siegler, ed., *Die Vertriebenen vor der Vertreibung. Die Heimatländer der deutschen Vertriebenen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Strukturen, Entwicklungen, Erfahrung. Teil 2* (Munich: iudicium verlag, 1999), 865–937.

3. Michael Prosser, “Zum Wandel der Funktion und des Traditionwertes von Sagen-Texten: Ein exemplarischer Problemaufriss aus der ‘Sammlung Karasek,’” *Jahrbuch für europäische Ethnologie* 3, no. 2 (2007): 45. The Sammlung Karasek is housed in the Johannes-Künzig-Institut für ostdeutsche Volkskunde in Freiburg (see n. 1 above).

4. The extent to which Yugoslavia's ethnic Germans should be regarded as refugees or expellees—that is, the extent to which they fled or were evacuated from Yugoslavia during or just after World War II or whether they were forcibly expelled—is a subject of controversy. See G. C. Paikert, *The Danube Swabians: German Populations in Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia and Hitler's Impact on Their Patterns* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967); Zoran Janjetović, "Die Politik gegenüber der deutschen Minderheit Jugoslawiens im Jahrzehnt nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg," in Walter Engel, ed., *Kulturraum Banat: Deutsche Kultur in einer europäischen Vielvölkerregion* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2007), 167–76, and idem, "Von offiziöser Darstellung zum offenen Dialog: Die Geschichtsschreibung über die Volksdeutschen im ehemaligen Jugoslawien und heutigen Serbien-Montenegro im Spiegel der letzten 60 Jahre," *Spiegelungen: Zeitschrift für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas* 1 (2008): 30–39. In refugee circles, Janjetović points out, Yugoslavia's Germans are invariably referred to as having been expelled. See Zoran Janjetović, "The Disappearance of the Germans from Yugoslavia: Expulsion or Emigration?" *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 40 (2002): 216.

5. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-10 and 04/01-2. There are many such tales in Karasek's files.

6. On postwar retribution, see Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (London: Penguin, 2005), 41–62; István Deák, Jan T. Gross and Tony Judt, eds., *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York: Vintage, 2000), 212–37. For an analytic reconsideration of the postwar years as a history of the "aftermath," focusing on how "individuals and groups managed ... experiences of violence during the war" and after, see Frank Biess, "Introduction," in idem and Robert G. Moeller, eds., *Histories of the Aftermath: The Legacies of the Second World War in Europe* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2010), 1–10; here, 2.

7. Theodor Schieder, ed., *Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteleuropa*, vol. 5, *Das Schicksal der Deutschen in Jugoslawien* (Bonn: Bundesministerium für Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge und Kriegsgeschädigte, 1961), 88E.

8. Paikert, *The Danube Swabians*, 286, 288–89. Yugoslavian Germans exempt from expropriation were those who had fought in the National Liberation Movement, were married to Slavs or other non-German citizens, or had otherwise proven themselves to be loyal to the Titoist movement. Paikert writes, "such Volksdeutsche [ethnic Germans] were insignificantly few" (289). He states that Germans in Yugoslavia were stripped of their citizenship and made "stateless and outlaws" (286). In fact, they were not deprived of their citizenship wholesale as was true in some other East European countries after the war. See Schieder, *Dokumentation*, 5:104E.

9. Schieder, *Dokumentation*, 5:90E–97E.

10. Paikert, *The Danube Swabians*, 286–87. In a single camp at Rudolfsgnad for example, out of a total internee population of around 33,000, approximately one third of Swabians died between October 1945 and March 1948. Deaths in the camps were exacerbated by typhus, malnutrition and abuse. See Schieder, ed., *Dokumentation*, 5:108E–109E. Šević gives a different estimate, arguing that it “can be assumed that ten to fifteen thousand people died in the camps,” though his source for this figure is unclear (“The Unfortunate Minority Group,” 154).

11. Paikert, *The Danube Swabians*, 288, 287.

12. For complications involved in this process, see Janjetović, “Die Politik,” esp. 168–71.

13. For a select but substantial bibliography of the (mostly German-language) literature, divided by topic, see Andreas Kossert, *Kalte Heimat: Die Geschichte der Deutschen Vertriebenen nach 1945* (Munich: Siedler Vlg., 2008), 397–419. See also the essays in Rainer Schulze, ed., with Reinhard Rohde and Rainer Voss, *Zwischen Heimat und Zuhause: Deutsche Vertriebene in (West-) Deutschland 1945–2000* (Osnabrück: secolo Vlg., 2001).

14. Though there is a considerable historical literature on rumor (see n. 17 below), we do not yet have a broad or systematic consideration of its role and significance in World War II and its immediate aftermath. Marie Bonaparte’s fascinating *Myths of War* (London: Imago Publishing, 1947) is one early example. Sandra Ott, “Good Tongues, Bad Tongues: Denunciation, Rumor and Revenge in the French Basque Country, 1943–1945,” *History & Anthropology* 17, no.1 (March 2006): 57–72, looks at rumor as a form of social retaliation and punishment for moral treachery under German occupation.

15. Utz Jeggel, “Sagen und Verbrechen,” in Rainer Schulze, Doris von der Brälie-Lewien, and Helga Grebing, eds., *Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene in der westdeutschen Nachkriegsgeschichte: Bilanzierung der Forschung und Perspektiven für die künftige Forschungsarbeit* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1987), 202. A recent example was provided by the rumors that abounded after more than 300 tornados swept through large swaths of the southern US in 2011: that the draining of local ponds had uncovered dozens of dead bodies, that people were walking over corpses on their way to local stores and that a local mayor had ordered police and firefighters to shoot every dog they came across. None of this was remotely true. See “This American Life, Act Five. Wednesday, Tuscaloosa, AL,” <http://www.thisamericanlife.org/radio-archives/episode/434/transcript> (accessed March 15, 2012). For an analysis of postwar “legend-creation” with reference to the Karasek archive, see Heinke M. Kalinke, “Gerüchte, Prophezeiungen und Wunder: Zur Konjunktur sagenhafter Erzählungen in der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit,” in Elisabeth Fendl, ed., *Zur Ikonographie des Heimwehs: Erinnerungskultur von Heimatvertriebenen*,

Schriftenreihe des Johannes Künzig Instituts (Freiburg: Johannes-Künzig-Institut für Ostdeutsche Volkskunde, 2001).

16. Jeggle, "Sagen und Verbrechen," 202–5.

17. Many scholars treat rumor as a historically and culturally situated mode of discourse, an idiom in which people describe the world. See, for example, Arlette Farge and Jacques Revel, *The Vanishing Children of Paris: Rumor and Politics before the French Revolution*, trans. Claudia Mieville (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991); Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); and S. A. Smith, "Talking Toads and Chinless Ghosts: The Politics of 'Superstitious' Rumors in the People's Republic of China, 1961–1965," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 2 (2006): 405–27.

18. The estimate of 15 million is taken from Gerhard Reichling, *Die deutschen Vertriebenen in Zahlen. Umsiedler, Verschleppte, Vertriebene, Aussiedler* (Bonn: Kulturstiftung der deutschen Vertriebenen, 1986), 28–32.

19. Schieder, ed., *Dokumentation*.

20. Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Useable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 51–87. On the *Documentation* project more generally, see Matthias Beer, "Im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Zeitgeschichte: Das Großforschungsprojekt 'Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteleuropa,'" *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 46, no. 3 (1998): 345–89.

21. A few examples include: Johannes Kaps, ed., *Die Tragödie Schlesiens 1945/46 in Dokumenten, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Erzbistums Breslau* (Munich: Verlag "Christ Unterwegs," 1952/3); idem, ed., *The Martyrdom and Heroism of the Women of East Germany: An Excerpt from the Silesian Passion 1945–1946* (Munich: Verlag "Christ Unterwegs," 1955); and Leopold Rohrbacher, *Ein Volk—ausgelöscht: Die Ausrottung des Donauschwabentums in Jugoslawien in den Jahren von 1944 bis 1948* (Salzburg: Forschungsinstitut für Fragen der Heimatlosen, n.d.).

22. Karasek is sometimes also referred to as Karasek-Langer (Langer was his mother's maiden name). Though his early publications are attributed to "Alfred Karasek," he began at a certain point to add the name Langer to clarify his ethnicity, as he was frequently mistaken for a Czech. On this point and for a brief (and highly selective) biography, see Walter Kuhn, "Das Lebenswerk Alfred Karaseks (1902–1970)," *Jahrbuch für ostdeutsche Volkskunde* 13 (1970): 326. Karasek's lifetime output was enormous. See Alfons Perlick, "Alfred Karasek. Eine Biographie und Bibliographie," *Jahrbuch für ostdeutsche Volkskunde* 9 (1965): 195–238. On Karasek's fieldwork in the 1920s and 1930s, see Heinke M. Kalinke, "'Teamwork: Zur volkkundlichen Feldforschung in Ost- und Südosteuropa,'" *Jahrbuch für*

*deutsche und osteuropäische Volkskunde* 42 (1999): 20–43. On the role of Karasek and researchers like him in shaping an explicitly ethnocentric folklore during the Third Reich, see Michael Fahlbusch, *Wissenschaft im Dienst der nationalsozialistischen Politik? Die "Volksdeutschen Forschungsgemeinschaften" von 1931-1945* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999).

23. Perlick, "Alfred Karasek," 229–38.

24. Helmut Höge, "Schafft zwei, drei, viele Vietnam," <http://blogs.taz.de/hausmeisterblog/2006/08/15/> (accessed June 10, 2012).

25. Paul Parin, "Die Kriegsneurose der Jugoslawen," *Schweizer Archiv für Neurologie und Psychiatrie* 61 (1948): 303. Parin's memories of his time with the partisans are the subject of his book "*Es ist Krieg und wir geben hin*": *Bei den jugoslawischen Partisanen* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1991) .

26. Parin, "Kriegsneurose," 303–4.

27. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-119.

28. John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 90.

29. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-116; A. K. Gauß, "Der Übel größtes aber ist die Schuld: Die Partisanenseuche in Jugoslawien," *Neuland* (Salzburg), September 3, 1950, 3.

30. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-117.

31. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-129.

32. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-131.

33. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-118.

34. Scholars have discussed this topic from many perspectives and with respect to a variety of wartime experiences. See Frank Biess, *Homecomings: Returning POWs and the Legacies of Defeat in Postwar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), esp. 43–69; Lothar Kettenacker, ed. *Ein Volk von Opfern? Die neue Debatte um den Bombenkrieg 1940–45* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2003); Gilad Margalit, *Guilt, Suffering, and Memory: Germany Remembers Its Dead of World War II*, trans. Haim Watzman (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 46–53; Moeller, *War Stories*; Bill Niven, *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2006); Mary Nolan, "Air Wars, Memory Wars," *Central European History* 38, no. 1 (March 2005): 7–40.

35. For a very concise and helpful overview of this landscape, see Klaus Schmider, "Foreword," in Ben Shepherd and Juliette Pattinson, eds., *War in a Twilight World: Partisan and Anti-Partisan Warfare in Eastern Europe, 1939–45* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), 181–88. See also Ben Shepherd, *Terror in the Balkans: German Armies and Partisan Warfare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Tomislav Dulić, "Utopias of Nation: Local Mass Killing in Bosnia

and Herzegovina, 1941–42” (Ph.D. diss., University of Uppsala, 2005); Thomas Casagrande, *Die volksdeutsche SS-Division “Prinz Eugen”: Die Banater Schwaben und die national-sozialistischen Kriegsverbrechen* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2003); Klaus Schmider, *Partisanenkrieg in Jugoslawien, 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Mittler, 2002); Walter Manoschek, “Serbien ist judenfrei”: *Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1993).

36. Schmider, *Partisanenkrieg*, 71.

37. Gaj Trifkovic, “A Case of Failed Counter-Insurgency: Anti-Partisan Operations in Yugoslavia, 1943,” *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 24, no. 2 (2011): 336.

38. Valdis O. Lumans, *Himmler’s Auxiliaries: The Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle and the German National Minorities of Europe, 1933–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 232–34; Jozo Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945: Occupation and Collaboration* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 648–49. Not all Banat Germans qualified as members of the *Volksgemeinschaft*; some were considered ethnically “too mixed” (say, with Serbs) to qualify as “politically reliable.” Casagrande, *Die volksdeutsche SS-Division*, 181.

39. Casagrande, *Die volksdeutsche SS-Division*, 177–78.

40. Der Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD Amt IV, September 26, 1941, U.S. National Archives T-175, film 233; Der Bevollm. Kommandierende General in Serbien, Abt. Qu., Merkblatt für die wirtschaftliche Nutzung des Gebietes zw. Save und Drina, n.d. (assumed to be September 28, 1941), Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv 4/72332, 5365/7, 1022-1023. I thank Ben Shepherd enormously for these references. See also Schmider, *Partisanenkrieg*, 69–73; Shepherd, *Terror in the Balkans*, 125; and Ben Shepherd, “Bloodier than Böhme: The 342nd Infantry Division in Serbia, 1941,” in idem and Pattinson, eds., *War in a Twilight World*, 195–97.

41. Casagrande, *Die volksdeutsche SS-Division*, 299.

42. Ibid., 300; Tomasevic, *War and Revolution*, 201–9.

43. Nicholas Stargardt writes that World War II was an event “without precedence or sequel,” and marked by “greater extremities of emotional experience, subjective identification, and personal commitment than many a ‘heroic’ age, like the Reformation or great European revolutions, whose intensity historians have long accepted was capable of remaking ... the social consciousness of all protagonists.” Stargardt, “Rumours of Revenge in the Second World War,” in Belinda Davis, Thomas Lindenberger and Michael Wildt, eds., *Alltag, Erfahrung, Eigensinn: Historisch-Anthropologische Erkundungen* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2008), 386.

44. Akiko Shimizu, *Die deutsche Okkupation des serbischen Banats 1941–1944 unter besondere Berücksichtigung der deutschen Volksgruppe in Jugoslawien* (Regensburg: Regensburger Schriften aus Philosophie, Politik, Gesellschaft und Geschichte,

2000), 113–14. Blood as an instrument of imperial conquest is also a theme in Monica Black, *Death in Berlin: From Weimar to Divided Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 93–97.

45. Jonathan E. Gumz, *The Resurrection and Collapse of Empire in Habsburg Serbia, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 43, 47.

46. *Ibid.*, 29.

47. Horne and Kramer, *German Atrocities*, 94–139.

48. Ben Shepherd, “With the Devil in Titoland: A Wehrmacht Anti-Partisan Division in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1943,” *War in History* 16, no. 1 (2009): 82; *idem*, “Bloodier than Böhme,” 191; *idem*, *Terror in the Balkans*, chap. 6; Manoshek, *Serbien ist judenfrei*; *idem*, “The Extermination Policies of the Jews in Serbia,” in Ulrich Herbert, ed., *National Socialist Extermination Policies. Contemporary German Perspectives and Controversies* (New York: Berghahn, 2000), 163–85; *idem*, “‘Coming Along to Shoot Some Jews?’ The Destruction of the Jews in Serbia,” in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *War of Extermination: The German Military in World War II* (New York: Berghahn, 2000), 39–54, esp. 42–43.

49. During the Balkan Wars, Serbs engaged in mass rapes of Muslim women, massacred prisoners of war, destroyed villages, and committed “pillage, arsons, and executions.” See Alan Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 135–37; Rudolf Jerábek, *Potiorek: General im Schatten von Sarajevo* (Vienna: Verlag Styria, 1991), 162–65.

50. Shepherd, “Bloodier than Böhme,” 191; Manoshek, *Serbien ist judenfrei*, places particular importance on the role of anti-Slavic feeling in the formulation of anti-partisan policy in the Wehrmacht.

51. Shepherd, “With the Devil in Titoland,” 95.

52. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-121.

53. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-122.

54. Arguments concerning the role of racism in motivating mass killing by the Wehrmacht in Yugoslavia and elsewhere have become increasingly nuanced. See Jonathan Gumz, “Wehrmacht Perceptions of Mass Violence in Croatia, 1941–1942,” *Historical Journal* 44, no. 4 (December 2001); Alexander Korb, “Integrated Warfare? The Germans and the Ustaša Massacres: Syrmia 1942,” in Shepherd and Pattinson, eds., *War in a Twilight World*, 210–32; and Shepherd, “Bloodier than Böhme.”

55. Gumz, *Resurrection*, 49–50. Holger H. Herwig also notes in a more general sense that “public morale” in Austria-Hungary “was maintained in part by a steady stream of atrocity stories—later published in two *Red Books*—concerning Serbian ritual murder of Austrian women and children.” See Herwig, *The First*



*World War: Germany and Austria-Hungary 1914–1918* (London: Arnold, 1997), 273.

56. Hermann Frank Meyer, *Blutiges Edelweiß: Die 1. Gebirgs-Division im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Berlin: Ch. Links Vlg., 2008), 124–5; Richard West, *Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994), 146.

57. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-119.

58. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-122.

59. Gumz, *Resurrection*, 38.

60. Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 1, *Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, trans. Stephen Conway (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 70, 74, 76 (emphasis in original). My attention was drawn to thinking about the *Flintenweib* by Robert Gewarth and John Horne, “Vectors of Violence: Paramilitarism in Europe after the Great War, 1917–1923,” *Journal of Modern History* 83, no. 3 (September 2011): 502.

61. Erich F. Berendt, *Soldaten der Freiheit: Ein Parolebuch des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin: E.C. Etthofen Vlg., 1935), 89. Cited in Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 1:76.

62. Barbara Wiesinger, *Partisaninnen: Widerstand in Jugoslawien, 1941–1945* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), 39–40, says that the numbers of women fighters were quite variable, but could comprise 5–15% in some divisions.

63. Gumz, *Resurrection*, 50–51.

64. Marc Bloch, cited in Horne and Kramer, *German Atrocities*, 111.

65. Marc Bloch, “Réflexions d’un historien sur les fausses nouvelles de la guerre,” *Revue de Synthèse historique* 33 (1921): 41–57; Carole Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 111–12. Both cited in Horne and Kramer, *German Atrocities*, 91. The theme of bodily violation may be especially likely to emerge in times of crisis and war. See Karl-Heinz Mistele, “Kriegsgerüchte,” in Klaus Guth and Thomas Korth, eds., *Lebendige Volkskultur: Festgabe für Elisabeth Roth zum 60. Geburtstag* (Bamberg: Meisenbach, 1980).

66. Jeffrey Freedman, *Poisoned Chalice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 33.

67. Meyer, *Blutiges Edelweiß*, 124–25.

68. Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

69. White, *Speaking with Vampires*.

70. Ruth Rogaski, “Vampires in Plague-Land: Multiple Meanings of *Weisheng* in Manchuria,” in Angela Ki Che Leung and Charlotte Furth, eds., *Health and Hygiene in Chinese East Asia: Policies and Publics in the Long Twentieth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011): 132–59.

71. *Ibid.*, 141.

72. I thank an anonymous reader of this piece for making me aware of this very important point.

73. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-136.

74. Butler, *Metamorphoses*, 28.

75. *Ibid.*, 29, 28.

76. Butler refers to the vampire's "representational syncretism" (*ibid.*, 190). Other recent literature I found especially helpful on the subject of central Europe and its vampires includes: Christian Kättlitz, "'...Man braucht also nicht nur auf dem Balkan zu suchen.' Oder: Wie slawisch darf Dracula sein? Lewin, Glatz und die Entslawisierung eines böhmischen Vampirs – ein Beispiel für modernen Mythentransfer und seine Motive," *Bohemia: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der böhmischen Länder* 50, no. 2 (2010): 333–50; Thomas M. Bohn, "Vampirismus in Österreich und Preussen: Von der Entdeckung einer Seuche zum Narrativ der Gegenkolonisation," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 56:2 (2008): 161–77, and *idem*, "Der Dracula-Mythos. Osteuropäischer Volksglaube und westeuropäische Klischees," *Historische Anthropologie* 14 (2006): 391–409; Heiko Haumann, "Dracula und die Vampire Osteuropas: Zur Entstehung eines Mythos," *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 1 (2005): 1–17; Katharina M. Wilson, "The History of the Word 'Vampire,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46, no. 4 (1985): 577–83. For a general account of vampire lore in Yugoslavia, see E. Schneewis, *Serbocroatian Folklore: Erster Teil: Volksglaube und Volksbrauch* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1961).

77. "In predominantly Slavic Orthodox settings," Bruce McClelland notes, "the way in which a vampire may come into being is always an unnatural or violent death." It was the contact of "Eastern European vampire beliefs with Western witchcraft beliefs ... that germinate[d] the notion that vampires, like witches and sorcerers, can themselves bring other vampires into existence." See Bruce McClelland, *Slayers and Their Vampires: A Cultural History of Killing the Dead* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 90. For further elucidation on the question of "who becomes a vampire?" see Dagmar Burkhart, *Kulturraum Balkan: Studien zur Volkskunde und Literatur Südosteuropas* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Vlg., 1989), 70.

78. White, *Speaking with Vampires*, 5.

79. Senz, *Die Donauschwaben*, 81.

80. Roman Catholicism was the religion of more than 75% of Danube Swabians. Anthony Komjathy and Rebecca Stockwell, *German Minorities and the Third Reich: Ethnic Germans in East Central Europe between the Wars* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980), 126.

81. Gábor Klaniczay, "The Decline of Witches and the Rise of Vampires," in Darren Oldridge, ed., *The Witchcraft Reader*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge,

2002), 394. Originally published in Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformations of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

82. Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, *Zur Interethnik: Donauschwaben, Siebenbürger Sachsen und ihre Nachbarn* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1978).

83. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-127.

84. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-121.

85. R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 204.

86. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-127.

87. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ed., *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), esp. vii–xiii and 3–25.

88. JKI/SK/NS, 04/02-115.

89. Biess, *Homecomings*; Moeller, *War Stories*.

90. Cohen, *Monster Theory*, 18.

91. Jeggler, “Sagen und Verbrechen,” 205–6.

92. Lynn Hunt offers an excellent overview of these themes in “Psychology, Psychoanalysis, and Historical Thought,” in Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza, eds., *A Companion to Western Historical Thought* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 337–56. I have also been influenced on this point by Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Religion and Sexuality in Early Modern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).