

APPENDIX II

RUSSIAN STORIES

Translation by Raymond T. McNally of the oldest Russian manuscript about Dracula: MS 11/1088 in the Kirillov-Belozersky Monastery Collection at the Saltykov-Schredin Public Library, Leningrad. First translation of this document into a Western language.

Among the very few authentic signed documents which have been preserved from the late 15th century is the Russian "Story about Dracula." Copies of it were made from the 15th to the 18th century in Russia. It is one of the first instances of belletristic writing in Russian literature, and the historian Nicholas Karamzin has called it his country's "first historical novel."

This manuscript was written by the monk Efrosin from the Kirillov-Belozersky Monastery in northern Russia in the year 1490. In it the monk states that he copied the story from another manuscript penned in 1486. No one knows who the author of that earlier manuscript was. Most scholarly opinion has focused upon a Russian diplomat who was at the Hungarian court in the 1480's, Fedor Kurytsin; he could have picked up the tale there since Dracula had been a captive of the Hungarian king from 1462 to 1474; moreover the monk states that the earlier author had seen one of the sons of Dracula.

Whoever the original author was, he was more disturbed by the prince's abandonment of Orthodoxy than by his cruelties. While in prison Dracula "forsook the light" of the Orthodox Church and accepted the "darkness" of the Roman Church because he was too attracted to the "sweetness" of this earthly life and not motivated enough by concern for the next one. Thus, the story has a marked religious tone.

The manuscript supports the notion of a "cruel but just" autocrat in its presentation of Dracula. All that this tyrant had done, however cruel it may have appeared by the standards of the average person, was necessary for the good of the state. In order to ward off not only the Turkish invaders but also the continual threat of opposition from the aristocratic boyars in his own land, Dracula had to take harsh measures. Obviously, the manuscript was written to indicate support of the autocratic ruler in Russia at the time, Ivan III, known as Ivan the Great. Here is the text:

1. There lived in the Wallachian lands a Christian prince of the Greek faith who was called Dracula in the Wallachian language, which means devil in our language, for he was as cruelly clever as was his name and so was his life.

Once some ambassadors from the Turkish sultan came to him. When they entered his palace and bowed to him, as was their custom, they did not take their caps from their heads and Dracula asked them: "Why have you acted so? You ambassadors have come to a great prince and you have shamed me." The ambassadors answered, "Such is the custom which our land has, Lord." And Dracula told them, "Well, I want to strengthen you in your law. Behave bravely." And he ordered that their caps be nailed to their heads with small iron nails. And then he allowed them to go. He said, "Go tell your lord, for he is a cultured man: let him accept this shame from us. For you seem to think that we are not cultured. Let him not impose his customs upon other rulers who will not accept them, but let him keep his customs in his own land." [This episode confirmed in Romanian and German sources.]

2. The Turkish sultan was angered and he set out with an army against Dracula. He invaded his land with overwhelming force. Dracula gathered his whole army and attacked the Turks during the night, and he killed a great many of them. But he could not conquer them with his few men against an army so much greater than his, so eventually Dracula drew back.

He examined those who had fought with him against the Turks. Those wounded in the front he honored and made them heroes and gave them gifts. But those who were wounded in the back he ordered to be impaled from the bottom up and said: "You are not a man but a woman." And

when he set against the Turks once again, he spoke to his entire army in this way, "Whoever wants to think of death, let him not come with me but let him remain here." And the Turkish sultan, hearing of this, retreated with great shame. He lost innumerable men, but he never dared again to set out against Dracula. [*The night attack is confirmed by an eye-witness report.*]

3. The sultan sent an ambassador once to Dracula, in order that he be given the yearly tribute. Dracula greatly honored this ambassador and showed him the whole treasury which he had. And said, "I not only wish to give the sultan the yearly tax, but I also wish to go in his service with my whole army and with my whole treasury. I shall do as he commands and you shall announce this to your emperor, so that when I shall place myself at his disposal, he will give orders in his whole land that no harm should come to me or to my men. And I shall come to my sultan, my liege, quickly after you get back. And I shall bring him the yearly tribute, and I shall personally place myself at his disposal."

When the sultan heard from his ambassador that Dracula wished to come into his service, he honored the ambassador and gave him gifts, and was happy because at that time the Turkish sultan was at war with many of the eastern countries. Immediately the sultan sent to all his fortresses and towns and throughout his land the message that when Dracula comes, no one should do him any harm. On the contrary, they should honor him. Dracula set out with his whole army. With him were his various yeomen. And he was greeted and greatly honored by the emperor. And he traveled throughout the Turkish empire for about five days. But then suddenly instead of helping the sultan, he began to rob and attack the towns and the villages. And he captured many prisoners whose heads he cut off. Some he impaled, others he cut in two, and others he burned. The whole country which he penetrated was laid to waste. He allowed no one to remain alive, not even the babes in the arms of their mothers. But others, that is, those who were Christian, he spared and set them up in his own lands. After taking much booty, he returned to Wallachia. And he set a few prisoners free and said, "Go and tell your sultan what you have seen. As much as I could, I have served him. If my service was pleasing to him, I shall serve him again with as much power as I can." And the sultan could do nothing against him and fled in shame. [*This episode confirmed by historical documents.*]

4. Dracula so hated evil in his land that if someone stole, lied or committed some injustice, he was not likely to stay alive. Whether he was a nobleman, or a priest or a monk or a common man, and even if he had great wealth, he could not escape death if he were dishonest. And he was so feared that the peasants say that in a certain place, near the source of the river, there was a fountain; at this fountain at the source of this river, there came many travelers from many lands and all these people came to drink at the fountain, because the water was cool and sweet. Dracula had purposely put this fountain in a deserted place, and had set a cup wonderfully wrought in gold and whoever wished to drink the water, had to drink it from this gold cup and had to put it back in its place. And so long as this cup was there no one dared to steal it. [*Romanian folklore stresses Dracula's maintenance of law and order.*]
5. Once Dracula ordered throughout the land that whoever was old or sick or poor should come to him. And there gathered at the palace a huge multitude of poor and old people, who expected a great act of mercy. And he ordered that all these miserable people be gathered together, in a large palace which was prepared with this idea in mind. And he ordered that they be given food and drink in accordance with their wishes. So they began to eat, and they became happy. Later on Dracula personally came to see them and spoke to them in the following way: "What else do you need?" And they answered him in unison, "Our good lord, God knows how to give, and your highness surely understands the wishes of God." He then said to them, "Do you want me to make you without any further cares, so that you have no other wants in this world?" And

they all expected some great gift and they answered, "We wish it so, my lord." Then he ordered that the palace be locked and he set it on fire, and all of them perished within it. Later he told his nobles, "Know that I have done this so that these unfortunate people will have no further burdens, and so that there should be no more poor in my land but only rich people, and in the second place I freed these people so that they no longer suffer in this world either because of poverty, or because of sickness." [Dracula's killing of the sick and poor is a favorite theme in Romanian folklore. One critic has suggested that the prince's motive was control of the plague.]

6. Once there came from Hungary two Roman Catholic monks looking for charity. Dracula ordered them to be honored. And he first of all called one of these monks down below into the courtyard, where there were countless people on stakes and spokes of wheels. And he asked the monk, "Have I done well? How do you judge those on the stakes?" And the monk answered, "No, lord, you have done badly. You punish without mercy. It is fitting that a master be merciful, and all these unfortunate people whom you have impaled are martyrs." Dracula then called the second monk and posed the same question. The second monk answered, "You, lord, have been assigned by God as a ruler to punish those who commit crimes and to reward those who do good. Certainly they have committed some crime and have been punished in accordance with their misdeeds." Dracula then recalled the first monk and told him, "Why have you left your monastery and your cell, to walk and travel at the courts of great rulers? You know nothing. Just now you told me that these people are martyrs. I also want to make a martyr out of you so that you will be together with these other martyrs." And he ordered that he be impaled from the bottom up. But to the other monk, he ordered that he be given fifty ducats of gold and told him, "You are an understanding man." And he ordered that a carriage be prepared for him in order that he be driven with honor to the Hungarian border. [Note different ending in Romanian Story No. 6. Note, too, that the Russian version seems designed to support one-man rule, however cruel.]
7. Once a merchant, a foreign guest from Hungary, came to Dracula's capital city. Following his command, the merchant left his carriage on the street of the city before the palace and his wares in the carriage and he himself slept in the palace. Someone came and stole 160 golden ducats from the carriage. The merchant went to Dracula and told him about the loss of the gold. And Dracula told him, "Wait, this night your gold will be returned." And he ordered his henchmen to look for the thief throughout the city and said, "If you do not find the thief, I will destroy the city." And he ordered that the gold be placed back in the carriage during the night. But with one additional gold ducat. The merchant got up and found his gold and he counted the pieces once, twice, and found one additional golden ducat. He went immediately to Dracula and told him, "My lord, I have found the gold, but look there is one additional golden ducat which does not belong to me." And then they also brought the thief who had the original gold with him. And Dracula told the merchant, "Go in peace. If you had not told me about the additional golden ducat, I would have been ready to impale you, together with the thief." [This tale reoccurs in Romanian folklore. Russian version is obviously meant to stress Dracula's sense of justice.]
8. If a woman made love with a man who was not her husband Dracula ordered that her vagina be cut and he skinned her alive and tied her skin to a pole. And the skin was usually hanging on the pole in the middle of the city right there in the market place. He did the same thing with young girls who had not preserved their virginity and also widows. In some cases he cut the nipples of their breasts. In other cases he took the skins from their vagina and he placed an iron poker, reddened by fire, up their vaginas so far upwards that the iron bar emerged from their mouths. They remained naked, tied to a pole until the flesh and bones detached themselves or served as

food for the birds. [A favorite theme in the German pamphlets is Dracula's austere standards for women.]

9. Once Dracula was walking down a street and he saw a poor man with a shirt torn and dirty. And he asked that man, "Have you got a wife?" And he answered, "I have, Lord." Then Dracula said, "Take me to your house, so that I can see her." And he went to the house of the man, saw that he had a young and healthy wife, and he told her husband, "Did you work this spring, did you sow flax?" And the husband answered, "Lord, I have much flax." And he showed much flax to him. Then Dracula said to his wife, "Why are you lazy towards your husband? It is his duty to sow and to reap and to feed you. But it is your duty to make nice clean clothes for your husband. But you do not even wish to clean his shirt, though you are quite healthy. You are guilty, not your husband. If your husband had not sown or reaped, then your husband would be guilty." And Dracula ordered that both her hands be cut off and that her body be impaled. [See comment for Story 8.]
10. Once Dracula was feasting amid the corpses of many men who had been impaled around his table. And he liked to eat in their midst. There was a servant who stood right in front of him. But he could not stand the smell of the corpses any longer. So he plugged his nose. And he drew his head to one side. Dracula asked him, "Why are you doing that?" The servant answered, "My lord, I cannot endure this stench." Dracula immediately ordered that he be impaled, saying, "You must live way up there, where the stench does not reach you." [Dracula's macabre sense of humor is highlighted in German pamphlets.]
11. On another occasion an ambassador, a great nobleman from Matei the Hungarian king, came to Dracula's court. Dracula ordered him to stay at his royal table in the midst of the corpses. And set up in front of the table was a very high thick golden stake. And Dracula asked, "Tell me, why did I set up this stake?" The ambassador was very afraid and said, "My lord, it would seem that some nobleman has committed a crime and you want to reserve a more honorable death for him." And Dracula said, "You spoke fairly. You are indeed a royal ambassador of a great ruler, I have made this stake for you." The ambassador answered, "My lord, if I have committed some crime worthy of death, do what you wish because you are a fair ruler and you would not be guilty of my death but I myself would be." Dracula broke out laughing and said, "If you had not answered me thus, you would really be on that very stake yourself." And he honored him greatly and gave him gifts and allowed him to go, saying, "You truly can go as an envoy to the capitals of great rulers, because you are well versed in knowing how to talk with great rulers. But others let them not talk with me, but let them first learn how to speak to a great ruler." [See comment for Story 10.]
12. Dracula had the following custom: whenever an ambassador came to him from the sultan or the king and he was not dressed in a distinguished way and did not know how to answer the twisted questions, he impaled them, saying, "I am not guilty of your death but your own master, or you yourself. Don't say anything bad to me. If your master knows that you are slow-witted and that you are not properly versed and has sent you to my court, to me a wise ruler, then your own ruler has killed you. And if somehow you would dare to come as an ignorant boor to my court, then you yourself have committed suicide." For such an ambassador he made a high and golden stake and he impaled him in front of all and to the master of such a foolish ambassador he wrote the following words: "No longer send to a wise prince a man of such a small mind and a man so uncultured." [See comment for Story 10.]
13. Dracula ordered his artisans to make some iron bells. Dracula ordered these bells to be filled with gold and put in the river. And Dracula ordered that these artisans be killed, so that no one would know the crime committed by him except for the devil whose name he bore. [The story of

the person who kills the workmen who hid his treasure occurs the world over, thus this episode can be considered as a mythical one.]

14. On one occasion the Hungarian King Matei set out with an army against Dracula. He fought against Dracula and in the battle they captured Dracula alive, because Dracula was betrayed by his own men. And Dracula was brought to the Hungarian King, who ordered him thrown in jail. And he remained in jail at Vishegrad on the Danube up from Buda for twelve years. And in Wallachia the Hungarian King ordered another prince to rule. [*Dracula's presence in Hungary is confirmed by Hungarian sources, reports by papal representatives in Buda, and the memoirs of Pius II.*]
15. After the death of that prince the Hungarian King sent a messenger to Dracula who was in jail to ask him whether he would like to become prince in Wallachia as he had been before and if so, he should accept the Latin faith and if he does not wish it, he wishes to die in jail. Dracula, however, loved the sweetness of the earthly world much more than that of the eternal world, and abandoned Orthodoxy and forsook the truth and light and received the darkness. Unfortunately, he could not endure the temporary difficulties of the prison and he must have been prepared for the unending sufferings of hell by abandoning our Orthodox faith and accepting the deceiving Latin faith. The king did not only give him the rule in Wallachia but also gave him his sister as a wife. From her he had two sons, he lived for another ten years and in this heresy he ended his life. [*Sources given in comment above confirm Dracula's restoration in 1476, and his heresy in eyes of the Orthodox Church.*]
16. It was said about him that even when he was in jail, he could not abandon his bad habits. He caught mice and bought birds in the market. And he tortured them in this way: some he simply impaled, others he cut their heads off, and others he plucked their feathers out and let them go. And he also taught himself to sew and in this way he fed himself while in jail. [*This incident is not recorded in any other known sources.*]
17. When the king freed him from jail, and brought him to Buda where he gave him a house located in Pest, which is across from Buda, and at a time when he had not yet seen the king, it so happened that a criminal sought refuge in Dracula's courtyard in order to save himself. And those chasing the criminal came into Dracula's courtyard and began looking for him. Dracula rose up, took his sword and cut off the head of the prefect who was holding the criminal and liberated the criminal. The other guards fled and went to the municipal judge and told him what had happened. The judge and his men went to the Hungarian King to complain against Dracula. The king sent a messenger to ask him: "Why have you done this crime?" Dracula answered in this way: "I did not commit a crime. He committed suicide. Anyone will perish in this way should he thievingly invade the house of a great ruler. If this prefect had come to me and had explained the situation to me, and if the criminal had been found in my own home, I myself would have delivered the criminal to him or would have pardoned him of death." The king was told about this, and began to laugh and wonder about his candor. [*Not found elsewhere.*]
18. The end of Dracula came in this way: while he was ruling Wallachia, the Turks invaded the country and began to loot. Dracula attacked the Turks and put them to flight. Dracula's army began to kill the Turks without mercy and chase them out of the country. Out of sheer joy Dracula ascended the hill in order to see how his men were killing the Turks. Detached from his army in this way and from his men, he disguised himself as a Turk. Those in his immediate vicinity thought that he was a Turk and hit him with a lance. Dracula, seeing that he was being attacked by his own men, immediately killed five of his would-be assassins; then he was killed by many arrows and thus he died. [*That Dracula died in 1476 is certain; whether he died in the circumstances related here is not known.*]

19. The king took his sister and the two sons of Dracula to Buda in Hungary. One of these sons still lives with the king's son, the other was with the bishop of Oradea and has died in our time. I saw the third son, the eldest, whose name was Mikhail, in Buda. He fled from the Turkish sultan to the King of Hungary. Dracula had him by a certain woman when he was unmarried. Steven of Moldavia, in accord with the wish of the king, helped establish in Wallachia a prince's son called Vlad. This same Vlad was in his youth a monk, later a priest, and subsequently the abbot of a monastery. He then took the final vows and was set up as a prince and married. He married the wife of the prince who ruled a little later after Dracula, and who was killed by Steven Valacu [*"the Wallachian"; perhaps this reference should have been to Steven the Great*]. He took the latter's wife and now rules Wallachia, the same Vlad who previously was a monk and abbot. This was first written on February 13, 1486; later, on January 28, 1490, I have transcribed [*the text*] a second time, I, the sinner Efrosin. [*The historical references here are fairly accurate, Dracula's son here called "Mikhail" was also known as Mihnea. Specific mention of Vlad "a former monk" as "the present ruler" points to Vlad the Monk and supports authenticity of the date of the manuscript.*]