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The Werewolf Pack: a Cinematic Metamorphosis

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In "Lia," a 2011 episode of the BBC television show *Being Human*, the werewolf Tom (Michael Socha) is told by his adoptive father (Robson Green) that they are in search of the werewolf pack. This pack proves elusive; at the end of the series Tom learns that it is only a fiction, although he has met other werewolves in the meantime ("The Wolf-Shaped Bullet"). Within the universe of the show this is more or less logical. Its werewolf may be viewed as a "feminized figure" (Creed 1993:124). George (Russell Tovey), the main werewolf character of *Being Human*, has his "time of the month," and many other elements are inspired by Josh Whedon's *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and its off-shoot *Angel*, which display a similar kind of werewolf in the character of Oz: not a monster but merely a human who had an unfortunate accident (cf. Jowett 2004:125). This particular type of werewolf is usually single and not part of a pack. The creator of the BBC show, Toby Whithouse, would have been inspired by the *Buffy* episode "Phases," which in turn quoted other werewolf films (Topping 2004:92). George's girlfriend Nina (Sinead Keenan), who he infects at the end of the first series, has the same name as the female werewolf in *Angel*. To erase all doubt, Whithouse lets of one of his characters in the first episode of the second series point this out ("Cure and Contagion"). *Being Human*, original and intelligent as it is, often refers to Whedon's work, whether in character traits, particular scenes, or the use of flashbacks into supernatural history.

The issue of the werewolf pack has been less slippery for other filmmakers and authors. Next to the traditional single werewolf, packs have indeed made their appearance. During the last two decades of the twentieth century, they constituted one of the attempts to renew the werewolf image. This is easily noticeable when *An American Werewolf in London* (1981) is compared with its "sequel" *An American Werewolf in Paris* (1997). Whereas the first portrays the lone werewolf with a powerless girlfriend, the second went overboard with a female lead

who is a werewolf: the American students in Paris are lured into a temporary club which houses a whole pack of the creatures.[1] But why would these changes be of interest to folklorists, or the student of contemporary legends in particular?

This article purports to give answers to both the question of the folklorist's intervention in werewolf films, or "popular culture" in general, as well as to the peculiar issue of the werewolf pack. For this, I argue, it is useful to consider screen werewolves in their historical sequence. I have selected five of the first werewolf films that display a werewolf pack: *The Howling* (1981), *Wolfen* (1981), *An American Werewolf in Paris* (1997), *Underworld* (2003), and *Blood and Chocolate* (2007).[2] While part of the overall drive to readdress the werewolf image from the early 1980s onwards, packs also deflect from the problem of the single werewolf, especially when they turn into mindless killers. The concept of "otherness" may prove helpful to discuss these changes, although it concerns an "otherness" in a familiar setting instead of an alien one. This interpretation in cultural terms takes preference over materialistic exegeses of werewolves, which are tributary to films (de Blécourt 2013).

Motif Spotting

In his stocktaking overview of the meetings between folklore and film, Mikel Koven (2003; 2008) has hinted at at least three fruitful ways to view the feature film from a folklorist's perspective. It can be considered as a "naïve ethnography," and as a "folk narrative" itself, whether in the form of a "hero myth" or a "traditional Märchen." The folklorist may also concentrate on a film's recipients, ranging from the occasional viewer to the hardcore fan. Koven's options are restricted by the authors he consulted who primarily consider "folklore" as something "traditional," "communal" and "oral," thereby showing "folklore" as a petrified and reified academic construct, dealing with an arbitrary selection of available historical material. Folklore's artificial demarcation of the likewise constructed "popular culture" (always implying a contrasting, though arbitrary "high culture"), results in odd phrases such as "any expression of folklore in popular film and television texts" (2003:185; 2008:14). After the demythologizing of folklore's nineteenth-century premises, there is no theoretical imperative to separate "folklore" from "popular culture" and indeed, the mass "media have become a part of folklore" (Dégh 1994:25). The perspective advocated here goes beyond the notion of a convergence of "two different phenomena" (Koven 2008:153); it conflates them. Such would naturally demand a justification of at least full article length.[3] Here, a simple statement has to suffice. When the Tales of Magic

(*Zaubermärchen*) not just depended on literary texts to survive, but were essentially based on them (Dégh 1994:17-23; Bottigheimer 2009; de Blécourt 2012), then the perceived boundaries between literature and folklore become blurred, even before the arrival of film and television. There is, therefore, no reason not to maintain this ambiguity, the more so since fairy tale films are considered as part of the folklorist's domain. (The literary background may, however, explain the ease with which fairy tales were rendered into feature films).[4]

The above example of borrowing between television shows points at a shared culture, accompanied by a growing body of critical texts (in whatever form) and is as such similar if not equivalent to the folklorist's usual focus of attention. As Emily Edwards observed in response to (some) folklorists' fear of film as the great equalizer of traditional folklore:

> (...) this appropriation and accommodation of oral narratives is not the offence of film and television producers alone but very likely what troubadours and storytellers did long before the arrival of the mass media: select the most compelling narratives and then adapt the stories to what they thought people would be intrigued to hear and happy to generously reward. (2005:208)

Horror films are considered as "the dominant area for the identification of traditional types and motifs" (Koven 2003:182; 2008:11), and they can be seen as fulfilling the same function as legends: "to educate, as well as to entertain," which amounts to explaining, advising, warning and frightening (Georges 1982). Cinematic werewolves have nevertheless not (yet) drawn much attention from folklorists. This is partly due to the constrictions of the "urban legend," which occupies the main place at the intersection of folklore and film (when the two are seen separately): werewolves are "'legendary' in the broadest sense of the word, they do not often appear in urban legends" (Koven 2008:109). Yet the opposite certainly does occur. The "paw through the car roof," is the werewolf variant of the legend complex that comprises "The White Witch" (Samuelson 1979) and "The Hook" (Ellis 1994). In the *Buffy* episode "Phases" the corresponding scene is aptly set in lover's lane where two of the shows main characters are smooching when attacked by a werewolf. While the werewolf film the *Howling* (1981) is also referred to, "traditional" motifs are absent here.

Among other things, a folklorist's approach to werewolf films may concentrate on the "spotting" of recurrent motifs, which form the backbone of werewolf mythology regardless of whether they play a

minor or major role in the actual plot. Questions can be asked as to how the shape-shifting is initiated, what serves as a protection, what as a cure, or how the male werewolf relates to his female love interest. This line of interrogation is more concerned with the mechanics of the metamorphosis, and much less with how this is visualized on screen. *An American Werewolf in London* (1981), commonly praised for its revolutionary shifting scenes, is thus considered as positioned at the end of a line of "classical" werewolf movies, rather than a new beginning, precisely because it features the full moon in combination with a powerless woman (and a plethora of references to previous werewolf films). *The Howling*, released in April 1981 (four months before *An American Werewolf*), with its comparable shifting scenes and also with many a reference to previous werewolf lore, is more part of the conceptual confusion that characterizes werewolf films since the 1980s, for one reason because its plot is not centered on a main werewolf figure. Instead it follows the adventures of a female reporter in a community of werewolves.

Folklorists' interest in werewolves in films also has an advantage in that it is able to position the beasts against the vast amount of traditional werewolf notions, something that other disciplines seem to have trouble with. Film critics and the like make mistake after mistake when it comes to situating major motifs in films. Screenwriter Curt Siodmak of the "classic" 1941 *Wolfman*, for instance, never put any "folktales" in his script (Dziemianowicz 2007:654; Dyson 1997:87); at the most he referred to Little Red Riding Hood, precisely the one fairy tale for which folklorists have always known literary precursors. The very well known werewolf moon has never belonged to any oral tradition. It does not feature in nineteenth- and twentieth-century werewolf legends, or in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century werewolf trials, or in the justifying demonologies. Instead, its lineage can be traced to the early twentieth-century book *Werwolves* by Elliot O'Donnell (1912), "a writer of ghost stories who was also possessed by a passionate enmity towards spiritualism" (Hutton 1999:258). In all likelihood, O'Donnell in his turn borrowed the moon from (literary) British vampire lore (cf. Auerbach 1995:25-27). The werewolf's contagious bite probably stems from the same source. Silver bullets, in contrast, are "traditional" in the sense that they were part of every-day European culture (for instance Müllenhoff 1921:247), although they are hardly ever recognized as such by film writers and critics who link them to the moon instead of consecrated silver or heirlooms. In werewolf films, there is no sign of traditional migratory legends, such as the Hungry Farmhand or the Werewolf Husband (de Blécourt 2007; Simonsen 2010).

The main conclusion is that the motifs in the werewolf films stand on their own; they are literary motifs oscillating between werewolf short stories, films, comics, and games; there is practically no direct relationship between the werewolves of oral tradition and film werewolves. There may be some validity in the following hypothesis: werewolf films could only be developed and appreciated by people who did not have any traditional werewolf lore in their cultural baggage, on the one hand because knowing the beast lessens its horror, on the other because promoting what was considered by educators as a "superstition" was usually frowned upon. A society in which "werewolves" (i.e. people designated as such) are still a major issue can hardly provide the necessary distance for their literary and cinematic development.

The occurrence of particular motifs as well as their absence allows for intertextual conclusions about developments in werewolf films. In this article, however, the option of the film as a legend will be emphasized. Its subject is the emergence of werewolves as a group: in biological terminology, a pack. While the menstruating man—the "perennial figure of masculine crisis" (Bourgault du Coudray 2006:80)—has not completely disappeared, he is now joined by a group of monsters situated outside humanity.

The Place of the Wolf

Throughout European history, werewolf packs prove as chimerean as in *Being Human*. Only in Livonia were they spotted with a certain amount of regularity (Vähi 2011; Donecker 2012). From the Middle Ages to the twentieth century, the most important characteristic of the historical European werewolf is that he is an *individual* male standing outside the human community. Another corrective is that trials against these individual werewolves were not just held in what is now France (mainly Franche Comté); the German lands and the adjacent Netherlands had their share, too (Koppenhöfer 1995; Schulte 2009:1-35; de Blécourt 2009, 2015).

American scriptwriters know as little about indigenous European werewolves as film critics; they have reinvented the werewolf. Werewolf packs have made their most significant appearances in the films *The Howling* (1981), *Wolfen* (1981), *An American Werewolf in Paris* (1997), *Underworld* (2003), and *Blood and Chocolate* (2007). All these films have a distinctly American mark and while *Blood and Chocolate* had a German director, it was (roughly) based on a book by an American writer of adolescent novels. Rather than concentrate on interconnecting werewolf motifs such as the full moon, a discussion of these films needs to take into account that motifs appear within a

plotline, just as legend motifs need to be set in the context of a tale's structure. Werewolf packs derive their meaning, or at least their appeal, from the entire film.

The Howling (1981) is the story about a female reporter Karen (Dee Wallace) who tries to interview a rapist (werewolf) and is traumatized by the experience. On the advice of her psychiatrist (Patrick Macnee) she then seeks healing in The Colony, which turns out to be a community of werewolves. She flees, but not without being infected. The message in this anti-feminist film is that women who are stupid enough to seek out danger must face the consequences: there is no escape from the pack. In the Gary Brandner novel that informed the script, the protagonist is herself raped and enters a lesbian relationship. In both the novel and the film the reporter's husband has the most wonderful intercourse with a female werewolf. Male sexuality is celebrated while female sexuality is downgraded and censored. With its many inside jokes, the film showed a "contemptuous attitude" (Hardy 1994:350) towards its public; it was better received in the United States than in Europe where *An American Werewolf in London* became the more popular.

It has been written about the film *Wolfen*, which premiered in the United States at the end of July 1981 and preceded by the eponymous book by Whitley Strieber, that it is "not about werewolves at all" (Spratt 1982), and that the creatures in it are "an ancient race of shape-shifters co-existing with man" (Jones 1996:117). Both views are inaccurate. Although the term "werewolf" is never mentioned in the film, it certainly is in the book. In the film it is only the concept of shifting into a wolf that is openly mentioned, but the "wolfen" are no shapeshifters. In his novel Strieber rehashed the interpretation of werewolves from Jack Williamson's book *Darker Than You Think*, first serialized in the magazine *Unknown* in 1940 and issued in book form in 1948 (cf. Stypczynski 2013:17-36). In both, werewolves are portrayed as an ancient race of predators, preying on humans. As Strieber writes it:

> But [Montague] Summers was totally, incredibly wrong. The old legends and tales were true. Only one small element was incorrect—in the past it was assumed that their intelligence and cunning meant that werewolves were men who had assumed the shape of animals. But they weren't. They were not that at all, but rather a completely separate species of intelligent creature. (1988:140)[5]

In the book, two New York detectives are investigating a couple of murders and find themselves up against the creatures they keep calling

"werewolves." This is not so in the film where the suggestion of a werewolf murderer is slowly built up, only to be eclipsed by the "real" thing towards the end. In the book, "wolfen" is the name used by a zoologist. In the film the zoologist explains that:

> Wolves and Indians evolved and were destroyed simultaneously. Their societies are practically one and the same. They are tribal, they look out for their own. They don't overpopulate and they are superb hunters.

These Native Americans, who were inserted by the scriptwriters, also talk about shapeshifting and one of them even becomes an animal briefly and howls at the full moon. However, his body remains unaltered and, as he explains, it is "all in the head." Shortly afterwards the detective (Albert Finney) encounters creatures who look amazingly like wolves. His Native American contacts tell him that he is not dealing with wolves, but with "wolfen."

Wolfen (the film) changed the historical background from France to America. It also changed the message that there can be no communication between humans and wolfen to one advocating a mutual understanding of ecology, at least between the wolfen and the two detectives. The zoologist in the book is ripped to pieces when he tries to use the sign language found in an old French book: "Their race had long ago forgotten its ancient relationship with man. His hand-signals had meant nothing to them, nothing at all. The four of them literally tore him apart in their fury" (Strieber 1988:254). The zoologist in the film does not even attempt to approach the creatures, yet meets the same fate as his counterpart in the book, as do the pathologist and the commissioner. Instead of not being about werewolves, both variants of *Wolfen* present a different interpretation of werewolves. It is precisely this interpretation of the creatures as a race that became popular. In this process this idea merged with the notion of werewolves as a pack and with the pseudo-scientific explanation of lycanthropy as a viral or a genetic disorder.

Strieber derived the Frenchness of his wolfen from the available historical studies that indicated a preponderance of Gallic werewolves. In *An American Werewolf in Paris* (1997), however, it is the German connection that is used. A scene in *An American Werewolf in London* shows how in David's dream his (Jewish) family is shot down by Nazi monsters. In the nominal sequel (by a different creative team) Andy (Tom Everett Scott) meets Sérafine (Julie Delpie) when she jumps from the Eiffel tower to which he has just tied himself with a bungee cord. In the rest of the film Sérafine is too busy babysitting Andy to think of suicide. He keeps running into a group of werewolves with which

Sérafine is somehow acquainted: presumably the pack leader Claude (Pierre Cosso) is a former boyfriend. The improbable convolutions of the overloaded plot and the deflated jokes almost obscure the threat posed by the pack. As Claude confides to the bitten Andy:

> I don't think you have accepted the gift that has been given to you, Andy. To purify the world. That's why we pick our victims from the scum of society. The government of the world spent billions on medicine, welfare, charity, the well-fed. It only keeps alive the week, the stupid, the lazy, who breed and multiply wickedness in the human race.

And he offers Andy to join them,

> to become a new mankind, pure, free of disease, free of the trappings of technological advance.

This fascist, eugenic program provides the ideological dimension to the Nazi werewolves. It puts race as the central premise of the pack's self-identification. In other werewolf pack films the race factor is expressed in a different way. From an American point of view werewolves can either be natives (cf. Kluckhohn 1967:138-148), or they have (like the vampire) their origin in Romania. Instead of a presumed ethnographical basis (the few Transylvanian werewolves have a German proclivity), it once more reveals the literary origin of cinematic werewolves.[6] In the early twenty-first century, *Underworld* (2003) elaborated race further. As one of the writers/producers explained it:

> (...) allegorically speaking, what we tried to do was create a race war, you know, much like black versus white and a story about interracial couples, and looking at the story you can kind of tell what's going on, that is about the problems that two races have with each other just because of their existence, and how silly that really is. (Voice over, cited in Knee 2008:180)

The race element is, among other places, confirmed in the trailer of the sequel, itself ominously called *Underworld: Evolution* (2006), where it blatantly says: "A New Race." Yet things are not so transparent in the film itself. In the dialogue "race" is not mentioned and merely the terms "family" and "clan" are used, or in the case of the vampires, "coven." The closest mention to "race" is when Viktor (Bill Nighy), one of the vampire elders, says that he has to "protect the species" and when it is said that he "feared the blending of the species." Neither is "race" visualized in a familiar way. As an indigenous

concept in today's western society, race is foremost characterized by color, but the werewolves are both "white" and "black," as are the vampires. Class differences—which pose the aristocratic vampires against the lower-class werewolves—are much more visible. As it is explained by the principal werewolf Lucian (Michael Sheen): "We were slaves once, the daylight guardians of the vampires. I was born in servitude."

How then would a vampire recognize a werewolf? At the start of *Underworld* Selene (Kate Beckinsale), a "death dealer," is sitting at the top of a high building looking down at the crowd below. There is a war between the vampires and the werewolves. Selene and her companion spot two werewolves on the street. Apart from the fact that these werewolves do not carry any umbrella in the rain, there is nothing to distinguish them from humans or indeed from the equally human-looking vampires. As Selene tells the audience, they are "unseen by human eyes." Werewolves and vampires do of course stand out by the fact that they have werewolf or vampiric abilities. As such they have particular and conspicuous qualities such as being able to scale walls and ceilings, or overtake cars, or are simply very strong. But again it is difficult to pinpoint the difference between vampire and werewolf, also because the differences between individuals within the pack or coven may be greater than the differences between the respective creatures.

What is seen is blood, not just as the red liquid that spills from wounds, but as a carrier of both genetic strains and of memories. The genetical part is backed up by the background story, or "legend" as it is called, which employs the more or less Biblical concept of different brothers who each father a different "race." This legend as it is presented at the very start of the film is denied by the vampires and adjusted by the werewolves. The latter are looking for the descendants of the third son of Alexander Corvinus, who have remained mortal, but still carry a recessive strain that would allow a combination of the other two. Thus, at the end of the first film, Michael Corvin (Scott Speedman) finds himself becoming a hybrid, stronger than both vampires and werewolves together.

Apart from the applied science, which primarily makes sense within the context of the film, *Underworld* shows foremost "racial" prejudices, especially when the transference of blood is portrayed as implying a transference of memories. Michael, when bitten by Lucian, is able to relive the former's experiences in a series of hallucinations; Viktor, when rewoken by Selene's blood, partakes of her memories, too. In this respect the film goes beyond applying the mere concept of race; it becomes racist in its combination of culture and biology.

Blood and Chocolate (2007) resembles, like the *American Werewolf* movies, the scary stories of what awaits American students abroad. Only this time it is told from the perspective of the local girl who belongs to a werewolf pack and is expected to become the leader's next mate. Like the Native Americans in *Wolfen*, the Romanian angle concerns a superimposed element; it is not part of the original novel. The film also turns the novel's ending around, as the couple manages to overcome the pack. Vivian (Agnes Bruckner) has returned from the United States, where her parents emigrated and were killed, to her native Romania. There she meets an American boy, Aiden (Hugh Dancy), an artist who is researching werewolf lore for his next project. Not knowing that his friend is a werewolf herself, he explains to her:

> (...) the werewolf stories have got it all wrong. In the *loup-garou* legend, they're not cursed, they're blessed. Like the moon turning them into wolves? That's all how it was twisted later. The loups-garous can change whenever they want. It's mind over matter. Transcendence. They believe they will change, and at that moment, they do. Can you imagine that? From a man to a wolf.

And when Vivian replies that it sounds beautiful, Aiden agrees. The werewolves as such are celebrated here: "they were the best of man, the best of beast." It is their way (or rather, their leader's way) of clinging to traditions, to "prophecy and destiny," instead of finding a less muzzled method to survive in the modern world that provides the necessary tension. They consider themselves "people" and they are born as werewolves. They are also half human, which leaves open what would happen in the case of an "interracial" union. Aiden is not bitten or otherwise infected like his cinematic predecessors; however, as he survives the hunt, he is initiated and should at least be a nominal werewolf. Once more, alterations in the film script in comparison to the novel comply to cinematic conventions.

Otherness and the Self

Werewolf scholarship is still in development, certainly when balanced against the many academic publications on vampires. The issue of how to interpret werewolves therefore only meets with somewhat hesitant answers. Two strands stand out however. A popular tendency suggests material solutions for the werewolf's condition, such as porphyria, rabies, hypertrichosis, or a mental condition (Otten 1986; Sidky 1997). These are often based on insufficient evidence and display an extremely superficial knowledge of werewolves (de Blécourt 2013). Several publications on literary werewolves are limited to the

descriptive dimension (Frost 2003; Dziemianowicz 2007) and are not of much help either. Only a few studies try to understand werewolves in cultural terms. As Chantal Bourgault de Coudray sums up:

> the werewolf (...) embodied a composite Otherness which gave expression to anxieties about working-class degeneracy, aristocratic decadence, racial atavism, women's corporeality and sexuality, and the human relationship to the animal world. (2006:50)

Next to this, the werewolf is read as a symbol of excessive male sexuality (Jowett 2004:126). The various approaches to the werewolf have their basis in the idea that there is only one werewolf, recognizable from Antiquity to the present times. This is a mistake. A werewolf may be a man (*anthropos*) who changes into wolf (*lykos*), hence lycanthropy, but different times and places have produced different werewolves.[7] The differentiated werewolf requires careful handling (de Blécourt 2015). The cinematic single werewolf is not just about the Other, but also signals the Other within the Self, so to speak. The main issue then becomes one of self-control and responsibility, on which werewolf films have not been very vocal. Obviously the werewolf as part of a pack would mean yet again something else, although when comprehended in terms of "Otherness" a group could in theory convey an amplified, not necessarily different message than a single individual. In cinematic practice, however, it does not.

It may be fruitful to consider the werewolf in the context of its relationship with other persons. Just as the single, "feminized" werewolf is accompanied by a powerless female, the leading players in the pack movies each have a specific relationship to the pack. Karen in *The Howling* may resemble her predecessors in her weakness, but she is not in love with a werewolf nor does she try to cure him. Instead, it is her incapability of escaping the pack (and by implication the rapist) that stands out. The pack in *The Howling* represents the familiar turned into a threat, the protagonist's husband included. With nowhere to go, Karen turns into a werewolf herself and is liquidated on the spot. In *Wolfen* the pack represents a more general threat, not to the main protagonists but to everyone who tries to destroy their ecological way of life. In that way *Wolfen* is indeed hardly a werewolf movie, although its way of showing the creatures' point of view is adopted in *An American Werewolf in Paris*. This last film's depiction of the pack is as confused as the film itself. On one level the male werewolves may symbolize Séraphine's relatives (as later in *Blood and Chocolate*), on another they stand for the inhabitants of a foreign country who only invite Americans to consume them (and occasionally infect them with a

strange disease). On yet a further level the werewolves of the pack pose a threat to the society as a whole because of their own racism.

Underworld positions two groups, werewolves and vampires, against each other in terms of race. At the same time the plot also points towards Selene's emancipation from her clan. Her partner Michael, who in the book of the film is presented as "an innocent American," has to battle both groups and emerges as stronger than either of them. The pack in *Blood and Chocolate* primarily stands for the village mentality from which Vivian needs to break away. Here, too, citations abound. To give some examples: the film's title is derived from a phrase in the novel *Steppenwolf* by Hermann Hesse ("Ich spürte den Geschmack von Blut und den Geschmack von Schokolade im Munde, einen ebenso häßlich wie den andern"); the method of the metamorphosis (jumping, turning while in the air) is actually one of the few traditional Eastern European werewolf traits. There is no moon, but the cinematic silver is kept and *Wolfen* is quoted several times. The resulting mixture is more complicated than a composite fairy tale with elements from separate "types," yet basically not different.

It turns out that packs hardly depend on the full moon (in *An American Werewolf* in Paris they find a serum that allows them to change at any time). With the dependence on the moon, the cyclical aspect disappears and thereby the individual werewolf's greatest trauma. When werewolf packs, much more than the sole werewolf, can also be either atavistic or divine (cf. Edwards 2005:139-164) they lose something of their specificity. Apart from their visual surplus, werewolves in packs may become superfluous and their role in films taken over by any other group.[8] Werewolf films, themselves multiple texts, are tied together by a web of internal citations and recurrent motifs. Moreover, they incorporate references to external werewolf lore, mostly in the form of one of the variants of werewolf "science." That alone should make them a rewarding object of folklore investigation. In all their imperfectness they, like contemporary legends, also give form to central concerns within a particular society, in this case mostly the USA and its student population.

In the comic book continuation of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* ("Retreat"), a single werewolf attracts dozens of followers and thus gathers a pack around him. Although the *Being Human* werewolves George and Nina produce offspring, they never manage to evolve into a pack. In the more recent BBC series *Wolfblood*, however, the pack is a major plotline. New werewolf packs are still being created and potential new interpretations with them.

Notes

[1] The introduction of the female werewolf is another noteworthy change, see the collection of essays by Hannah Priest, *She-Wolf* (2015).

[2] For this purpose, I have used the list of popular werewolf films (subtracted from the list of films with werewolves in them) at the IMDb, see also Jones (1996). I have restricted the selection to British and American films, as I consider them the most influential. In my book *Watching Werewolves*, which may take a few more years to materialize, attention will also be paid to werewolf packs now left out of consideration, such as in the films *Dog Soldiers*, *Skinwalkers*, *Curse of the Wolf* and the *Howling* sequels, and television series with werewolf packs, such as *The Originals*, *Wolfblood*, and *Bitten*.

[3] The theory of the folklore-popular culture "continuum" as formulated by Narvaéz and Laba (1986) focuses on mode of transmission as decisive distinction. While this may be obvious on an empirical level, it is debatable theoretically.

[4] It is ill-advised to use Thompson's *Motif Index* as a guide to oral motifs: many of Thompson's motifs are literary and to fit genuine oral tale elements into them often turns into a procrustean exercise (cf. Dégh 1994:15-16).

[5] The reference is to Montague Summers, *The Werewolf* (1933), an extremely prejudiced and out-dated treatise on werewolf history that is still reprinted and consulted.

[6] Senn (1982) encountered a petrified legend landscape with an over-presence of Werewolf Husband variants. He did not take into account the historical German presence in Siebenbürgen.

[7] The English "werewolf" may not even be etymologically related to "man-wolf," but instead to the "warg"-wolf, "warg" meaning "strangler" or more generally "killer" or "murderer."

[8] The film with the name *The Pack* (2010) is a translation of French *La Meute* (better: The Horde) and does not feature a pack of werewolves but ghouls.

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