# MOSFERATU EINE SYMPHOME DES ERFLENS

BFI FILM CLASSICS

KEVIN JACKSON

#### BFI Film Classics

The BFI Film Classics is a series of books that introduces, interprets and celebrates landmarks of world cinema. Each volume offers an argument for the film's 'classic' status, together with discussion of its production and reception history, its place within a genre or national cinema, an account of its technical and aesthetic importance, and in many cases, the author's personal response to the film.

For a full list of titles available in the series, please visit our website: www.bloomsbury.com/bfi

'Magnificently concentrated examples of flowing freeform critical poetry.' *Uncut* 

'A formidable body of work collectively generating some fascinating insights into the evolution of cinema.'

Times Higher Education Supplement

'The series is a landmark in film criticism.' Quarterly Review of Film and Video

'Possibly the most bountiful book series in the history of film criticism.' Jonathan Rosenbaum, *Film Comment* 

#### **Editorial Advisory Board**

**Geoff Andrew,** British Film Institute **Edward Buscombe** 

William Germano, The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art Lalitha Gopalan, University of Texas at Austin

Lee Grieveson, University College London Nick James, Editor, Sight & Sound Laura Mulvey, Birkbeck College, University of London Alastair Phillips, University of Warwick Dana Polan, New York University B. Ruby Rich, University of California, Santa Cruz

Amy Villarejo, Cornell University

# Nosferatu – Eine Symphonie des Grauens

Kevin Jackson





## To Sir Christopher Frayling 'The van Helsing de nos jours ...'

THE BRITISH FILM INSTITUTE Bloomsbury Publishing Plc 50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK 1385 Broadway, New York, NY 10018, USA

BLOOMSBURY is a trademark of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published in Great Britain by Palgrave in 2013 Reprinted by Bloomsbury in 2018 on behalf of the British Film Institute 21 Stephen Street, London W1T 1LN www.bfi.org.uk

The BFI is the lead organisation for film in the UK and the distributor of Lottery funds for film. Our mission is to ensure that film is central to our cultural life, in particular by supporting and nurturing the next generation of filmmakers and audiences. We serve a public role which covers the cultural, creative and economic aspects of film in the UK.

Copyright © Kevin Jackson, 2013

Kevin Jackson has asserted his/her right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as author of this work.

For legal purposes the Acknowledgements on pp. 6-7 constitute an extension of this copyright page.

Cover design: Julia Soboleva Series text design: ketchup/SE14

Images from Nosferatu - Eine Symphonie des Grauens, Prana Film; Shadow of the Vampire (E. Elias Merhige, 2000), © Shadow of the Vampire Ltd; The Fast Show (1994-2001), BBC

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers.

Bloomsbury Publishing Plc does not have any control over, or responsibility for, any third-party websites referred to or in this book. All internet addresses given in this book were correct at the time of going to press. The author and publisher regret any inconvenience caused if addresses have changed or sites have ceased to exist, but can accept no responsibility for any such changes.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: PB: 978-1-8445-7811-5 ePDF: 978-1-8445-7702-6

Series: BFI Film Classics

Typeset by Cambrian Typesetters, Camberley, Surrey

To find out more about our authors and books visit www.bloomsbury.com and sign up for our newsletters.

## Contents

Acknowledgments	6
Introduction	8
<b>1</b> Contexts	14
<b>2</b> Production	27
3 Nosferatu: Acts I and II	41
<b>4</b> Nosferatu: Acts III–V	69
<b>5</b> Release, Reactions, Reputation	94
<b>6</b> Afterlives	106
Notes	120
Credits	123
Select Bibliography	125

## Acknowledgments

This small book owes much to other, usually longer books. The biographical sketch of the director in Chapter 1 is based on Lotte Eisner's *Murnau*. Chapter 2 is indebted to the documentary *Language of Shadows*, written and directed by Luciano Berriatúa, and included in the Eureka! Masters of Cinema DVD edition of *Nosferatu*. Chapters 3 and 4 draw on Murnau's annotated copy of Galeen's screenplay, translated into English by Gertud Mander and published as an appendix to Eisner's *Murnau*. Chapter 5's account of the Florence Stoker law suit draws on David J. Skal's witty and scholarly explorations in *Hollywood Gothic*. (See Select Bibliography.)

Other published sources are recorded in the endnotes.

Anne Billson, who has probably forgotten more about vampire cinema than I will ever know, was kind enough to read the manuscript and make valuable comments. Maryam Imani unearthed a fascinating trove of Max Shreck images. Michael Brooke, an expert in Czech surrealism, put me onto the remarkable essay about Murnau by the author of *Valerie and Her Week of Wonders*. Gary Lachman, the musician and occult scholar, helped provide the links between Albin Grau and Aleister Crowley. David Thompson, as so often, generously gave me rare DVDs, including a long-forgotten BBC documentary on Dracula presented by Daniel Farson – a descendant of Bram Stoker. John Archer showed me his 1982 *Writers and Places* documentary about Gabriel García Márquez, who became a lifelong fan of *Nosferatu* after seeing it several times at an open-air cinema in his home town, the place immortalised in *One Hundred Years of Solitude*.

My thanks to Sophia Contento at BFI Publishing for her tolerance of my cyber-incompetence and to Julia Soboleva for her brilliant if alarming art work.

Finally: this book is a happy by-product of almost thirty years of delightful conversations about cinema, vampires, the occult and all manner of other recondite matters with my dear friend Sir Christopher Frayling, to whom it is dedicated with admiration, affection and gratitude.

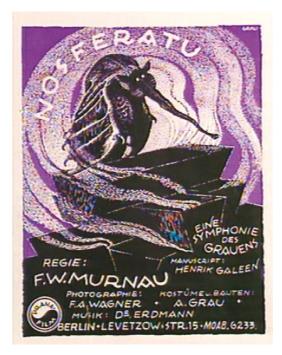
> ΚJ June 2013

### Introduction

Nosferatu is a magnet for superlatives. Pauline Kael, who summed up its prevailing mood as 'superbly loathsome', declared that 'this first important film of the vampire genre has more spectral atmosphere, more ingenuity and more imaginative ghoulish ghastliness than any of its successors'. A. O. Scott, a film critic for the New York Times, spoke for countless others when he called it 'the first great vampire film'. In 2001, Roger Ebert (who died as this small book was being written: RIP) said that 'The best of all vampire movies is *Nosferatu* ... Its eerie power only increases with age. Watching it, we don't think about screenplays or special effects. We think: this movie believes in vampires.' A German critic. Andreas Kilb, wrote that 'No later horror film has ever out-done the horror' of its image of the death ship gliding into Bremen.<sup>2</sup> The film historian Angela Dalle Vacche noted, correctly, that 'No other film about vampires ... has received such weighty critical attention.'3

And the superlatives continue to pile up even when the film is not being considered primarily as a horror movie. Robert Desnos, the Surrealist poet, once called it 'the most beautiful film ever made'.<sup>4</sup> Perez suggested that it is 'perhaps the greatest of Weimar films' which 'endures as one of the most resonant and unsettling responses that has been made in art to the death that inescapably awaits us'.<sup>5</sup> *Magazine Litteraire* once called it 'le premiere film culte de l'histoire' – the first-ever cult movie.

As with the film, so with its director, F. W. Murnau. For Lotte Eisner, Murnau was 'the greatest film director the Germans have ever known ... He created the most overwhelming and poignant images in the whole German Cinema.' Werner Herzog, who revered Eisner, agreed with her view. *Nosferatu*, he believes, is 'the greatest of all



Albin Grau's poster for the 1922 release of Nosferatu

German films', 7 a 'masterpiece' by a director who is the equal of Griffith, Pudovkin, Buñuel and Kurosawa. Stan Brakhage, not entirely sympathetic to Murnau, none the less calls him 'perhaps the greatest story-teller Cinema has yet fostered'. 8 Frank Hansen, who worked with Murnau, recalled that:

He knew exactly what he wanted. He wanted perfection and each finished film was the result of meticulous care. He brought to the cinema a culture, a knowledge of production, a sense of artistic beauty and of lighting which until today have known no equal.9

And Thomas Elsaesser notes that Murnau is generally agreed to be 'German cinema's most exquisite Romantic poet'.<sup>10</sup>

Such examples could probably be multiplied into a whole book, but the upshot is plain: *Nosferatu* now enjoys an all but unassailable status as a classic. This is a little surprising, not simply because horror films are sometimes treated with snobbish disdain, but for a number of less obvious reasons. Apart from provoking a wildly enthusiastic response from the Surrealists in Paris, who immediately adopted Murnau's vampire as one of their own, most of the early reviews outside Germany were lukewarm to poor: in New York, audiences were reputed to have been snoring their way through the projection. When it was shown in London by the Film Society, the programme note sniffed that it combined 'the ridiculous and the horrid'. 11 Even in Germany, where most of the reviews were excellent, it found only a small audience, lost money and drove its production company into bankruptcy within a matter of weeks. Then Florence Stoker, the widow of the man who wrote its unacknowledged source novel Dracula, won her law suit against the producers and had, so it seemed at the time, all prints and negatives destroyed.

Of course, like a vampire, Nosferatu rose again 12 - though not, at first, very high. Its reputation more or less dissolved until the end of the 1940s, when Siegfried Kracauer's much-discussed 'psychological history' of pre-war German cinema, From Caligari to Hitler, recovered the film from neglect and attested to its prophetic quality as a carrier for German national nightmares. Count Orlok, he suggested, was one of the tyrant figures, like Lang's Dr Mabuse, who prefigured Hitler. 'The German soul, haunted by the alternate images of tyrannic rule and instinct-covered chaos, tossed about in gloomy space like the phantom ship in NOSFERATU.'13

But the real turning points in Nosferatu's critical reputation came with Lotte Eisner's fine study of Weimar cinema, L'Écran Démoniaque (1952, revised 1965; translated into English as The Haunted Screen in 1969) and then her monograph Murnau (1964, translated 1973). Eisner, who disagreed with many of Kracauer's contentions, made a brilliant case for the artistic excellence of several films by Murnau: she said of Nosferatu - an argument that seemed perversely ingenious in its day, but is now a commonplace – that this film of hideous sights is also rapturously beautiful:

He films the fragile form of a white cloud scudding over the dunes, while the wind from the Baltic plays among the scarce blades of grass. His camera lingers over a filigree of branches standing out against a spring sky at twilight. He makes us feel the freshness of a meadow in which horses gallop around with a marvellous lightness ...

In a film by Murnau every shot has its precise function and is entirely conceived with an eye to its participation in the action. The momentary close-up of a detail of billowing sails is as necessary to the action as the image preceding it - the high-angle shot of the current sweeping away the raft and its sinister cargo.14

She credits Murnau, that is, not with a conventional (and facile) eye for the picturesque, but with an almost mystical vision of landscape, seascapes, architecture and animals as the essential components of his work of supernatural art. (Both Kracauer and Eisner cite a potent phrase from the German-Hungarian Béla Balázs, who wrote in an early account that the film is swept by 'glacial draughts of air from the beyond'. 15)

In the wake of *The Haunted Screen*, commentary on the film began to proliferate. By and large, it was only specialist writers like Eisner, with privileged access to film archives (in her case, the Cinémathèque Française in Paris, where Henri Langlois kept a print of the 1926 French version of *Nosferatu* among his treasures), who had a chance to make up their minds. In the USA, most viewers knew it only from chopped-down versions shown late at night on television, or from stills published in Famous Monsters of Filmland and other magazines aimed at baby-boomers with ghoulish tastes.

So it is only in the last couple of decades that, thanks to the labours of archivists and film restorers in different countries, 16 we have been able to see adequate, let alone more or less complete (and correctly tinted)<sup>17</sup> versions of the film. Though the likes of André Breton and Robert Desnos caught on while Murnau was still alive, most of the people who love the film first encountered it in quite recent years.

At this point, it would usually be the custom to state that the power of the film has remained undiminished. This would not be entirely honest; and even those who consider the film a masterpiece would usually concede that it is not a flawless masterpiece. Much of the acting (especially that of Granach as Knock) is embarrassingly overstated or simply unconvincing. Some of the special effects – especially the accelerated motion of Nosferatu's coach – now seem more comical than frightening, especially to younger viewers, or at least those younger viewers who are innocent of most silent films. Much the same can be said of the vampire's make-up. Words such as 'silly', 'corny' or 'dated' are sometimes just.

But not always. Given a degree of suspended disbelief, the vampire and his actions continue to be chilling; as has often been said. Orlok seems far more convincing as a horrific corpse than any other member of the undead in cinema history. His first approach to Hutter at night-time in the castle can still frighten and disturb; as can his appearance – brilliantly staged – on board ship, or the dreadful sight of his face staring with blank malice and hunger from his window in the ruined house in Bremen.

And Eisner's ardent evocation of the film's intense beauty at certain points grows more convincing with the years. Some of the visions of land and sea threaten to up-stage the horrors; others, like the shots of horses being stalked at night, or the lowering skies, or – above all - the Empusa entering dock, combine beauty and terror to a degree that has seldom been rivalled.

Beauty and terror are at the heart of what makes Nosferatu a classic film, if by 'classic' we mean something that is not safely dead and tucked away in the dictionaries of cinema, but still has potency and life – here, the unsettling life-in-death that has been termed 'the

uncanny'. 18 Nosferatu can still enthral a sympathetic audience when screened, and continue to haunt long after the final frame.

It is large; it contains multitudes: the 'convulsive beauty' adumbrated by the Surrealists, Balázs's 'glacial terror', Kracauer's social and political dimensions, Eisner's highly cultivated artistry ... and much else. The film has also been read as a coded commentary on Murnau's status as an outsider - he was gay at a time when the sexual laws of his country were Draconian - and, fancifully, as a pure exercise in camp, whose central character is not 'Max Shreck', but another Max: Murnau's theatrical mentor Max Reinhardt. 19 In one version of this fantasia, it is Murnau who plays Nosferatu; in another, Nosferatu himself.20

Nosferatu has been seen as a self-reflexive film, one that plays with metaphoric links between cinema and vampirism. (All its actors are now dead; but they come back to life when the film is projected or played.) Small wonder, as the novelist Anne Billson said, 21 that Murnau's film invented the convention that vampires vanish in the daylight: so do films, which can only thrive in the dark.

In the following chapters, I will elaborate on these topics and possibilities, and hope to add at least one other, seldom discussed ingredient to an already heady mix: the film's origins in German and international occult societies, and, above all, the important part played in its development by the shadowy figure of Albin Grau, who smuggled in references to occult masters from Athanasius Kircher to Paracelsus, like Orlok smuggling his earth-laden, rat-infested coffins into Bremen.

Let us begin with the most dreadful of the events that quickened Nosferatu into being: World War I.