

A TOURISTIC APPROACH OF A LITERARY AND GEOGRAPHICAL SPACE: TRANSYLVANIA

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Abstract. *Studying Transylvania as a literary and geographical space or as a geo-literary space also involves an approach from the field of cultural tourism studies. As a geographical and historical region of Romania, Transylvania is one of the most notorious tourist destinations in the world. Its literary notoriety plays an important role in attracting tourists and building the region's touristic image(ry) often considered as a social and cultural construct due to its West-East antithesis. In this paper, we study the interconnectivity between works of fiction as created cultural forms and their impact on tourism industry and consumer society. The tourist is thus perceived both as a consumer and homo ludens in the postmodern contemporary context. Therefore, the focus is on the acknowledgement that fictional is employed in the non-fictional framework so as to produce anthropic tourist attractions. In the present study, we took into account the fictional profile of Transylvania as a framework for the phenomenon of escapism, which involves the traveller-reader binomial. Thus, studying the ways and means through which the illusion of the fictional is nowadays perpetuated into these places and used to attract avid readers and cinephiles is one of the main research targets.*

Keywords: Transylvania, geoliteraryspace, tourist image(ry), traveller-reader binomial, chronotope

"To read and to journey are one and the same act."
Michel Serres (quoted in Soja, 1996)

1. Argument

This paper gives a short overview of some general features of a notorious literary site or a geoliterary place – *Transylvania*. Merely stating the European and international fame Transylvania enjoys has become a truism. The historical and

geographical province of Transylvania has long turned into a quasi-universally renowned tourist brand.

There is an intricate connection between literature and tourism which has had a long history, most likely beginning with the notorious and successful story of Penguin paperback editions which started in 1934, when Sir Allan Lane, standing on a platform in Exeter after paying a visit to Agatha Christie, discovered there were no good titles to offer for the journey. Since then, many studies have shown that travellers at airports, railway stations and bus terminals tend to buy newspapers but also novels, or bring books from home on their journey. In addition, tourists most often consult guide books and maps to discover more facts about the city they will visit.

As Michel de Certeau states, "What the map cuts up, the story cuts across. In Greek, narration means «diegesis»: it establishes an itinerary (it «guides») and it passes through (it «transgresses»)" (1984: 129). The ultimate way to fully comprehend a place is to know it also through the literature that is set there and, by imagining characters and events in that same place, the reader constructs a place as well.

The dialectics of space is explained by Henri Lefebvre in his seminal study *The Production of Space* (1991), where he differentiates the following: *espace perçu* (perceived space), *espace conçu* (conceived space) and *espace vécu* (lived space). The *espace vécu* is the most relevant as the space of representation that can contain all real and imagined spaces simultaneously, where the imagination overlays the physical space. Thus, when visiting an historical and geographical region as Transylvania after reading about it in the *Dracula* novel, readers can merge the mindscape they based on the book and the real "regionscape" right before their eyes into one unique experience, the *literary tourism*.

The urge to get away, to travel, blends the phenomenon of *escapism* into the world of fiction. For literary tourists the primal source of escapism comes from the novels they read, inciting the desire to visit the place(s) mentioned in the books. Thus, the so-called "derived escapism" transcends from literature into tourism. The illusion of the fictional world is perpetuated into the real locations used to attract avid readers and cinema buffs alike. Their escapism is based on the *chronotope* (Bakhtin, 1981) used in the book and films, when

they visit cities or other places and spaces described in the fictional worlds. After having read a book, the reader is inspired to visit the locations of the city described in the works of literature, they thus acquire palimpsestic features. The so-called *flâneur* experiences the city, its streets and inhabitants, wanders aimlessly and translates afterwards all this into words in the urban narrative (Benjamin, 1968). Furthermore, the reader acts as a *flâneur*, while he/she walks through the city and observes it in search of the places portrayed in his/her favourite works of literature. The literary tourists can be considered as *flâneurs renversés* since they wish to perceive the city they are visiting in the way it was described in the text.

2. Delimiting and characterising Transylvania as a geographical and historical region

2.1. Etymology

The regionym “Transylvania” is a composite of *trans* (“over”, “across”) and *silva* (“forest”), which, if translated, would result in the phrase “across the forest”. It was first mentioned in 1075 in the form *Ultra Silvam*, followed by *Ultrasilvanus*, in Anonymus’s *Gesta Hungarorum* of 1111. A new placename surfaces in the 13th century, that of *Septem Castra*, translated by the Saxons as *Siebenbürgen*, meaning “the Seven Citadels” (Kronstadt, Schässburg, Mediasch, Hermannstadt, Mühlbach, Bistritz and Klausenburg).

2.2. Establishing Transylvania’s framework and delimiting it spatially

Transylvania is a historical and geographical province of Romania, which borders the following historical regions: Bucovina to the north-east, Moldavia to the east, Wallachia (“Muntenia”) and Oltenia to the south, Banat and Crişana to the west, Sătmar and Maramureş to the north. Delimiting this geographical region has been and still is a very complicated undertaking, as one could deduce from the specialised literature, the various works that deal with this region containing very different points of view in this regard.

However, if one were to consult the literature on this topic, one would notice a certain convergence of opinions towards classifying the central part of the country (the Transylvanian Plateau and the Carpathian slopes leaning towards it) as

inherently belonging to the Transylvanian area. Thus, the territory of Transylvania – considering its narrowest meaning, which will be used throughout this paper – covers the counties of Alba, Bihor, Bistrița-Năsăud, Brașov, Cluj, Covasna, Harghita, Hunedoara, Mureș, 24 local units in the county of Sălaj and Lăpuș Country in the county of Maramureș. For pragmatic reasons and for the improvement of the degree of functionality of the concepts and of the research methodology, the county of Sălaj was included in the study in its entirety.

2.3. Defining Transylvaniaspatially

The first variant of the regionym *Transylvania* refers to the macroregion which, during the Middle Ages, was branded as “The Voivodeship of Transylvania” or “The Transylvanian Voivodeship” (etymologically speaking, “the land across the forests”), its surface adding up to approximately 57,000 km², with a population of ca 4,300,000 inhabitants. Closely related to this opinion is the view that the term *Transylvania* can also convey a narrower meaning, pertaining strictly to the area flanked by the Carpathians (i.e. the similarly named Transylvanian Plateau), thus delimited by the Eastern Carpathians (“Orientali”), the Southern ones (“Meridionali”) and the Western ones (“Apuseni”).

The second variant of the term is a more widely encompassing one, also including, at a much greater extent, Crișana, Sătmar and Maramureș, i.e. the “Western Lands” or “Partium”, which were added to the historical inner Carpathian nucleus after mid 15th century, constitutingtogether the Principality of Transylvania.

Sometimes the name “Transylvania” is postulated with an even wider meaning, being equated with those parts of Romania west of the Eastern Carpathians and north of the Southern Carpathians, thus including Banat as well.

3. Transylvania’s tourist attractions

The ensemble of tourist attractions of this area shows an exceptional variety and complementarity, endowing Transylvania with the privileged status of a complex, yet unitary tourist region, conferred with an indisputable individuality concerning imagery and representation, profoundly inoculated in the collective conscience of tourists.

3.1. The natural tourist attractions

The attractions of this typology are associated with the natural tourism potential, including the natural frame and all the components belonging to it, in a territory. The natural frame assembly, including elements circumscribed by it, is attracting a segment of real or potential tourists (Ciangă, N., 2007).

As a short overview, we shall enumerate the most significant categories of natural and anthropic attractions in Transylvania. We can thus identify the following **natural tourist attractions**:

As a short overview, we shall enumerate the most significant categories of natural tourism attractions in Transylvania, as follows:

- *landscape with a scenic value: glacial or volcanic landscapes, landscapes based on limestone or conglomerates, Carpathian valleys, salt karst;*
- *climatic and bioclimatic resources: bioclimatic indices, aeroionisation as a physiotherapy factor, climatotherapy, the biological effect of climate, bioclimate;*
- *hydrogeographical resources: hydrochemical types (carbonated water, salty or chlorosodic water, alkaline water, alkaline earth water, iodinated water, thermomineral water, hydromineral ores), peloids, surface waters, the hydrographical network;*
- *biogeographical resources: phytogeographical (vegetation) and zoogeographical (fauna, including game and fishes).*

3.2. The anthropic tourist attractions

The anthropic heritage tourism function is complementary to that of the natural heritage or derived from this, and it may become dominant in order of capitalization, with multiple beneficial effects for transylvanian communities and environment. As a defining identity attribute, which marks the studied area, multiculturalism is highly visible in the multiple cultural and ethnographic interferences.

The most noteworthy anthropic tourism resources are the cultural/historical attractions, of which we briefly mention further.

The most noteworthy **anthropic attractions** are the *cultural/historical resources*, of which we briefly mention further:

- *archaeological vestiges pertaining to prehistory and the Dacian and Roman civilisations;*
- *mediaeval historical/cultural sights;*
- *cultural sights with tourism functions;*
- *economic sights dating from the modern and contemporary age, with tourism functions;*
- *resources belonging to traditional rural culture and civilisation.*

4. Literary tourism

Literary tourism is a kind of tourism where tourists visit either places associated with an author or locations featured in literary work (Hoppen, 2014: 1). Literary tourism can thus be regarded as a form of cultural or heritage tourism (Herbert, 2001: 313, Hoppen, 2014: 3).

Within the definition of cultural tourism as “forms of tourism that highlight the cultural, heritage or artistic aspects of a destination or experiences and activities for a tourist” (Douglas, N. et al, 2001: 114), *literary tourism* and *fiction induced tourism* can be regarded as a part of cultural tourism since the tourists base their visits on literature as a cultural product. It should be underlined that both literary tourism and fiction induced tourism represent a relatively recent field of research in *thematic tourism*. Nevertheless the definitions vary and there are still views denying the very phenomenon of literary tourism such as Jafari’s explanation from the *Encyclopedia of Tourism*, because he rightly incorporates in his interpretation the idea of travelling through *space and time*, a fusion of *mythical, historical* and *fictional* aspects.

“Literary tourism is a form of tourism in which the primary motivation for visiting specific locations is related to an interest in literature. This may include visiting past and present homes of authors (living and dead), real and mythical places described in literature, and locations affiliated with characters and events in literature. Regions strongly associated with an author may be marketed in that vein, such as «Shakespeare Country»”. (Jafari, 2000: 360).

However, the term

“literary tourism” includes ambiguity in itself, as Nicole Watson remarked: “The embarrassment of the literary tourism is encapsulated in the very phrase, which yokes «literature» – with its longstanding claims to high, national culture, and its current aura of high-brow difficulty and professionalism – with «tourism», trailing its pejorative connotations of mass popular culture, mass travel, unthinking and unrefined consumption debased consumables, amateurishness and inauthenticity” (Watson, 2009: 5).

Literary tourism is an important form of thematic tourism in many countries. The literary sites attract a large number of both domestic and foreign visitors. This paper gives a brief introduction in literary tourism, literary tours and qualities of a literary place, focusing on Transylvania.

Any place associated with a writer or his work may be turned into a tourist attraction, which forms the basis of literary tourism. There are two major types of literary places: those oriented towards a fictional character or setting and those focusing on an author. Literary places may vary in their appearance and grandeur ranging from plaques on the houses associated with authors or statues in public places to writers’ house museums or houses associated with the fictional life of characters. Most literary places are considered cultural heritage and are open to public in the form of museums or places of interest included in cultural tours. Some of these places are accommodation points which tourists may rent at various prices. Sometimes the literary places are not buildings, but may be anything from a railway line associated with a writer or character to a landmark that may have served as an inspiration for a masterpiece. The writers’ graves may also be places of literary pilgrimage for tourists and most of them are located within churches or graveyards.

5. Literary tourism as a form of thematic tourism

As already stated, literary tourism can be considered a specific form of thematic tourism referring to the tourists who visit places described in literature or used as locations in films that

are based on novels. Regarding the chronotope, literary tourists tend to visit places that were accurately portrayed in books, and those that were used as an inspiration for fantastical settings in literature (Smith, 2012: 12).

When it comes to places that exist but could not have been used by the characters due to anachronism, the *reader-tourist* will take them as real in a special way. Thus, the castle described in *Dracula* (Bran Castle?) is still regarded as a fortification but also associated with the novel. Therefore, it can be said that places in literary tourism have a *twofold function*: one the one hand there are *real places* available to all tourists and, on the other hand, there are *imagined places* attracting reader-tourists. *Fictional places* may be based on real locations, but they are not necessarily accurate reconstructions of *existing places*, they are “disguised places” (Robinson, 2002), imaginary locations having real ones as a model, to a certain extent the framework and scenery are re-invented and recreated in the work of fiction.

There are many theories analysing the tourists’ expectations. Some authors claim that tourists prefer staying in the “environmental bubble” and choosing “pseudo-events”, whereas others hold that tourists would rather go for “staged authenticity” (Smith, 2012: 15). In accordance with this division, it can be assumed that literary tourists are content to visit places described in novels and plays, even though they are fully aware of the fact that the chronotope used in the works of literature does not always have a real support. Smith states that “the conditions of inventiveness and believability also extend to the settings in which a writer places a story or poem, thereby figuratively transporting the reader to these places, whether real or fictitious” (Smith, 2013: 26).

The literary tourists may be further divided into two categories. The first one includes those who visit places related to their favourite writers, such as birthplaces, monuments, writers’ memorial houses where they wrote their oeuvre, or cemeteries where they were buried. The second category of literary tourists would include those who visit places – villages, towns, cities, regions, countries – linked to the chronotope itself, such as the location used as the backdrop of events described in novels. The last ones are thus seen as *lieux*

d'imagination (places in the imagination), used as tourist attractions or landmarks (Smith, 2013: 31).

As mentioned above, literary tourism has not yet received its due attention, and it might be said that literary tourists are the *flâneurs* wandering aimlessly in bookshops, searching for references in vain. Apart from city guide books that may occasionally include descriptions of recommended places of interest for book-lovers, there are just few guide books available that target literary tourists exclusively such as *Novel Destinations: Literary Landmarks from Jane Austen's Bath to Ernest Hemingway's Key West* by Shannon McKenna Schmidt. Another fine example is *The Oxford Guide to Literary Britain and Ireland* by Daniel Hahn and Nicolas Robins. More information is to be found on the web pages that offer guided trails for the literati, for example: <https://britmovietours.com/>.

6. Literary tourists

Literary tourists in the narrower sense may be considered as people with particular interest in literature who

“are prepared to travel long distances to experience places linked with writers of prose, drama or poetry (...). Literary pilgrims in this sense are well educated tourists, versed in the classics and with the cultural capital to appreciate and understand this form of heritage” (Herbert, 2001: 313).

The majority of visitors to literary places are not “literary pilgrims” in the narrow sense. Most of them are people generally interested in the cultural heritage of a place who visit other landmarks of cultural interest along with literary heritage sites. Very often they are holidaymakers in the area who wish to complement their visit with an outstanding experience that is both educational and entertaining (Herbert, 2001: 325, 326).

General interest in cultural heritage sites in a particular area, spending a holiday nearby, school trips and excursions or event tourism are thus the more significant driving force behind visits to places of literary interest than in-depth knowledge of appreciation of the author, which would be a characteristic of “real” fans. It is worth noticing that the main reasons for visiting a particular literary heritage location may vary from site to site as well as the perception of the visitors.

7. Features of a literary place as a tourist attraction

There are many facets of a literary place that must be taken into account while assessing it as a tourist attraction (Herbert, 2001).

The value of a literary place certainly depends on the importance and fame of the author, so marketing the author can increase the number of visitors to the place which explains why films popularize a particular writer matter so much for the rise in popularity of the literary site.

The attractiveness of the framework, comprising the features of natural scenery (mountains, rivers, lakes etc.) as well as a layout created by the tourism developers (thematic hotels, parks, festivals, etc.) is also really important for the visitors' perception and evaluation of a literary place.

The role of the tour guide is also indispensable. His skills, enthusiasm and in-depth knowledge are crucial at literary sites. Relatively short quotations are also a must in a tour guide's speech on literary sites. In this context, the quality of the presentation of an author is also an issue of great importance especially because certain trivialization and simplification of the writer and his work may happen in the course of popularization of a literary place. This is particularly obvious in case of festivals and souvenirs, meaning that the current rising number of visitors attending an event or the quantity of souvenirs sold may not correspond to the level of quality and authenticity of the presentation of authors and their work (Curtis, 2008: 10, 23).

The positioning of a literary place in the media, including availability and quality of information and the way it is presented on websites can determine the attractiveness of the literary place to potential tourists, especially independent travelers (post-tourists).

8. Literary tours

The literary tourism can refer either to independent travel to literary places or to different kinds of organized tours. These tours can be divided into several categories, some of which may partially overlap. Literary tours can be focused on the life of an author, where the author's house(s) along with its surroundings is(are) of particular interest to visitors (Lucian Blaga's memorial house from Lančrăm, Ion Creangă's memorial house -

surnamed *bojdeuca*¹ – from Iași). The same kind of tours can be broadened in the way of linking towns or villages connected with several authors who used to live there (area-based tours). These kind of thematic tours can show the versatility or richness of literary heritage of a place, yet they may be overloaded with information and thus affect the experience of visitors who may prefer to focus on a single author. If a village, town, city (Iași, Botoșani) or region (Transylvania) are particularly rich in famous authors, there is a good option to organize several tours dedicated to groups of authors belonging to the same period or literary style (period-based tours). These tours are especially suitable for capital cities or regional centers where a number of authors used to live in different periods or epochs. Another type of very popular literary tours is the one oriented towards fictional characters or settings types of writing, mainly novels and stories.

Roughly speaking, visiting writers' memorial houses belongs to the category of bio(biblio)graphical tours, but at a closer look, it is very evident that it can easily merge with setting-oriented tours, as a writer's travels and his or her house and its surroundings may have inspired some of his or her literary work. Therefore, a part of the appeal of the literary places and landmarks to visitors may be ascribed to the visitors' need to perceive a parallel between a real and fictional world in which it was mirrored. Sometimes, however, there is no plausible connection between the author's birthplace, his place of living and his life and travel experience and the purpose and framework of his fictional work, but the very discrepancy between these two may be exactly what tourists find particularly interesting, as in the case of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*.

The literary tourism takes different forms and it can be analyzed in a differentiated way, from even-based tourism, creative writing courses or "pilgrimage" to places where writers lived or died. In this paper, we would like to give an overview and focus on the role of the fictional in creating tourist attractions through the example of one tour related to a famous literary work, namely Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. This example is employed to look into more intangible aspects of heritage tourism and the ways these aspects play the role in attracting

¹In Romanian.

the increasing number of tourists/readers. Thus, themed trails in Transylvania blend the region featured in books and films with guides' commentaries that include quotations from literary texts, *all together into one tourist product* and one example of a literary tour will be examined in what follows.

9. Bram Stoker and the Dracula Tour: *We seem to be drifting into unknown places and unknown ways*²

The Dracula Tour to Transylvania and the mysterious Carpathian Mountains became increasingly popular. The itinerary entails visiting several different notorious places of tourist interest, i.e. Sighișoara, the most preserved medieval place in Romania and the only inhabited one, where *Vlad Țepeș*³, alleged *Dracula* mostly by a non-historical error, was born în 1431, then the *Brașov* centre and the *Bran Castle* where *Vlad Țepeș* was imprisoned. Thematically, *Transylvania tours* are mostly organized during the fall and the time of Halloween, which is interestingly enough and it was examined within the scope of dark tourism. All these facts once again indicate a complete postmodernist reconstruction/deconstruction of existing places, they are “disguised places” (Robinson, 2002), where again and again the factual and fictional intertwine. Most probably, the real geography and the fantastical geographies – combined –, of Transylvania, as a remote, wild and exotic place with bizarre characters spur the imagination of the avid travelers.

In *Places of the Imagination*, Reijnders (2011: 243) stated that many Dracula tourists were drawn to the story “because of its dark-romantic mix of eroticism and violence” – reminding their “inner experience”. Naturally, the feeling has been evoked ever since Romanticism, when the idea that ugliness and beauty create one perfect whole was stated. It is also associated with *the Gothic*, characterized by twilight, horror, haunted castles, decay, strange creatures and overpowering landscape. Therefore, the inspiration for modern-day travelers to Transylvania can be traced back to the romantic work of

²Stoker, B. *Dracula*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (1998), p. 357.

³Vlad Țepeș, Vlad Dracul (in Romanian) or Vlad the Impaler (1431-1476) was a Prince of Wallachia, well-known in Romania's national history as very cruel and bloody but the most righteous. See <http://www.bran-castle.com/history.html>

Abraham “Bram” Stoker – Dracula. His Gothic novel itself is a perfect example of reinventing spaces, because even though the author travelled immensely, he never visited Eastern Europe, the framework for his masterpiece.

Consequently, Romanticism is characterized through another important trait, Western perception and imagery of the East as exotic, wild, irrational and unrestrained.⁴ Additionally, the Romanticism introduced legends, myths and folkloristic elements into the tales despite the fact that frequently these elements were not necessarily authentic, but rather invented and false. Such is the story created by Stoker who relied on Ármin Vámbéry’s⁵ knowledge on Transylvanian culture and studied European folklore, mythological stories of vampires, as well as the Romanian history where he encountered the name and figure of *Vlad Ţepeş*, wrongfully associated with the character of Dracula. This fact only emphasized the problem of reconciling the *fictional* with the *factual* as well as links between *time* and *spaces/places*, Vlad the Impaler being the prince of Wallachia and the fictional Dracula entirely associated with Transylvania.

Furthermore, the character that suffers from the the curse of immortality and sucks human blood was not only built on legends and Stoker’s novel it was again recreated in popular culture⁶, one of the most famous ones in undoubtedly Francis Coppola’s adaptation of *Dracula* in 1992.

Regarding mass tourism, it can be clearly perceived that that prevailing atmosphere around the rudimental Bran Castle is far from creating the effect of creepy and horror. Contrary to the ingrained idea, the atmosphere is rather *Disneylandesque*.⁷ In

⁴For example, detailed references to the idea of Western fictionalization of the East can be found in Vesna Goldsworthy’s *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination*.

⁵Hungarian writer and traveller, there are a few allusions to him throughout the novel in a character of Professor Van Helsing. He is depicted as a mysterious expert in Transylvania’s culture.

⁶There were and are numerous film and stage adaptations, short stories, cartoons for children, comics, video games, TV series all associated with the legend on Dracula.

⁷See http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g295394-d318167-r131504102-Bran_Castle_Dracula_s_Castle-Brasov_Brasov_County_Central_Romania_Transylvania.html.

the foothills of the castle, there is a market selling kitschy souvenirs and products, all inspired by the legend about count Dracula, i.e. exquisite wines are better sold as Trueblood, Vampire, Dracula, Chateau du Vampire Midnight Rendezvous, etc. Along with all this, there were governmental initiatives to create a Dracula Park⁸ hoping to stimulate inbound mass tourism in Romania.

10. Conclusion

The reconstruction of spaces through time and literary imagination is evidently reflected in tourist experience and various tourist practices and products. Literary tourism as such can be differentiated at so many levels, in terms of links with the authors and their works of fiction, as a cultural pilgrimage, as event-based tourism or educational tourism. The basic reason for travelling beyond pages can be explained through a desire for escapism or simply a frivolous materialistic and consumerist pleasure. The postmodern traveler/reader flocks to the places of interest that were first imaginatively constructed as archetypes of love, life, death, wisdom, good and evil. These places, these *chronotopes*, are consequently sought and found in reality independently from the factual or historical truth.

In the above analysis, we exemplified *the paradigm of perceived, conceived and lived spaces*, as well as the dialectic relations between high-brow and popular culture. Herbert rightly suggested “there is a merging of the real and the imagined that gives such places special meaning” (Herbert, 2001: 314) and that can be employed to instill the impulse to pursue our fantasies. So, we wanted to emphasize the fact that spaces should be regarded as unfixed, extended and transformed.

Transylvania most probably does need its legendary and phantasmagorical aura to flourish as a tourist destination. The panoply of cultural tourist attractions may certify its vocation for tourism, independently of the all too frequent association with condemnable make-believe which is parallel to the territorial reality. Of course, we do not deny the great

⁸The Dracula (theme) Park was a project of the Romanian government, initiated in 2001 by Dan Matei Agathon, ex-Minister of Tourism. The project was a notorious failure.

importance of the fictional, mythical/legendary component in attracting tourists, not only in Transylvania, but anywhere else in the world. For that purpose, we consider that a viable alternative likely to be offered in opposition to the improbable and vain attempts at dissociating the “despotic” image of Dracula, the Transylvanian vampire – who often even coincides with the imagery of the region – from the external tourism-oriented imagery of Transylvania, would be to recover it from the point of view of folklore, a step that would legitimize it, would fortify the autochthonous element in it, identifying Dracula with characters acknowledged by the Romanian rural collective mind-set.

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