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Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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SATANISM AND SPIRITISM IN GAUTIER

BY MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN

THÉOPHILE GAUTIER (1811-1872) called himself "a man for whom the outer world exists." Nevertheless, he often turned his eves inward, saw visions and dreamed dreams. Our poet frequently raised the veil that separates the visible from the invisible world. It is not known whether he had actually been in all the countries on which he wrote travel books, but he certainly visited the realms of the Beyond. His excursions into the regions of fantasy were accomplished without recourse to the medium of drink or drug. He was no addict to alcohol like his foreign masters, Hoffmann and Poe. Nor did he seek his inspiration in the "Artificial Paradises," which sapped the life-blood of his young friend, Baudelaire. Together with other Romantics of his day, Gautier felt the charm of the fantastic and exotic, of the extravagant and extraordinary, of the wonderful and weird, of the ghastly and ghostly. He was attracted to mysticism and occultism, to spiritism and Swedenborgianism, to Mesmerism and magnetism.

Théo, as our poet was familiarly called by his friends, also fell under the fatal fascination of Hoffmann. He consecrated to this German writer the first essay which has been preserved from his pen. "After reading Hoffmann," the nineteen-year-old Gautier wrote, "I feel as if I had drunk ten bottles of champagne." What impressed the young man most was Hoffmann's diabolical laughter —"ricanements diaboliques." This youthful outburst of enthusiasm for Hoffmann was not meant for publication¹, but six years later Gautier published a "literary criticism" of Hoffmann's stories, in which he again gives expression to his admiration for Hoffmann and tries to account for the great popularity which this German

¹ It has been printed from manuscript by Spoelberch de Lovenjoul in his *Histoire des oeures de Théophile Gautier* (1887). t. I, pp. 11-4.

story-writer enjoys among French readers.² Gautier praises Hoffmann's art in making the supernatural element appear natural by placing the narrator in an abnormal psychic condition. Our poet may be considered Hoffmann's most fervent admirer and most successful imitator among French Romantics. Hoffmann's fantasies touched in no Frenchman a wilder vein than in Gautier. Intentional imitations of Hoffmann abound in almost all the writings of Gautier.³

Skeptic and scoffer as he was, Théophile Gautier was credulous and superstitious. He claimed to believe in every religion; he certainly believed in every superstition. His fundamental paganism was in salient contrast with his curious Catholicism. He had faith in magic and witchcraft, in dreams and mysterious powers. He believed in the Devil and, after a fashion, also in the Deity.⁴ The idea of the Devil returns very often to the imagination of our poet. It must not be forgotten that he started his literary career with a diabolical legend, Albertus.

ALBERTUS (1830)⁵

Albertus, or the Soul and Sin: A Theological Legend, has been called by the author "half diabolical, half fashionable." It certainly is semi-supernatural, semi-sensual. It is fantastic and funereal, impertinent and indecent. It was written fully in the spirit of a period which was revelling in everything connected with metamorphoses, black arts, devil-compacts and witches' sabbaths. Albertus is a sort of sardonic burlesque upon Faust and other poems tinged with medievalism.

² The essay, "Contes d'Hoffmann: critique littéraire," first appeared in the Chronique de Paris of August 14, 1836, and was reprinted as a preface to X. Marmier's translation of Hoffmann's tales in 1843.

³ German influence on Gautier was very great although he could not read the language; cf. Louis Poulain, *Traces de l'influence allemande dans l'oevre de Théophile Gautier* (Bale, 1914). On Hoffmann's influence on Gautier the reader is referred to the following writers: Julian Schmidt, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur seit der Revolution* (1858). Ed. II. S. 375; Maxime du Camp, *Théophile Gautier* (1890; Engl. tr., 1893), p. 152; Joseph Texte, "Influence allemande dans le romantisme franças," in the *Revue des deux mondes*, t. CCCLVI (1897), p. 630; F. C. de Sumichrast, "Théophile Gautier : Colorist," in the *Critic*, vol. XLIII (1903), p. 49; J. H. Retinger, *le Conte phantastique dans la littérature français* (1909), p. 69; Hubert Matthey, *Essai sur le merveilleux dans la littérature française depuis* 1800 (1915), pp. 246-7.

⁴ Cf. Sainte-Beuve, Nouveaux lundis. t. I (1888), p. 288.

⁵All the poems and stories treated in this paper, with the exception of Onuwhile beens and stories treated in this paper, with the exception of Onu-phrius, la Larme du Diable and Deux acteurs pour un rôle, will be found in the subscription set, in 24 volumes, of the works of Théophile Gautier in English, edited by F. C. Surichrast and published by C. T. Brainard Pub. Co., Boston and New York, 1903. A fragment of Albertus has been translated into Spanish by Adolfo Mitre (Fragmento del poema Albertus de Théophile Gautier), and published in 1879 at Buenos Aires. Veronica, a wicked woman and a hideous hag, dwells in a ruinous hut that squats at the foot of a barren hill in the outskirts of a Flemish town. She is known among her neighbors as a witch, a compounder of philters and poisons, a caster of spells, and a servant of Satan. Midnight sounds: it is the hour of evil deeds and weird conjurations. The sorceress forms a magic ring on the floor, stands in the center and utters incantations. To accomplish the mystery, she casts her garments away and anoints her body with a black liquid. This unguent has the quality of removing marks of senility and of restoring the bloom and beauty of youth. After having transformed herself into a marvellous young girl, the witch also changes her black cat, by means of her magic wand, into an elegant cavalier.

Veronica now transformed into Venus and escorted by her cavalier, whom she has named Don Juan, repairs to Leyden to win her laurels in the ballrooms of the national capital. This petticoated devil is the sensation of the hour. She overshadows all the women and turns the heads of all the men in town. No wonder! "Her eyes made the flash of diamond's self grow pale; her teeth were fairer than pearls, and satin lost its gloss when near her skin. With her port so free, her teasing wit, her charms both coy and arch, she was in turns Camargo, Manon Lescaut, Philine-in short, a ravishing wretch!" (XXXIV.)⁶ The men desert the society women and flock to the newcomer. "Young and old, lawyers in dusty wigs. dandies shedding around them the scent of amber, officers in gay uniforms, dragging their swords across the sounding floors, painters and musicians, all crowded to the stranger's rooms" (XXIX). The worthy Flemings renounce for her sake their gin and their pipe and stand round her. This sorceress filches the hearts of all men who come within the radius of her vision. Men drown themselves for her and fight duels on her account. The diva accepts their homage and their cash, but keeps them at a distance. She disdains all the gallants at her feet. But her day is to come, too.

Two months pass in this way. Veronica who "made it her delight—for such is woman's pleasure—hearts to torture and souls to damn," is finally "suffering the pains that yesterday she caused." She falls in love with Albertus, a young Italian painter, whom she sees one evening in the theater. But Albertus is not the man to be caught in her nets. He is devoted to his art and cool to his fellowmen. In vain Veronica tries to draw him to her. The heart of Albertus is closed to love. Women hold no charms for this disillusioned man. But alas! the dear Lord has not made man and

⁶ Sumichrast's prose version.

woman of equal strength. Albertus soon falls a victim to the wiles of this woman. When Veronica sends Don Juan for Albertus, the poor man follows this devil Mercury in a spirit of bravado. He has no suspicion that he is walking to his doom as a lamb that is led to the slaughter. As Albertus beholds Veronica sitting on a soft divan, he cannot resist her charms. "An angel, a son of heaven, to be in his place, would have sold his stall in the paradise of God" (XCIII). He is carried away by the wildest sort of passion. In his madness he offers his soul to Satan to be for a moment with Veronica. The recruiting agent of hell has him repeat his words solemnly. This blasphemy brings about his ruin. His good angel now deserts him and hands him over to his demon. A glow of sulphur now fills the room and Mephistophelian laughter sounds in the air.

In the midst of their intoxication midnight sounds. It is the hour at which Veronica is to return to her original form.

"Suddenly, within his very grasp.—a prodigy fit to confound the strongest brain,—Albertus felt the charms of the fair melt away, and vanish the very flesh. Broken was the prism. It was no longer the woman whom all adored, but a foul hag with great green eyes rolling under eyebrows thick, and, to seize her prey, at full length stretching her long, thin arms, like hooks. Satan himself would have drawn back. A few white hairs hung stiff down her skinny neck; her bones showed plainly under withered breasts, and her ribs stuck out of her sides so foul" (CV).

A terror seizes Albertus. The blood in his veins runs cold. He wishes to run away, but he cannot free himself from her cold and clammy arms. He belongs to her through a rash word uttered in the madness of delirium.

Albertus is now forced to accompany Veronica to the witches' sabbath. They mount two broomsticks, bridled and saddled, which carry them through the air to the infernal tryst. Now they reach their destination.

"The place was lighted by a flame, a blue light casting like that of blazing punch. It was an open spot within the forest's depths. Wizards in their gowns and witches nude astride upon their goats adown the four corners of the world arrived at once. Investigators into sciences occult, Fausts of every land, magi of every rite, darkfaced gypsies, and rabbis red-haired, cabalists, diviners, hermeceutists black as ink and asthmatically gasping—not one of them failed to appear at the meeting place" (CXI).

All wait for Satan who is to preside *in propia persona* over the ceremonies.

"At last he came; but no devil of sulphur and of aspect terrific; no devil old-fashioned, but the dandiest of fiends, wearing imperial and slight moustache, twirling his cane as well as could have done a boulevard swell. You could have sworn he'd just come from a performance of Robert the Devil, or The Temptation or had been attending some assembly fashionable. He limped like Byron (but no worse than he), and with his haughty mien, his aristocratic looks, and his exquisite talent for tying his cravat, in every drawing-room a sensation he would have made" (CXIV).

Gautier now amuses himself in composing the grand symphony of the adepts of Beelzebub. When the concert is finished, the dancing begins. Poor Albertus is the unwilling spectator of the most monstrous diabolical diversions. In the midst of the ceremonies the Devil sueezes. The odor of the company is too strong for his fashionable nostrils. "God bless you," Albertus says courteously. No sooner has he uttered these words when the whole frightful pageant disappears. Devil, demons, wizards, witches, all vanish into the air. Albertus feels sharp claws and teeth tear his flesh. His shrieks avail him not. The next morning, peasants find on the Appian road, near Rome, a man's body, with broken thighs and twisted neck 7

ONUPHRIUS (1832)

If we wish to know how Young France went wild over the Devil, we have but to read the story of Onuphrius. This gifted artist, poet and painter, so firmly believed in Beelzebub that he lost his mind over the belief. The story consists, as the subtitle shows, of a series of "fantastic vexations of an admirer of Hoffmann." As a typical Jeune France, Onuphrius delved deeply into demonology. He was fond of medieval legends, mystic poems, cabalistic treatises, German ballads and books on magic and witchcraft. His bookshelf, as described by Gautier, throws light on the intellectual interests of the young artists of that period. Onuphrius read Jean Bodin,8 Pierre Leloyer,⁹ Martin Delrio,¹⁰ Balthasar Bekker,¹¹ Laurent Bor-

⁷ Reminiscences of *Albertus* will be found in the description of the Black Mass in Oscar Wilde's story, *The Fisherman and his Soul* (1891). ⁸ Jean Bodin is the author of the famous book, *la Démonomanie des sorciers* (1580). It was republished at Wiart in 1616 under the title of *Fléau des*

⁹ Pierre Leloyer is known as the author of the followng book: *Quatre livres des spectres ou apparitions et visions d'esprits comme anges, démons et ames se montrant visibles aux hommes* (1586). It was reprinted in 1608 under the briefer title : Discours et histoires des spectres.

" Martin Delrio's book, Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex (Louvain, 1599), was translated into French in 1611 by André Duchesne.

¹¹ Balthasar Bekker has written his book, *De betooverde Weereld* in 1691. It was translated into French and called *le Monde enchanté*, in 1694.

demons et des sorciers.

delon,¹² Berbiguier de Terre-Neuve du Thym,¹³ Infernalia,¹⁴ and the old books on magic known among the country folk as Secrets du arand Albert and Secrets du petit Albert.¹⁵ Hoffmann and Iean Paul thus found Onuphrius admirably receptive to the evaporations of their disordered brains. They finished what the demonologists had begun. This reading filled the poor painter's mind with diabolical ideas and "horned visions." The Devil obsessed him to such a degree that he saw tail and horns whithersoever he turned his eyes.

The idea that he was pursued by the Evil One first amused Onuphrius, but he soon began to take it more seriously. "Is there anything irrational in this supposition?" he would ask himself. The existence of the Devil is as well proved as that of the Deity. It has been the doctrine of the Christian Church for hundreds of years and is clearly stated in the Holy Scriptures. Satan is said to be prowling around like a roaring lion, seeking to devour man. Even the Savior was not safe from Satan's snares. How real was the Devil to St. Anthony and to Luther! The first of the anchorites was, upon the authority of St. Athanasius, so tempted and tormented for twenty years by the Devil that he well nigh lost his religion. The German monk devoutly believed not only in the Devil's individuality but in his constant appearances in a physical form. He held frequent converse with the Contradictor in his garret at Wartburg and fought many a verbal duel with him. During one of these heated discussions, Luther lost his temper and hurled an ink-bottle at the Devil's head. The stain is to be seen to this very day in his cell at Wartburg.

Indeed, how could any man doubt the existence of the Devil? Thousands upon thousands of persons in the Middle Ages and even later, had seen him with their own eyes; and if unanimous testimony may be counted as proving anything, we must admit that the Devil is the person whose existence has been demonstrated beyond the slightest shadow of a doubt. As a matter of fact, the majority of

¹² The abbé Bordelon is the author of a book with this long title: l'Histoire des imaginations extravagantes de M. Ouffle . . . de la magie, du grimoire, des démoniaques, des sorciers, des loups-gareux, des succubes, du sabbath, etc., (1710). A second edition appeared in 1754. ¹³ Berbiguier, a monomaniacal demonologist ruined himself by publishing at his own expense a very curious book in the early part of the last century. It bears the following title: les Farfadets, ou Tous les démons de sont pas dans

¹⁴ Inferna'ia, which has been ascribed to Charles Nodier, is a collection of ¹⁴ Inferna'ia, which has been ascribed to charles on ghosts, specters, demons anecdotes, brief novels, novelettes and short stories on ghosts, specters, demons

and vampires. The book was published in 1822. ¹⁵ It is the irony of fate that Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), one of the most illustrious scholars of the Middle Ages, should be known among the common people as a magician and author of books on magic.

men in Christendom still hold firmly to the belief in a personal Devil. Against Diabolus the Protestants still thunder from their pulpits, and the Catholics still swing their holy water.

Onuphrius reviewed all the stories of demoniac possession, from Mary of Magdala, who harbored at least seven demons in her heart, to the nuns of Loudun, who received visits from the evil spirits in the year of our Lord sixteen hundred and thirty-three.¹⁶

Our poor painter could at first not understand what interest Beelzebub could have in pesecuting him in this merciless manner? Was the Devil after his soul? But it was rather an unusual way to get a man's soul. He finally came to the conclusion that he must have incurred the Devil's displeasure by painting a portrait of St. Dunstan holding his Satanic majesty by the nose with red-hot pincers. Naturally, the fiend did not feel flattered by this presentment and decided to avenge himself on the poor painter by playful pranks. For the Devil is, as the anatomically melancholy Burton has expressed it, the "ringleader of all naughtiness."

Onuphrius was constantly teased and tantalized by the Enemy of Man. Satan was certain to pop up in one place or another in all the young man's paintings or poems. He would splash our artist's canvases and soil his manuscripts. He begrudged him even his innocent pastimes and took a hand in his chess-games. When Onuphrius started out one evening to meet his fair Iacintha, the Devil detained him on the way, and as he was returning home about midnight, sad at heart as having missed his appointment, each portion of the road which he had traversed lay again in front of him. Satan lifted the top of the poor man's head so that his thoughts escaped, as birds fly away when their cage is suddenly opened.

When Onuphrius was asked one evening to read his verses in a fashionable drawing-room, the Devil, who was standing at his elbow, a green-eyed, red-bearded dandy, dressed in a scarlet waist-coat (Gautier's own), caught them in his netting and replaced them by his own vulgar words that finally reached the ears of the ladies. Diabolus thus disgraced our poet in the eyes of the company and in addition walked off with his fair Iacintha. This last trick upset the young man completely. Having been run over by the carriage containing the Devil and Iacintha without suffering any physical harm, our lover got it into his head that the Devil had stolen his body just 6

¹⁶ This most interesting case of diabolical obsession in modern times has been set forth in the *Histoire des diables de Loudun* (1839), and in the article, "The Devils of Loudun," in the *National Review*, vol. XI (London, 1860), pp. 70ff.

as he had taken the shadow of Peter Schlemihl.¹⁷ Onuphrius ended his days in a lunatic asylum.

Onuphrius is Romanticism run mad.

OMPHALE (1834)

In "Omphale," a woman steps down from a tapestry and visits the author in his dreams. She is finally chased away by the author's father, who spies on them.

LA MORTE AMOUREUSE $(1836)^{18}$

In "la Morte amoureuse" we have a story of vampirism. A good country curé is for three years the plaything of a diabolical illusion. On the day of his ordination he sins by letting his eyes fall on a woman. This woman, who is a famous courtesan, dies soon afterwards but visits the poor priest every night in his dreams and lives on drops of blood from his veins. Romuald is finally freed from this Satanic spell by his superior, who opens Clarimonde's tomb, casts holy water on the body and traces with a sprinkler a cross upon the coffin.

To the *motif* of vampirism is added another of a double personality in the manner of Hoffmann's *Doppelgänger* (1822). Romuald is a priest by day and a cavalier by night, and he himself does not know which is his real and which his fantastic self.

LA LARME DU DIABLE (1839)

This dramatic poem is a clever *pasticcio* of the medieval miracleplays. It is one of Gautier's most original fantasies. In its consistent levity it is most characteristic of his art. Nothing illustrates better the way in which Gautier conceived the most exalted ideas as subject-matter to be used for pictorial ends. The play is full of humor and irony. The scene is alternately in Heaven and on earth, Satan is the hero, and "le Bon Dieu" and Christus, comically grouped with Othello and Desdemona, are among the minor characters. The piece is less indecent, but more impudent and irreverent than *Albertus*. Satan gives the impression of a good fellow, pleasing and amusing, mischievous rather than malicious. He bears no ill-will toward

¹⁷ The title character in Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl* (1814) sells his shadow as well as himself to the Devil for the purse of Fortunatus, and then, putting on the seven-leagued boots, diverts his mind from unpleasant thoughts by running about the world.

¹⁸ The title of this story has been variously rendered into English: "The Dead Leman," "The Vampire," and "Clarimonde."

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God or man. He jokes with the Lord about the inhabitants of Heaven and maintains that any man of spirit would prefer going to Hell. Satan wins the sympathy of the women among the saints in Paradise, and they all plead with the good God in his behalf. Gautier was the first among the Romantic poets to raise the question of the redemption of Satan and his return to glory.

The principal *motif* of the poem is a wager between the Lord and the Devil in regard to two mortal maidens. God believes them to be proof against all temptation, but Satan insists that he could tempt them to fall. A wager between the Deity and the Devil is concluded. If Satan wins the bet, he is to obtain pardon for Eloa, a beautiful woman-angel, who (in Vigny's poem) forsook Heaven to seek Satan in his misery. But this angel makes her voice heard in Heaven from Hell that she still loves the rebel spirit and that she prefers Hell with him to Heaven without him. Satan then asks as reward for his labors a glass of cold water to cool his parched lips.

The Devil sets to work and is about to win the bet, but touched by the purity and delicacy of the feelings of the young girls, he is to lead to evil, he sheds a tear. The angels gather up the tear and lay it at the feet of the Lord. This act of magnanimity on the part of Satan so stirs the hearts of the women saints that they plead with the Lord in behalf of Satan. The good God is willing enough to pardon his old eneny, but he cannot reverse his judgment. "I cannot perjure myself like an earthly king," he tells the angelic delegation. It is not, however, a flat refusal, for he adds: "In two thousand years we shall see!"

DEUX ACTEURS POUR UN ROLE (1841)

This is the story of the Devil playing his own part as understudy for his human impersonator.

In a Vienna theater an actor named Heinrich has been playing the part of the Devil with great success. One evening after the play the actor is sitting in a restaurant in the midst of a group of admirers and accepting their congratulations. Every member of the party has a good word to say in praise of the young and talented actor, who has mastered so difficult a rôle. This unanimous praise is interrupted by an old man, who is seated at the next table. It is, of course, the Devil in person. He is sorry to have to disagree, he says, but he has also been to the theater and found that the part of the Devil has been played too humanly. It is apparent, he adds, that the actor has never seen the Devil. Heinrich's jolly companions laugh at the old man, who dares differ with them in their acclaim of the actor's art. They ask the old man jokingly if he could do better. To the merriment of the company, he replies affirmatively. The following evening, the Devil appears behind the curtains; and after disposing of Heinrich for the evening, plays his own part. It is a howling success.

ARRIA MARCELLA (1852)

In this story, we learn how Arria Marcella, a Pompeian courtesan, is recalled to life after two thousand years by the burning look a youth has cast on the imprint which her perfect bosom has left in molten lava. The woman falls back into a handful of ashes through the exorcism of her equally resurrected father who has turned Christian.

LE PIED DE MOMIE (1852)

This is the story of Princess Hermonthis, daughter of Pharaoh, who after thirty centuries visits the author in a dream to claim her little foot, which he has bought from a bric-à-brac dealer as a paper weight. She takes him to the tomb of the Pharoahs, who are sitting with their thousand myriad peoples waiting for the final day.

AVATAR (1856)

"Avatar" is the story of metempsychosis. By transfer of souls the lover is transformed into the husband of the woman with whom he is infatuated to obtain the love meant for the husband. He is foiled, however, by the deep sensibilities of the woman. What puzzles the reader is why the lover, who has the husband's brains, cannot speak his language. It is in this way that the suspicions of the Polish countess are confirmed.

JETTATURA (1856)

This is the story of Italian superstition. It deals with the belief in the evil eye or "Jettatura," as it is called in Italy.

LA ROMANCE D'UNE MOMIE (1857)

In this story a man is in love with the daughter of an Egyptian high-priest, who died three thousand five hundred years ago, and whom he has exhumed, brought with him to England and placed in his park.

SPIRITE (1865)

"Spirite" is the story of a girl, whose confession of love often was on her lips in this world and now is heard from the other world.

This story has something in common with Hoffmann's Elementargeist (1822), and has been indirectly influenced by Cazotte's le Diable amoureux (1772). It also shows resemblances to Poe's Ligeia (1836). It was about this time, thanks to Baudelaire's excellent translation, that the American writer was beginning to supplant the German Hoffmann as a model for fantastic tales in France.¹⁸

¹⁹Cf. Matthey, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-9. According to Poulain, *op. cit.*, p. 25, this began already in 1850. Other stories by Gautier in which the supernatural element appears more or less are as follows: "la Cafetière" (1831); "le Nid de Rossignols" (1833); "le Chevalier double" (1840); "la 1002 me nuit" (1842); "la visite nocturne" (1843); "l'Enfant aux souliers de pain" (1849); and "l'Ame de la maison" (1852).