

DRACULA TOURISM, FOLKLORE AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

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In this article, I examine the use of folklore and heritage in the context of Dracula tourism in Romania. I will approach this issue by using the concepts of authenticity and stereotypes. I will also employ the concept of folklore process as coined by Lauri Honko to better define the use of tradition in relation to folklorism and authenticity. My main argument is that tourism may, in fact, construct and affirm heritage and tradition of which folklore is a part. This of course is not a new approach, as tradition has been used in tourism and travel in many ways for a long time, including, for example, in pilgrimages.

Keywords: *tourism, Dracula, authenticity, heritage, Romania, folklore.*

V prispevku preučujem, kako se uporabljata folklor in dediščina in kako ju je mogoče videti v kontekstu turizma v Romuniji, povezanega z Drakulo. Teh vprašanj se bom lotil z uporabo in definiranjem konceptov avtentičnosti in stereotipov. Da bi lažje opredelil izročilo v razmerju s folklorizmom in avtentičnostjo, ob tem uporabljam koncept »folklorni proces«, kakor ga je definiral Lauri Honko. Osrednji poudarek obravnave je, da turizem lahko ustvarja in utrjuje dediščino in izročilo, katerih del je tudi folklor. To seveda ni novost, saj je izročilo že dolgo na različne načine vključeno v turizem in potovanja, kakor npr. na romanjih.

Ključne besede: *turizem, Drakula, avtentičnost, dediščina, Romunija, folklor.*

All at once Heritage is everywhere, in the news, in the movies, in the marketplace, in everything from galaxies to genes. It is the chief focus of patriotism and a prime lure for tourism.

(Lowenthal 1998: xiii)

INTRODUCTION

Even if one would not completely agree with David Lowenthal, heritage as a concept has become very popular in the field of cultural studies and especially in studies dealing with tourism. Heritage is used in political agendas, in the affirming of national identity, and in the preservation of buildings, customs and traditions that are seen as important and that justify economic interests. Heritage is used and promoted especially in the travel industry, in which it is seen as an important resource. Heritage and culture have become so important in the tourism industry that cultural heritage has become the basis for an independent sector of tourism called *heritage tourism* (Timothy and Boyd 2003: 1). Thus heritage and tourism have become inextricably linked all over the world (Hall 1994: 180). This link can be seen in both negative and positive lights. It

can be seen as producing “fakelore” or folklorism, something that is not seen as “real” and authentic. On the other hand, this link can be seen as a positive force, as something that helps to preserve heritage and folklore in a changing and globalized world.

My interest lies in examining how folklore and heritage are used in the context of Dracula tourism in Romania. I will approach this question by first defining my use of authenticity and stereotype. I will also employ the concept of “folklore process” as coined by Lauri Honko to better define the use of tradition in relation to folklorism and authenticity. My main argument is that tourism may construct and affirm heritage and tradition, of which folklore is a part. This of course is not a new approach; tradition has been used in tourism and travel in many ways, including, for example, in pilgrimages.

Dracula tourism in Romania is tourism that is centered either on the historical Dracula, the fifteenth-century Wallachian ruler Vlad the Impaler, or the fictional vampire Count Dracula. Vlad the Impaler was a Wallachian prince or *voivode*, who in the 15th century ruled Wallachia, which is the southern part of modern Romania. Even though he was in power for little less than seven years, he is one of the most famous (and infamous) rulers in Romanian history as well as one of the most exploited historical figures in the Romanian tourist industry. The other subject in Dracula tourism is based on Bram Stoker’s novel *Dracula* published in 1897 and especially on its main character, the vampire Count Dracula. In Dracula tourism, Vlad the Impaler and the fictitious vampire Count Dracula are often also conflated into one Dracula figure (Hovi 2010a: 213–214.) This has caused a great deal of ambivalence in Romania because the conflation occurs in other than Romanians’ own terms. Adding supernatural and foreign features to Vlad the Impaler has been seen as a threat to tradition about a historical personage important to Romania’s culture.

Before I can continue, I must dwell briefly on heritage. The universality that has been accorded to heritage as a term has at the same time made it difficult to define. The meaning of heritage has been expanded to include ancient monuments, the built urban environment, aspects of the natural environment as well as many aspects of living culture and the arts (Timothy and Boyd 2003: 3–4). One way to explain heritage is to compare it with the conception of history. History is a recording of the past that strives to be as accurate as possible. Heritage is part of our past too, and it is the part that we or someone has defined as important and worth saving. In Dracula tourism, heritage can be seen, for example, through Dracula tradition.

DRACULA TRADITION

One significant element in Dracula tourism is the Dracula tradition. By Dracula tradition I mean the different stories about the historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler and the

later ideas connected with him. Vlad the Impaler was a Wallachian prince or *voivode* who ruled Wallachia in 1448, 1456-1462 and 1476. Despite the short reigns, Vlad gained a reputation that has survived for centuries through to the present day (Hovi 2010b: 287–289).

The reputation and the fame of Vlad the Impaler has been double-edged from the 15th century onwards. He has been seen, on the one hand, as a harsh but just ruler who defended his country, and, on the other hand, as a bloodthirsty tyrant responsible for the torture and slaughter of tens of thousands of men, women and children. Vlad's reputation was only strengthened by his favorite method of punishment, impaling, which also earned him the moniker "the Impaler". Outside of Wallachia, Vlad the Impaler was mostly known as Dracula, a name that he inherited from his father Vlad Dracul (Boia 2001: 226–229).

The Dracula tradition began already during Vlad the Impaler's lifetime by way of printed stories about him that circulated through Europe and Russia in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. The German stories circulated in Western Europe while the Russian stories circulated in Russia. An oral tradition favorable to Vlad the Impaler started in the 15th century in the area of modern Romania, a tradition that partly influenced both the German and the Russian stories. Stories about Vlad can also be found in some Byzantine and Turkish sources as well as in the memoirs of pope Pius II. Yet the German, Russian and Romanian stories are the most widely known and contain the most well-known elements of the Dracula tradition (Treptow 2000: 16–17, 190, 206).

The German, Russian and Romanian stories about Vlad all differ in the way they portray Vlad the Impaler. The German stories portrayed him as a bloodthirsty tyrant and a madman; furthermore, they were written as propaganda against Vlad the Impaler by Saxon merchants, with whom he had many disputes. Hungarian king Mathias Corvinus was also instrumental in the creation and circulation of these stories. In these stories, Vlad was responsible for many kinds of torture and violence against different peoples. However, the role of these stories as propaganda seemed to fade quite quickly, and they were absorbed into the normal literature of the time (McNally and Florescu 1994: 78). In a way, the modern vampire Dracula tradition can be seen as a continuation, albeit a shaky one, of this tradition.

The Russian stories portrayed him in a more positive light, as a harsh but righteous ruler whose actions are mostly justified. The Russian stories became virtual blueprints for the depiction of powerful rulers and even went on to influence the folklore about Ivan IV or Ivan the Terrible (Perrie 1987: 96). In the collected Romanian oral stories, Vlad is seen as a just ruler and as a defender of his country. In 1969, many folktales about Vlad the Impaler were collected in the village of Arefu. During my fieldwork, the informants explained many of Vlad's actions as positive, righteous and justified (Ene 1976: 589.) In the German and Russian stories, Vlad was called Dracula, and in the Romanian stories he was Vlad the Impaler.

Today, the connection between Vlad the Impaler and the fictitious vampire Count Dracula is so strong -- not only in the media and popular culture but even in academic circles -- that it can be seen as a pseudo tradition in itself. The image of Dracula in western popular culture affects the way Vlad the Impaler, Transylvania and Romania are imagined.

DRACULA TOURISM

Although there are also some Dracula tourism sites in Great Britain, I will concentrate here only on Dracula tourism in Romania. Dracula tourism in Romania started already in the 1960s, although at first it was quite small-scale. According to Duncan Light, tourists came to seek out the literary as well as the supernatural roots of Stoker's novel. At first, there was little for these tourists to find because the Western vampire Dracula was almost completely unknown in Romania at the time (Light 2007: 756). The most sought-out location was Castle Dracula, which in the novel was located in the Borgo Pass in northern Romania. Unfortunately for the tourists, there is no castle in the Borgo Pass, so they had to find something else. Thus Castle Bran near the Transylvanian city of Braşov was made into Dracula's castle. Although the castle has nothing to do with the vampire count from Bram Stoker's novel and has only a tenuous connection with the historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler, it still became known as Dracula's castle, mostly because of its location and its appearance. In the 1970's, the demand for Dracula tourism started to increase. After the publication and success of the book *In Search of Dracula* by Raymond T. McNally and Radu Florescu in 1972, the interest in both Dracula and Vlad the Impaler grew. *In Search of Dracula* was not the first book to make the connection between Vlad the Impaler and the vampire Count Dracula, but it was the first that made the connection known to a larger audience (Miller 2000: 180–181). Although the book has a few errors and tries to make the connection between Vlad and the vampire Dracula stronger than it actually is, it was a great success and is still referred to in many studies and publications.

The growing interest in Dracula was problematic for the Romanian government. Although the government wanted to increase the country's popularity with Western tourists, the whole notion of vampires and the supernatural was at odds with the country's political identity as a socialist state (Light 2007: 755–756). In the 1970s, Vlad the Impaler was being idealized by Romanian historians and politicians as a national and a socialist hero who defended his people against foreign enemies. In 1976, the quincentenary of Dracula's death was celebrated in monographs, novels, works of art and a commemorative stamp. In 1978, a movie was filmed to praise Vlad the Impaler. It is easy to understand that Romania's government was not happy with the connection of a national hero with a Western monster. The notion of Romania as a superstitious vam-

pire-stalked land was not well liked by Ceaușescu, who wanted to raise his country's global profile. During the 1970s, Dracula tourism was tolerated but not encouraged by the government, although government leaders sought to manage Dracula tourism on their own terms and to separate Vlad the Impaler from the vampire count. In the 1980s, Ceaușescu's regime became harsher, and the number of tourists declined (Light 2007: 756–758.)

After the 1989 revolution, Dracula tourism started to grow again but the state's reaction to it remained ambivalent. In the mid 1990s, Romania wanted to approach the West by presenting itself as a convincing future member of the European Union and NATO sharing western values (Light 2007: 758). The idea of Romania as a somewhat backward and mysterious land of vampires was not an image that the government wanted to portray to the West at the time. During the late 1990s, the Romanian ministry of tourism started to plan a huge Dracula-themed amusement park called Dracula Park near the medieval city of Sighișoara, which is the alleged birthplace of Vlad the Impaler as well as also a UNESCO World Heritage Site. These plans, however, were met with fierce resistance from the Romanian church and academics, the EU and even Prince Charles of Great Britain (Iordanova 2007: 49–51). After the controversy, the park was planned at another location, nearer to the state capital Bucharest. However, the plans for the park never came to fruition, and the project was abandoned in 2005 (Light 2007: 759). The conflicts between heritage, stereotypes, fiction and the tourism industry have defined Dracula tourism and the attitudes toward it from the 1970s until the present day.

TOURISM, AUTHENTICITY AND FOLKLORISM

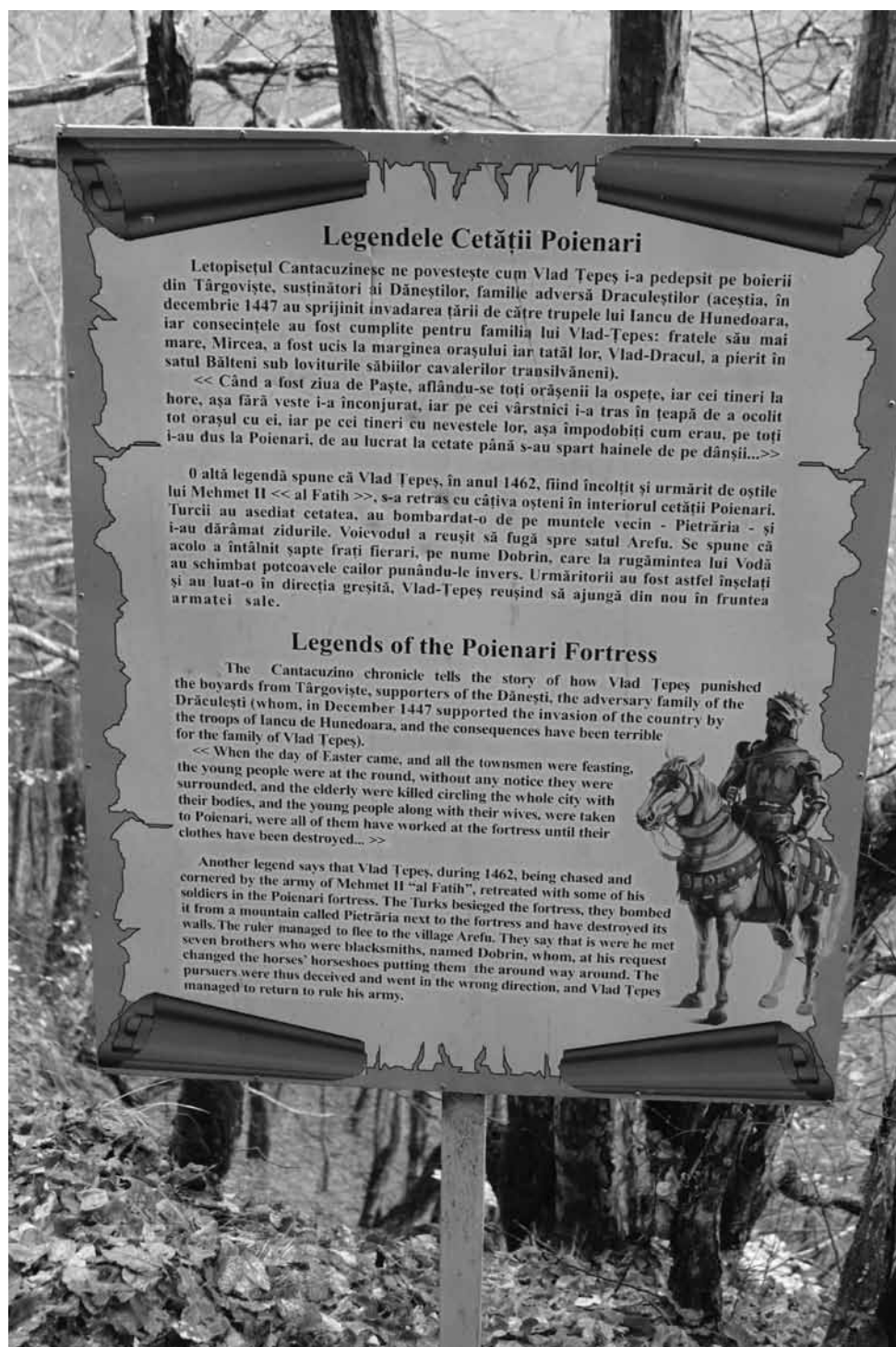
Much of the critique of Dracula tourism has roots in the debates concerning authenticity. Dracula tourism is seen as inauthentic and therefore negative, even as a threat to the authentic and therefore to real Romanian tradition. The notion of authenticity is problematic in tourism. Traditionally, the experience of authenticity has been essential in tourism as a marketing device. When one makes the claim of authenticity, one suggests that what one is offering is real as opposed to something that is not. However, in tourism this is often developed carelessly. Nowadays, authenticity lives in images and stereotypes and not necessarily in reality. Some scholars have said that the question of authenticity is completely irrelevant to the tourist viewpoint. Although tourist advertising has traditionally emphasized authenticity based on history, the post-modern tourist enjoys the unreal and artificial as well as the authentic. This can be explained because the unreal can be found everywhere, and therefore, it is also real. Authenticity is a question of perspective. From a post-modern viewpoint, for example, Disneyland in Paris could be seen as genuine French contemporary culture (Zimmerbauer 2001: 126).

Authenticity in tourism goes often hand in hand with stereotypes and the perception of authenticity that is related to tourists' pre-conceived images and stereotypes about a resort. Stereotypes are generalised cultural models that are commonly shared by people (Zimmerbauer 2001: 122). Sometimes, if visible reality doesn't match pre-conceived stereotypes and mental images, pre-conceived images may lodge in a tourist's mind as reality. So if a building or a demonstration of local tradition doesn't feel authentic to the tourist, even if it were real and authentic, the tourist may not get what he or she feels is an authentic experience. We may actually say that there are two kinds of authenticity in tourism: historical or scientific authenticity and experienced or felt authenticity (Hovi 2008b: 81). The stereotypes used in Dracula tourism are mostly about Dracula as a vampire and Romania or Transylvania as a land of vampires, horror and mysticism.

In folklore studies, the use of tradition and the debate over authenticity are often linked with terms such as *folklorism* and even *fakelore*. Folklorism has been used to describe tradition and folklore that has been moved from its original setting and context. While the term folklorism may be practical, in many cases it is also problematic. Although not as strong a term as fakelore, folklorism also has negative connotations. Folklorism can be seen as a form of second-hand folklore and somehow less or worse than "original" folklore. The late Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko proposed in his article "The Folklore Process" that the term folklorism should be cast aside. In its place, Honko suggested the idea of dividing folklore into its different life phases (Honko 1991: 32, 43). In its first life, folklore is alive and functioning in its original environment until it has been collected and archived. Folklore's second life starts when it is used again in an environment that is totally different from its original one (Honko 1991: 34, 42). The second, or even third or fourth life of folklore is just as authentic, real and valid as research object as the first.

In terms of authenticity, the use of tradition and history in the tourist industry is problematic. Even though tradition is being used for commercial purposes, tradition itself can be viewed as real and authentic. Only the surroundings of tradition are different. One of the attractions in many Dracula tours is to sit around camp fires and listen to locals telling stories about Vlad the Impaler (Williams and Wildman 2001: 256).¹ Even though this act of storytelling for tourists may not be seen as authentic tradition in itself, these stories can be seen as being real and authentic parts of oral tradition. So we might even say that Dracula tourism may help these stories to survive in a new setting. In the tourist industry, stories about Vlad the Impaler can be seen as living their second life.

¹ See for example also "Company of Mysterious Journeys" (http://www.mysteriousjourneys.com/dracula_tours/classic_dracula_level_1/).



Adding stories to places. Legends about Vlad the Impaler at the castle Poenari.

FOLKLORE AND HERITAGE IN DRACULA TOURISM

Essential elements of Dracula tourism are the Dracula tours. These tours visit places linked to either the historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler, or to places linked to the fictitious vampire Count Dracula, or both (Hovi 2008a: 73–74.) Dracula tours visit castles, palaces or ruins, medieval cities and even places that don't seem to have any connection with either Vlad the Impaler or Bram Stoker's Count Dracula. Cultural heritage is most visible in the places that are connected with Vlad the Impaler. Places like the ruins of the Princely Court in Târgoviște and the ruins of the castle Poenari are good examples of this. Both are being marketed mainly through an association with Vlad the Impaler despite the fact that there many additional historical connotations to both sites. Both sites also have a strong connection to the Dracula tradition because many of the historical stories about Vlad are linked to them. These stories are in turn also used in the marketing and in the narrative touristic production of both sites. Associating stories with places is an essential part of providing content in tourism (Aarnipuu 2008: 35). Such stories can bring places to life and give them additional meaning. With little exaggeration, one could argue that a ruin is just a pile of bricks and stones without the surrounding narrative that gives it meaning. The stories used in Târgoviște and Poenari are specifically from the Romanian oral tradition, although some of the stories identified with Târgoviște have roots in the German and the Russian stories.² Both the ruins in Poenari and the ruins in Târgoviște are preserved and partly renovated to serve as tourist sites. This means that they are seen as places of value to be saved for future generations, or, in other words, as places of heritage. In my opinions, with the stories from Romanian folklore, these places are more tied to Romanian cultural heritage than other places in Dracula tourism such as those places associated with Bram Stoker's book.

Especially interesting are the places visited in Dracula tours that have nothing to do with either the historical or the fictitious Dracula. For example, the fortified churches in Transylvania, the painted monasteries in Bukovina and castle Peleş are tourist sights included in many Dracula tours even though they have absolutely nothing to do with Vlad the Impaler or the vampire Count Dracula. For example, Castle Peleş is very interesting as a Dracula attraction. The castle was built in the late 19th century for the royal family of Romania and is a destination in many Dracula tours. It is constantly labeled as “the most beautiful royal palace in Europe” or the “Pearl of the Carpathians”.³ The castle is included on tours that otherwise concentrate solely on the

² See for example “Adventure Transylvania” (<http://www.adventuretransylvania.com/halloween-dracula.htm>).

³ See for example “Cultural Romtour” (http://www.culturalromtour.com/trip_event-trips-halloween-in-the-land-of-dracula_33.html) or “Transylvania Live” (<http://www.dracula-tour.com/romania-travel-transylvania/halloween-dracula-tour.html>).



Nothing to do with Dracula, a lot to do with heritage. The castle Peleş.

horror and vampire theme. In my opinion, the fact that sights like castle Peleş are added to Dracula tours can be explained in two ways. One reason is that the castle itself represents an exotic experience on the trip. Another, and in my mind a more fruitful explanation, has to do with cultural heritage and cultural identity. It is quite possible that important sites for Romanian culture like castle Peleş are willingly brought into conjunction with the western and foreign vampire and horror thematic. According to Pekka Hakamies, it is not unusual that in some cases people have been clinging to old traditions as a form of silent protest against a dominant ideology or a government regarded as unfamiliar or foreign. At the same time, this kind of protest has worked as a unifying force that strengthens local identity (Hakamies 1998: 11). In my opinion, sites such as Peleş castle that become attractions on Dracula tours can be approached in the same way. The marketing of these kinds of sites can be seen as a local cultural protest against a foreign and unfamiliar image of Romania. At the same time, this can be seen as a way to strengthen local identity and culture against a foreign threat.

The idea of heritage was also very visible in the opposition to the Dracula Park project. The park was planned to be built near the medieval city of Sighişoara, which is also a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The opponents of the project were concerned for Romania's reputation and worried that such a project would forever link Romania and its history with horror and vampires. The location of the park near the medieval city of Sighişoara was also seen as very troublesome. Historians were concerned that

the location of the park near the alleged birthplace of Vlad the Impaler would add to confusion between the historical and the fictional Draculas. The location of the park was also seen as problematic because many people saw it as a threat to both the surrounding environment as well as to the historical city of Sighișoara itself. Because Sighișoara is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the location of the park would have diminished the city's cultural value in many people's minds (Iordanova 2007: 51–52).

CONCLUSION

In Dracula tourism, heritage and tradition manifest themselves in three different ways. Associating stories from Romanian folklore with certain Dracula sites can be seen as a way to specifically tie these sites to Romanian cultural heritage. Heritage is also visible in the way certain sites that have no connections to either the historical or the fictional Dracula are promoted and added to the Dracula tours. Heritage is also present in the reactions and discourses against Dracula tourism. Even though tourism has usually been seen as a threat to heritage and tradition, tourism can in my opinion also work as a sustaining force for heritage and tradition. For example, the use of folklore about Vlad the Impaler in Dracula tourism may be essential to the survival of the oral tradition about Vlad. Even though the context in which this oral tradition is practiced is different from its original environment, the tradition itself can still be seen as being real, authentic and alive.

Heritage and tradition manifest themselves strongly in the way Romania's own culture is being brought up against a form of culture that is seen as strange and harmful by many of the locals. In Dracula tourism, other forms of heritage are also brought into association with those sites connected to Dracula. The addition of sites that are not connected to Dracula is very interesting because they are seemingly unnecessary to Dracula tourism as such. Despite this, these sites are significant elements in most of the Dracula tours operated by both Romanian and foreign travel agencies, even if those tours lack some key sites connected to the historical Dracula. The marketing of these sites is obviously seen as very important. In my opinion, this is a way to bring Romania's own cultural heritage out through Dracula tourism, which may be seen as strange and foreign by many Romanians. Questions about the right to portray a country in a certain way or to use or even abuse a country's heritage and folklore are themes that are also important in Dracula tourism. Can western conceptions about Dracula be considered as cultural heritage if they are seen as a threat to Romanian cultural heritage? The resistance against Dracula tourism has so far come from the so-called higher levels of society, including politicians, academics and the clergy. Yet, many young people with whom I have spoken in Romania seem to feel positive about Dracula tourism. It is interesting to see how Dracula tourism and Romanian attitudes towards it will

develop in the future. There are strong links between Dracula, mythical Transylvania and modern Romania, and it is highly unlikely that these links would simply vanish or disappear. Whether or not Dracula and Dracula tourism will blend more into Romanian culture remains to be seen.

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DRAKULSKI TURIZEM, FOLKLORA IN KULTURNA DEDIŠČINA

Drakulski turizem v Romuniji je turizem, ki je osredinjen bodisi na zgodovinskega Drakulo, vlaškega vladarja Vlada Nabadača, bodisi na izmišljenega vampirja Grofa Drakulo. V drakulskem turizmu se Vlad Nabadač in Grof Drakula pogosto spojita v enotni lik. To je sprožilo veliko protislovij, posebno v Romuniji, saj Drakula s tem dobiva povsem druge pomene, kakor jih je imel v Romuniji. Dodajanje nadnaravnih in tujih potez Vladu Nabadaču je čutiti kot ogrožanje izročila, saj je ta zgodovinska oseba pomembna za romunsko kulturo. Danes je zveza med Vladom Nabadačem in izmišljenim vampirjem Grofom Drakulo ne le v medijih in v popularni kulturi, temveč tudi v akademskih krogih tako močna, da jo lahko razumemo kot psevdotradicijo. Podoba Drakule v zahodni popularni kulturi vpliva na podobe o Vladu Nabadaču, o Transilvaniji in Romuniji.

V drakulovskem turizmu se dediščina in izročilo kaže na tri različne načine. Dodajanje zgodb iz romunske folklore določenim Drakulovim prizoriščem lahko razumemo kot način, kako jih povezujejo z romunsko kulturno dediščino. Dediščina se kaže tudi v tem, kako se določena prizorišča, ki z zgodovinskim ali izmišljenim Drakulo nimajo nikakršne zveze, oglašujejo in vključujejo v »Drakulska potovanja«. Hkrati dediščino prepoznavamo v odzivih in v diskurzih proti drakulskemu turizmu. Čeprav je bil turizem navadno razumljen kot ogrožanje dediščine in izročila, ju po avtorjevem mnenju prav lahko tudi spodbuja. Tako je na primer folklorno izročilo o Vladu Nabadaču v drakulskem turizmu morda najpomembnejše za ohranitev ustnega izročila o njem. Čeprav se dogaja v drugem okolju, izročilo še vedno deluje kot resnično, izvirno in živo.

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