

Enthymema XXIV 2019



Dismembered Bodies, Dismembered Texts:
Supernatural Anthologies and the Re-
animation of the Dead in Post-revolutionary
France (1802-1822)

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Abstract – The import of British Gothic novels in post-revolutionary France, from 1797 onwards, triggered French publisher to capitalize on the vogue of supernatural narratives. One of the results was the publication of a number of anthologies, hastily composed by cutting and pasting Old Regime collections, whose first example was the anonymous *Le Livre des prodiges* (1802). This essay reinstates the supernatural anthologies of 1802-1822 as a powerful link between the British Gothic and later French fantastic literature (particularly Alexandre Dumas), at the same time analysing how the very operation of cutting and pasting pre-revolutionary texts resonates with distinctly post-revolutionary anxieties.

Keywords – Gothic; Supernatural; Phantasmagoria; Alexandre Dumas; French Revolution.

Abstract – L'importazione del romanzo gotico inglese nella Francia post-rivoluzionaria, a partire dal 1797, spinse gli editori francesi a cavalcare la moda della narrativa a tema soprannaturale. Uno degli effetti fu la pubblicazione di diverse antologie frettolosamente composta tagliando e incollando raccolte di Antico regime, delle quali la prima ad apparire è l'anonimo *Le Livre des prodiges* (1802). Il saggio rivela come le antologie del soprannaturale degli anni 1802-1822 siano un potente elemento connettivo fra il gotico inglese e la più tarda letteratura francese del fantastico (in particolare Dumas), analizzando allo stesso tempo come la stessa operazione di copia-incolla, condotta su testi prerivoluzionari, riecheggi angosce segnatamente post-rivoluzionarie.

Parole chiave – Gotico; Soprannaturale; Fantasmagoria; Alexandre Dumas; Rivoluzione francese.

Camilletti, Fabio. "Dismembered Bodies, Dismembered Texts: Supernatural Anthologies and the Re-animation of the Dead in Post-revolutionary France (1802-1822)". *Enthymema*, n. XXIV, 2019, pp. 18-42.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.13130/2037-2426/11452>

<https://riviste.unimi.it/index.php/enthymema>



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ISSN 2037-2426

Dismembered Bodies, Dismembered Texts: Supernatural Anthologies and the Re-animation of the Dead in Post-revolutionary France (1802-1822)¹

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Il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas.
Bertrand Barère

J'avais une recette pour [faire revenir Louis XVI], avant le 18 fructidor, je l'ai perdue depuis cette époque: il est probable que je ne la retrouverai jamais, et il sera désormais impossible de faire revenir les rois en France.
Robertson

The popularity of British Gothic novels in post-revolutionary France – dating from 1797, the year of the Coup of 18 Fructidor – can be interpreted as an import of literary terrors that meets predictable needs: including that of exorcizing the far more actual, historical Terror of 1793-94.² Since the beginning, however, the horrors of imagination had accompanied those of the guillotine, of street lynching, and of the profanation of tombs.

One month after the execution of Louis XVI (21 January 1793), the magazine *La Feuille villageoise* announced that «un physicien anglais» – in truth a stage magician, most probably the one known as Phylidor, Philidor, Paul Filidort, Charles Phyllidoor, or Philipsthal, whom we know to be active all over Europe between 1785 and 1829³ – performed the illusion of conjuring the spirits of the dead, «dans une salle tendue de noir et couverte des images de la mort, qu'éclaire une lampe sépulcrale» (“La Phantasmagorie” 490).

A newspaper of 23 July 1793 informs us that the show, named *phantasmagorie*, took place every night at nine (*Affiches, annonces et avis divers* 3080). A few days later, on 1 August, the National Convention issued the decree that the tombs and mausoleums of the kings of France in the church of Saint-Denis must be destroyed by August the 10th, in order to commemorate the assault on the Tuileries of one year before (*Gazette nationale* 914). The profanation of Saint-Denis took place between 6 and 8 August, and then, more thoroughly, in October, when the majority of tombs was violated and bodies thrown in mass graves and covered with quicklime. On 16 October at 12:15pm, while Marie Antoinette was beheaded in Place de la Révolution,

¹ This work was supported by the British Academy under BA/LeverhulmeSmall Research Grant SG171239.

² For the notion of «import of Terror» I obviously refer to Wright's *Britain, France, and the Gothic*: on the polysemy of the term *Terror* see in particular 64-87. In 1797, the whole of Ann Radcliffe's novels, as well as Lewis's *The Monk*, was translated into French: *The Romance of the Forest*, *The Italian* (twice, by two different publishers), *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*, *A Sicilian Romance*, and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. See Martin et al., 401-403 and Hall 2005, 66 n. 56. On the impact of these translations on French audiences, see the still valid contribution by Alice Killen, 74-91, who also draws a parallel between literary terrors and historical Terror.

³ The first reference to Phylidor's performances in Paris is an article of December 1792 signed A. L. M. and published in the *Magazin encyclopédique*. At that time, Phylidor was believed to be German, but most probably he came from the Brabant.

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workers were exhuming the corpse of Louis XV: it immediately melted, exhaling a most foul smell.⁴

Other exhumations, perhaps less dangerous for the safety of individuals but certainly not for the public one, took place in Phylidor's shows and, later, in those of Étienne-Gaspard Robert – a Belgian showman, known under the stage name of Robertson, who would popularize the *phantasmagorie* from 1797 onwards.⁵ «A Monsieur Phillipstal [sic]», recalled Madame Tussaud in her *Memoirs*, «was exhibiting his phantasmagoria [...] some time after the execution of Louis XVI, and one of the men employed, by mistake advanced the figure of the unfortunate monarch, and drawing it up [...], this act was judged by the audience as a sort of allegory, implying that the king would rise to heaven; whereupon [...] M. Phillipstal was immediately arrested [...] and conveyed to prison» (123). At the heyday of phantasmagoria shows, Robertson wrote in his *Mémoires*, «parmi la multitude s'était répandu que l'ombre de Louis XVI venait chaque jour se montrer aux Parisiens. Un commissaire de police [...] dut mettre fin à cette apparition, et le fit évanouir en présence des spectateur ébahis» (I, 166). In other words, as Françoise Levie writes, Paris was too full of restless corpses, severed heads, and desecrated bones not to expect that any of these unquiet spirits could be captured by the uncanny power of the phantasmagoria: «si on lit entre les lignes, c'est à une résurrection que le fantasmagore invite ses contemporains» (79). By giving concreteness, albeit a fleeting one, to the shadows of the departed, phantasmagoria shows were the venue where the inexpressible fear of (or hope for) the return of a dead world could be articulated.

The macabre taste that led Parisians to crowd Phylidor's and Robertson's shows and to devour British Gothic novels, had also another, collateral effect: the birth of an autochthonous book market of terror, whose principal form, however, was not the novel, but the anthology. The relevance and specificity of this robust sub-sector of Gothic publishing is confirmed by the bibliographical appendix added to one of the latest examples of this genre, a *Histoire des vampires et des spectres maléfaisans* published in Paris in 1820 (260-78).⁶ Aimed at updating readers about the most recent publications on supernatural matters, the appendix gathered literary works, prophetic and exoteric texts, but primarily anthologies of supernatural narratives: these constitute about one third of the whole, and enable us to compile a first canon of such typology of publications (Table I). Two years later, in January 1822, the Belgian magazine *Annales belgiques des sciences, des lettres et des arts* published a *Galérie infernale* by a certain Ph. L., being a collective review of recent French *infernal* books including *Le Diable peint par lui-même*, *Histoire des fantômes et des démons*, *Les Fantômes nocturnes*, a new edition of *Le Livre des prodiges*, *Les Ombres sanglantes*, as well as Eusèbe Salverte's *Essai sur la magie, les prodiges et les miracles chez les anciens*. As the author wrote, «l'apparition successive, dans un espace de temps très peu considérable, d[è] ces] ouvrages [...], [...] me semblait une particularité remarquable», due, he argues, to the «plan» of restoring the superstitions and prejudices of the past after the Bourbon Restoration (36).

The consistency of this sub-sector of Gothic book market was also well clear to readers. Between 1820 and 1834, British antiquary Francis Douce had two of these publications bound together, implicitly stating their homology.⁷ Between the late 1820s and the early 1830s, a

⁴ The account was reported, among others, by Chateaubriand in *Le Génie du Christianisme*, II, 360.

⁵ On the history of phantasmagoria shows see Mannoni, 136-75 and Castle, 140-67.

⁶ The book is attributed to Gabrielle de Paban, but is most probably the outcome of a collaboration between her and Collin de Plancy, who used the appendix for promoting his own works.

⁷ The two texts are a 1820 edition of Paban's *Histoire des fantômes et des démons* and the anonymous *Le Livre des prodiges* in the 1802 edition. The two books, both in-12, are bound together, showing both titles on the spine: the book is now the property of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, to which Douce bequeathed his books at his death in 1834 (being, therefore, the *terminus ad quem* for the binding).

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member of the Gabrielli-Bonaparte family in Rome bound the two tomes of *Fantasmagoriana* (1812) together with a manuscript appendix of stories excerpted by the second edition of *Dictionnaire infernal*, which were taken, in turn, from other anthologies of supernatural tales (Camilletti 2018).

The first example of this genre was *Le Livre des prodiges*, published anonymously in 1802 and reaching the fourth edition by 1808.⁸ The unknown editor explicitly connected his/her endeavour to «l'accueil favorable que le Public a fait depuis quelques années aux nouveaux romans anglais, dont la majeure partie offre des scènes de spectres, revenans, fantômes, etc.» (3), but the book's framework was more indebted to phantasmagoria shows than to novels such as *Udolpho*. In the same way as Phylidor and Robertson showed a sequela of scenes excerpted from folktales, ghostly anecdotes, graveyard poems, and Classical mythology, so books like *Le Livre des prodiges* were structured as galleries of stories of variable length and diverse provenance.⁹ Some of these books made explicit reference to phantasmagoria shows, as is the case with *Fantasmagoriana* – whose title literally means *anecdotes presented in the style of phantasmagoria shows* – or with *Spectriana*, a book of 1817 reporting an uncanny episode occurred during one of Robertson's performances (136).

On the one hand, these collections attached themselves to a long tradition that had made gory, terrifying, and macabre stories familiar to the French public. The chapbooks and broadsides known as *canards* privileged gruesome and frightful narratives (Lever 1993), and a certain taste for the horrid was also present in the collections of *tragic* stories that were popular since the seventeenth century (Biet 2006). Supernatural narratives had found their way in miscellanies of tales and anecdotes since the Middle Ages, and had been first systematized throughout the Renaissance, in the course of the debate on supernatural apparitions that had divided Catholic and Protestant theologians (Aretini 2000). Their ponderous works, albeit contingent to the political and spiritual agendas of sixteenth-century religious wars, had proved themselves to be inexhaustible sources of material for later authors, including Laurent Bordelon for his amusing *Histoire des imaginations extravagantes de Monsieur Oufle*, but also theologians of the Enlightenment such as Augustin Calmet and Nicolas Lenglet Du Fresnoy. Both published in 1751, Calmet's *Traité sur les apparitions des esprits* and Lenglet Du Fresnoy's *Recueil de dissertations sur les apparitions, les visions et les songes* would constitute the principal (and mostly undeclared) source of early-nineteenth-century supernatural anthologies.

On the other hand, we should not forget that *Le Livre de prodiges* appeared only one year after François Noël's *Dictionnaire de la fable* (1801), and two years before the first edition of Noël's and François de la Place's seminal *Leçons françaises de littérature et de morale* (1804), later to be repeatedly reprinted throughout the whole first half of the nineteenth century. In the Napoleonic age, anthologies and chrestomathies were pedagogically normalized as a way of digesting tradition, which was made available to the pupils of the State's new schools in the form of selections of *morceaux choisis*.¹⁰ As such, anthologies of the supernatural captured a taste of the time for short texts, chosen – and, therefore, implicitly validated – on the basis of their quality. Such taste, of course, is not only limited to France, and we witness, for example, supernatural anthologies in England (Tregortha's *News from the Invisible World*, 1813; Jervis's *Accredited Ghost Stories*, 1823; Welby's *Signs before Death, and Authenticated Apparitions*, 1825)¹¹ and

⁸ Some catalogues give Charles Nodier as the book's editor, which would be plausible (he was 22 at the time of publication), but unsupported by any source. I will discuss the editorial history of this book later in this essay.

⁹ Robertson included the programme of a typical phantasmagoria show in his *Mémoires*, I, 294-304.

¹⁰ «L'antologia come noi la concepiamo non è [...], all'origine, se non uno degli strumenti di solida e grossa ingegneria (non importa se ammantata per ora in velluti consolari e imperiali) con cui i nuovi dominatori esercitano e difendono la nuova religione dell'ordine e della proprietà», Bollati, xli.

¹¹ See Barry.

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Germany (Wagener's *Die Gespenster*, 1797 and *Neue Gespenster*, 1799; Apel's and Schulze's *Gespenssterbuch*, 1810-1815 and *Wunderbuch*, 1815). Their proliferation, however, is a specifically French phenomenon, whose parabola crosses the whole Napoleonic age and the Bourbon Restoration, naturally fading in the early 1820s just before the explosion of *littérature frénétique* and the innovative approach to fantastic literature inaugurated by Théophile Gautier, Gérard de Nerval, Prosper Mérimée, and Alexandre Dumas.¹²

The first element these texts share in common is the deliberately weak authoriality they display. Compiled by people at the margins of the editorial market (such as J.P.R. Cuisin, the editor of *Spectriana* [1817], *Les Ombres sanglantes* [1820], and *Les Fantômes nocturnes* [1821]), or by authors wishing to preserve their anonymity, as is the case with geographer Jean-Baptiste Benoît Eyriès (the editor of *Fantasmagoriana*) or with Charles Nodier (who publishes *Infernaliana* in 1822), they often present themselves as anonymous works or mask editors' identities with asterisks or pseudonyms. Collin de Plancy publishes *Les Contes noirs* (1818) under the pen name of J.S.C. de Saint-Albin, and probably collaborates with Gabrielle de Paban, his sister-in-law, in compiling *Histoire des fantômes et des démons* (1818), *Histoire des vampires et des spectres malfaisans*, and *Démoniana* (1820). Strategies of authentication are manifold: stories have been reported by «personnes dignes de foi» (*Livre des prodiges*), «trouv[é]s dans les catacombes» (*Spectriana*), or excerpted «sources réelles». In Lamothe-Langon's *Souvenirs d'un fantôme* (1838) a much belated homage to the genre and, in a sense, its swansong, the preface informs us that stories are taken from a manuscript that a ghost, or perhaps the devil in person, has handed to the editor.

The editors' operation is normally defined by making reference to the semantic spheres of selection and excerption, almost never speaking of authorship. Texts have been «recueilli[s] et publié[s]» (*Histoire des revenans, ou prétendus tels*), «extrait[s] et traduit[s]» (*Le Diable peint par lui-même*), «puisé[s]» (*Les Ombres sanglantes*), «traduit[s]» (*Fantasmagoriana*); books present themselves as *Galerie* (*Le Diable peint par lui-même*; *Les Ombres sanglantes*), *Théâtre* (*Les Fantômes nocturnes*), *Recueil* (*Fantasmagoriana*, *Spectriana*), or *Choix* (*Histoire des fantômes et des démons*; *Démoniana*); at times, they aim to trace the history of certain themes or figures (*Histoire des revenans, ou prétendus tels*; *Histoire des fantômes et des démons*; *Histoire des vampires et des spectres malfaisans*) or, in the case of Plancy's most famous work, to be a dictionary of all that pertains to mystery and the supernatural.

Titles and subtitles stress the diversity of textual materials presented, as well as the variety of supernatural themes covered in books. In terms of genre, *aventures* and *anecdotes* are the most frequently used terms, but we also find *histoires*, *contes*, *nouvelles*, *petits romans*, and *faits*; most titles exploit the varied terminology attached to ghosts (*spectres*, *revenants*, *esprits*, *fantômes*), but also feature devils (*diabls*) and demons (*démons*), vampires, werewolves (*loups-garous*), and a plethora of supernatural figures, themes, and situations that varies from text to text, but is normally dictated by a definite taste for enumeration. Adjectives contribute to creating and shaping the readers' expectations, by employing a vocabulary that is tellingly close to that of illusionists and fair barkers: *merveilleux*, *remarquable*, *bizarre*, *prodigieux*, *infernal*, *fantastique*, *funeste*, *sanglant*, *surprenant*, *extraordinaire*, *singulier*. Derived from illusionism is also the oscillation between pretension of authenticity, abuse of Gothic paraphernalia, and parodic inversion toward a humorous tone. In *Les Ombres sanglantes*, the collection is said to be «propre à causer les fortes émotions de la terre», exactly what Phylidor's and Robertson's phantasmagoria shows promised to their audiences: at the same time, by seeing the lantern in action, the public could understand how pretended supernatural phenomena were nothing but illusions of the senses, so that the phantasmagoria could also be sold as a matter of entertainment, even an educational

¹² See Glinoyer, 69–74 on the role of anthologies of the supernatural (particularly those by Cuisin, Collin de Plancy, and Nodier) in the prehistory of *littérature frénétique*.

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one. The same interplay between terror and fun, illusion and explanation can be retraced in the paratexts of several anthologies, compensating the emphasis of titles with knowing epigraphs. *Le Livre des prodiges* announces that the book's «but est d'amuser et non pas d'effrayer»; *Fantasmagoriana* opens with a quotation from Horace, speaking of «deceitful terrors» (*falsis terroribus*); *Dictionnaire infernal* adopts as an epigraph a quotation from Plutarch condemning superstitious beliefs, and the engraving placed beside the frontispiece precisely shows a destructive allegory of Superstition; *Démoniana* declares itself an «Ouvrage propre à rassurer les imaginations timorées, contre les frayeurs superstitieuses»; and *Histoire des fantômes et des démons* opens with a quatrain announcing the wish to take, from the «tomes» written in the centuries of superstition, «tout le plus merveilleux; / Que le lecteur s'amuse, et qu'il ouvre les yeux».

Supernatural anthologies are normally printed in a portable format – in-8 (*Le Livre des prodiges*, *Dictionnaire infernal*, *Les Ombres sanglantes*, *Histoire des fantômes et des démons*) or in-12 (*Histoire des revenans, ou prétendus tels*, *Fantasmagoriana*, *Démoniana*) – and are evidently meant for quick consumption: which is confirmed, among many factors including the quality of paper, by the small quantity and the generally poor state of copies that have survived. Prices, where available, are in line with those of cheap novels at that time: *Les Fantômes nocturnes* costed 5 francs, circa one-twentieth of a worker's monthly wage in the Paris area, in 1820 (Paillat 1951, 770); *Dictionnaire infernal* costed slightly more the double, 12 francs. Editorial care seems to be generally poor: most texts merely cut and paste stories of different provenances, often the same from book to book; for the biggest part, they are excerpted from the eighteenth-century works of Bordelon, Calmet, and Lenglet Du Fresnoy.

Examining this minor, albeit significant corpus of texts proves to be challenging to research for historical, theoretical, and philological reasons. In historical terms, as said above, these works constitute one of the primary links between, on the one hand, the import of the British Gothic in post-revolutionary France, and, on the other, the development of different pathways in the fantastic/Gothic genre, through the vogue of *littérature frénétique*, the impact of E.T.A. Hoffmann's works on the Romantic generation, and the works of Gautier, Nerval, and Dumas. If seen from this perspective, the study of post-revolutionary anthologies of the supernatural enables for a distinctly transnational pattern to emerge, testifying to continuous cultural exchanges between the English-, French-, and German-speaking domains through the Napoleonic wars and the Bourbon Restoration. The work of Eyriès, Cuisin, Paban, and Collin de Plancy, as well as of their anonymous colleagues, showcases the existence of a European Gothic that Anglo-centric perspectives, traditionally dominant in Gothic Studies, have so far prevented from fully appreciating.¹³

At the same time, from the point of view of theory, these texts confirm the intrinsically anti-authorial (and, implicitly, anti-authoritarian) drive of Gothic literature: as a genre that is «so pointedly fake and counterfeit from the beginning» (Hogle 2002, 15), the Gothic has always played with masks, fictional identities, and plagiarism at both textual and meta-textual levels. As books with no authors, compiled through remnants of other, forgotten books, and juxtaposing texts of the most diverse provenances – fragments of Gothic novels, anecdotes excerpted from theological treatises, medieval and Renaissance *exempla*, chronicles of early modern prodigies, folktales, accounts of allegedly real or fake apparitions –, anthologies of the supernatural are degree-zero paradigms of the Gothic's distinctive vocation to piracy, forgery, and plagiarism. As such, they perfectly display the double move which, according to Jerrold Hogle, the Gothic has performed since its first manifestations: on the one hand, «the exploited

¹³ Recent contributions challenging this perspective include Horner 2002, Horner and Zlosnik 2008, Cusack and Murnane 2012, and Elbert and Marshall 2013. They have, however, only limitedly addressed the textual typology in question.

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relics from the past are emptied of much former content»; on the other, «such figures [...] look back to a past existence which can never be recovered and so can be reconceived, yet they also look ahead to marketable recastings of old remnants in modern technologies [...] in which what is already counterfeited can be transformed into a simulation among other simulations directed at a newer purpose and market» (16). The new market, of course, is the emerging cultural industry of post-revolutionary Paris, in which the proliferation of publishing houses meets the needs of an escalating growth in literacy. In presenting themselves as hybrid textual objects – terrifying *and* educational, adversary to superstition *but* obliquely evoking the charm of a past world of wonders, and nowhere as purely literary texts – these books refashion the past in an acceptable manner, fragmenting and recomposing the text of tradition after the historical and symbolic fracture opened by the Revolution. By so doing, these texts are quintessentially post-revolutionary, if by this term we intend the drive to think history as a sequela of traumatic fissures, polarizing what comes before and after in terms of original and copy, reality and representation (Jenson 2001, 15). Anthologies of the supernatural counterfeit superstition in the age that has erased (or, better, pretends to have erased) belief in the supernatural – in the same way as phantasmagorias mimic the prodigies that once were held to be true, showcasing, as an advert of Robertson’s performance blatantly declares, «Apparitions de spectres, fantômes et revenans *tels qu’ils ont du et pu apparôître* [sic] dans tous les tems, dans tous les lieux et chez tous les peuples» (*Affiches, annonces et avis divers*, 20 January 1798, 2224, my emphasis).

Finally, these works prove to be challenging in philological terms, at least for their trans-medial vocation and, at the same time, their extra-textual circulation. Assembled in a profoundly trans-medial context – the market of entertainment, in which recreational science interacted with occultism and the illusionism of phantasmagoria shows – anthologies of the supernatural display a double-edged connection with the sphere of orality. Books are not only meant for silent consumption, but also to be read aloud; stories, thanks to their succinctness, are easy to be memorized, so that anthologies do not only provide readers with an object of solitary pleasure, but also with a repertoire of sensational tales to be told in public, as several testimonies invite us to think.¹⁴ At the same time, anthologies willingly incorporate stories that are born, or have circulated, in an oral form. *Spectriana* includes a tale allegedly told by «un jeune Dramaturge, qui cultive avec succès la littérature du nord» (155) – most probably a meandering way to refer to Charles Nodier –, which is nothing but the variant of a story by German writer Friedrich August Schulze, which had been translated in *Fantasmagoriana* just five years before: this story would later influence Alexandre Dumas’s *La Femme au collier de velours* (1849), based in turn on a plot devised by Paul Lacroix, and precisely presented as a narrative told by Nodier on his deathbed (Camilletti 2017).

On the one hand, therefore, the study of these anthologies is essential in order to reconstruct the patterns of transmission of specific narrative nuclei, at the intersection between folklore and written culture: «any attempt to analyse the stories themselves», Jonathan Barry writes, «or draw conclusions about their significance either in popular or educated culture, must begin by unravelling the publishing history by which they were transmitted and [...] modified and retold, as well as re-interpreted» (212). On the other, supernatural anthologies challenge given ideas about authoriality and textual transmission: in the age of printed media, they involve «old-age storytelling processes», «engag[ing] audiences – who in turn become creators – and help[ing] to develop new media literacies through the creative process. [...] Combined with a folk-influenced storytelling process, this yields shared ownership, variability

¹⁴ The Gabrielli-Bonaparte copy of *Fantasmagoriana* testifies well to this interplay between reading and storytelling (Camilletti 2018). Needless to say that *Fantasmagoriana* is also the starting point of the most famous storytelling circle of literary history, that of Byron, the Shelleys, and John Polidori at Villa Diodati in the summer of 1816.

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of form, and the constant and consistent invitation for audiences to become storytellers themselves» (Chess and Newsom 2015). This last consideration is particularly interesting, in that it does not come from a work on nineteenth-century Gothic fiction, but from a book examining the myth of the Slender Man – born in 2009 on the forum *Something Awful* – and the Internet narratives known as *Creepypastas*. The term, a crasis between the adjective *creepy* and the computer functions of *copy* and *paste*, defines anonymous short horror stories that are routinely reposted in dedicated forums and websites: a new praxis and a new modality of horror story-telling, whose remote ancestors, however, can perhaps be found in cheap, widely circulating compendia of scary tales of two centuries before, which were equally copied, pasted, and creepy, and equally invited audiences to become storytellers in turn.

In order to better understand the specificity of supernatural anthologies, it is probably best to analyse the first example of the genre. Published in 1802, and meeting – as we said – a remarkable success over the years, *Le Livre des prodiges* perfectly displays the distinctive features of the genre: anonymity, cut-up, and trans-mediality.

The first edition of *Le Livre des prodiges* appeared anonymously in the second semester of year X (end of March-September 1802) for Pillot, a bookshop/publishing house situated on the Pont-Neuf and managed by the two sons of Jean-Pierre Pillot (d. 1799). The volume was an in-8, and the subtitle explained that it included *Histoires et Aventures merveilleuses et remarquables de Spectres, Revenans, Esprits, Fantômes, Démons, etc., dont les faits et les événemens sont rapportés par des personnes dignes de foi*, followed by an epigraph in which the book spoke by itself and announced that: «Mon but est d’amuser, et non pas d’effrayer». The frontispiece showed a scene from one of the stories: a young man in Renaissance clothes, a sword in his hand and a candlestick on the other, who follows a chain-dragging skeleton in the adorned salon of a manor, while a caption reports the corresponding passage in the text («Il lui fit signe de le suivre»)¹⁵ The book was composed of 180 pages and included, alongside an advertisement, 45 stories of different lengths (see Table II).

Pillot mostly published cheap, fashionable works, and the *Livre* must have immediately met a certain success: a second edition was published shortly afterwards, and in 1804 there appeared a third one. Publisher was Pillot ainé: the two brothers had split up, and while the elder still practised on the Pont-Neuf, the younger had found a new base in Place de Trois-Maries (erased in 1866 with the opening of the rue du Pont-Neuf). The edition was presented as a new and expanded one, although it merely added a single new story. The same content formed the fourth edition, published in 1808 by Marie-François Pillot, a daughter to Jean-Pierre Pillot who appears as a Pont-Neuf-based publisher in the *Almanach du commerce* of 1809. Marie-Françoise would obtain the licence as a bookseller only in 1812, and, for this reason, the book appears to be published «Au Dépôt general des Nouveautés» at 12, Pont-Neuf. All these editions keep title and subtitle unchanged, as well as the epigraph and the engraving in the frontispiece: the third edition, however, introduces minor corrections in spelling, references, and orthography. *Le Livre des prodiges* would be re-redited in 1821 by publisher Masson and again, in 1846, by a publishing house of Carpentras, in Provence.

Whereas the subtitle followed the taste for enumerations that was already present in books such as Bordelon’s *Imaginations extravagantes de Monsieur Oufle*, the title is extremely telling. Unlike its followers, the first example in the genre chose, rather than employing a sensational title, to move within the well-established category of paradoxography – i.e. the genre, of Classical origin, dealing with all kinds of phenomena that violate the rules of nature, and classified by Cicero as *monstra, prodigia, ostenta*, and *portenta* (Vega 2002, 7). Books dealing with prodiges had

¹⁵ The same scene by a different artist, located in a garden and entitled *L’ombre de la mort*, constitutes the frontispiece of *Spectriana*. In this case we see a sixteenth-century soldier, with a sword and lantern, following a skeleton under the entrance of a cemetery. Caption says: «Il lui ordonne de le suivre».

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met new interest in the sixteenth century, when ancient paradoxographical works were republished and new ones were produced, mostly structured as year-by-year chronicles, catalogues, and classifications; prodiges were interpreted as the effects of divine or diabolical operations, announcing future events or possessing some allegorical signification (11-18). The peak of this book market can be dated to 1520-70, but materials collected in these numerous works would later find their way in Baroque and early eighteenth-century collections of curiosities, forming the textual equivalent of *Wunderkammern* [cabinets of wonder] that were popular all over Europe until the age of the Enlightenment (Impey and MacGregor 2001).

Two texts, in particular, seem to be echoed by the title *Le Livre des prodiges* – both ancient works, which had enjoyed new popularity from the sixteenth century onwards. The first is Julius Obsequens's *Prodigiorum liber*, a work now believed to be written around the fourth century AD, which survived in an incomplete form and was first printed by Aldus Manutius in 1508. In 1552, Alsatian humanist Conrad Lychostenes published in Basel an expanded version that was to meet an immense success all over Europe, often reprinted together with Polydore Vergil's *De prodigijs* (1531) and Joachim Camerarius's *De Ostensis* (1532): Lychostenes's edition was translated into French in 1555 by Georges La Bouthière (Vega 156-57). The second one is Phlegon of Tralles's *Περὶ θαυμασίων*, a second-century collection of prodiges first edited in the modern world in 1568 by German philologist Wilhelm Xylander. Phlegon's work holds a special place in the history of the Gothic, in that it conveys to the modern world the story of Machates and Philinnion, which would later inspire Goethe's *Die Braut von Korinth* (1797) [The Bride of Corinth] and was also included in *Le Livre des prodiges* (see Table II, story 43). Less than fifty years after Xylander's edition, however, the story had already entered the repertoire of inquisitors and demonologists: the return of Philinnion from the grave was interpreted as a diabolical illusion, by which a demon had taken the body of a dead girl in order to tempt a living man. Such reading was presented for the first time by Francesco Maria Guaccio in his *Compendium maleficarum*, of 1608 (Braccini and Scorsone 2013, ix): just five years later, an anonymous pamphlet asserted that a similar event had taken place in Paris. This story too was included in *Le Livre des prodiges* (story 3): the compiler could by no means know it, but had included two versions of the same narrative nucleus.

As said above, the advertisement tried to link *Le Livre des Prodiges* to the «accueil favorable que le Public a fait depuis plusieurs années aux nouveau romans anglais, dont la majeure partie offre des scènes de spectres, revenans, fantômes, etc.» (3). Its element of distinction, however, was the ambiguity it created about the book's content. Unlike English novels, the stories included in *Le Livre des prodiges* were no works of fiction, but rather experiences reported to be actual by trustworthy witnesses:

Les faits et les évènements [soc] dont il est fait mention dans ce Recueil, paraissent si merveilleux et si extraordinaires, que l'on serait presque tenté de les regarder comme les effets d'une imagination exaltée, s'ils n'étaient rapportés par des personnes dignes de foi. Cependant, malgré le récit et le témoignage de ces personnes de mérite, on ne garantit point toutes ces circonstances. Le lecteur judicieux en tirera les inductions qu'il jugera à propos. (3-4)

In line with this statement, the majority of stories (28 out of 45) indicated some kind of source, mostly written or verbal accounts: these vary from ancient authors to medieval chronicles, Renaissance and Baroque testimonies, and contemporary reports, thereby providing a wide range of texts of different lengths and typologies. On closer analysis, however, it is clear that *Le Livre des prodiges* was compiled by uniquely relying on Calmet's *Traité* and Lenglet Du Fresnoy's *Recueil de dissertations* (see Table II), which are often copied verbatim,

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including internal references that become unintelligible in the new context.¹⁶ Selection was methodical, presumably following criteria of economy: two thirds of stories (31/45) came from Calmet, equally distributed between volumes I (16 stories) and II (15), while 14 were excerpted from Lenglet Du Fresnoy. Calmet generally provided stories on the ancient and the medieval world, particularly those related to belief in Purgatory and to demons, as well as anecdotes concerning vampires (which, however, before the success of Polidori's *The Vampyre*, were virtually unknown in post-revolutionary France and are never named as such in *Le Livre des prodiges*). 12 out of 14 stories taken from Lenglet Du Fresnoy came from the second tome of volume I: the *Recueil de dissertations* primarily supplied the book with early modern and eighteenth-century anecdotes, mostly related to hauntings and possessions of various kinds.

Early reviewers remarked the piratical attitude of *Le Livre des prodiges*. A review of the third edition, published in 1804 by journal *La Décade philosophique*, underlined the book's inconsistencies: «Quel est le style de cet ouvrage? Celui de chaque auteur, traducteur ou compilateur dont on a copié les passages. L'éditeur n'a pas même daigné corriger, sous ce rapport, les platitudes et les incorrections» (362). In *Histoire des vampires*, Gabrielle de Paban defined it a «compilation [...] plate», assimilating it to the later *Histoire des revenans, ou prétendus tels*: just like that one, *Le Livre des prodiges* is a «mauvaise compilation, sans, but, sans ordre, sans goût et sans mérite. On l'a faite, comme on dit, avec des ciseaux» (269-70). In the second edition of *Dictionnaire infernal*, Collin de Plancy would reiterate the concept: «Compilation sans objet, avec cette épigraphe que rien ne justifie: "Mon but est d'amuser et non pas d'effrayer"» (III, 461).

Still, notwithstanding its cut-and-paste composition, *Le Livre des prodiges* does not cease to convey meaning: once excerpted from their original contexts and reframed within the book's new one, stories create new patterns as well as reciprocal, internal reverberations, which unavoidably bears significance in cultural terms. The clearest and most obvious one is the transition from the domain of Old Regime theology to that of post-revolutionary entertainment: in isolating stories from Calmet's and Lenglet Du Fresnoy's works – e.g. in the case of the already mentioned anecdote about the demon and the revenant woman occurred in 1613 (story 3) –, the compiler generally omitted the frame in which episodes were discussed from the point of view of Catholic doctrine, consequently transforming those that were objects of theological speculation into narratives whose only purpose is aesthetic enjoyment.

Further, underlying patterns can be detected. *Le Livre des prodiges* only limitedly features prodiges in the Renaissance and Baroque sense: stories 6 and 24 describe phenomena in the sky, but monsters, for example, are overall absent; prophecies are also scarcely present (stories 5, 11, 16, and 18). Principally, stories feature devils (11 out of 45) and treasure-guarding demons (3/45), revenants, ghosts, and haunted houses (8/45), *Poltergeist* and physical/auditory manifestations (6/45), souls from Purgatory (4/45), preternatural pacts, i.e. the agreement between two living that the first one to die would come and visit the other from the beyond (4/45), and visions and dreams (3/45). Particularly striking is the massive presence of the diabolical theme: since the eighteenth-century, infernal imaginary had been exploited, in French culture, in order to raise issues of insubordination and free-thinking, and had also pervaded revolutionary iconography before becoming a catchy reference in post-revolutionary popular press (e.g. *Dictionnaire infernal*, *Démoniana*, *Infernaliana*).¹⁷ Also interesting is the presence of stories concerning souls from Purgatory, in an age witnessing a loss of impetus («essoufflement») in Purgatory-related beliefs that lasts from around 1750 to the mid-nineteenth century (Cuchet 2005).

¹⁶ E.g. in story 3, taken from a pamphlet reproduced by Lenglet Du Fresnoy, in which it is spoken of «janvier 1613, pendant que ces pluies qui nous ont si long-tems tourmenté duraient encore».

¹⁷ Milner, I, 252-55. On the presence of hell in revolutionary imaginary see Biard.

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The vast majority of stories generally bears a date, or features characters – such as king Charles the Bald – that may help in contextualizing narratives within the flow of history. Among those that can certainly be dated, 11 stories out of 45 take place in the seventeenth century; around 6 in the eighteenth, and as many in the sixteenth. Equally present are the Classical world (5 stories, plus 4 taking place in the early Christian age), the Middle Ages (5), and the early Renaissance (1). In total, around 24 out of 45 stories belong to the Old Regime, a term not incidentally coined in revolutionary times and roughly denoting French society in the centuries of monarchic absolutism, from the death of Charles VIII Valois-Orléans (1498) to the deposition of Louis XVI (1792). Quite predictably, with the exception of those that belong to the ancient world, most stories are set in France (15 stories, plus 3 taking place in borderline territories between France and Germany), with a predominance of Paris (4 stories). Present are also Italy (4 stories), the Flanders (4), Germany (2), and the Eastern territories of the Habsburg empire (4).

Such statistics are not merely due to a purpose of quantification: rather, they aim to define the world that *Le Livre des prodiges* implicitly describes and brings back to life through its apparently mechanical work of cut-up. In 1802 Paris, *Le Livre des prodiges* gathers the fragments of a lost world and re-packages them in a work whose declared purpose is to «amuser». This lost world, of course, is that of Old Regime France –with its aristocrats, its country priests, and its merchants – but also, and primarily, a world in which marvel was still possible: just like Phylidor's and Robertson's shows, *Le Livre des prodiges* and its successors impart new, ephemeral life to a sense of wonder that is perceived to have disappeared from the world (Camilletti 2015).

On 2 May 1849 Alexandre Dumas published in *Le Constitutionnel* the first part of a frame narrative entitled *Une journée à Fontenay-aux-Roses*. Between 22 of September and 27 October of the same year, the magazine hosted Dumas's novella *La Femme au collier de velours*. These two works are not only connected by their being, in Dumas's initial intention, part of a collection to be titled *Le Mille et Un Fantômes* – which would appear later in 1849 but would only include the stories of *Une journée*, while *La Femme* would be published as a stand-alone volume in 1850.¹⁸ *Le Mille et Un Fantômes* and *La Femme* are two attempts at coping with the traumatic legacy of the French Revolution, in a year of personal and political disenchantment: and at doing so by means of supernatural narratives.

The idea for *La Femme* came from Paul Lacroix, a bibliophile and the successor of Charles Nodier as director of the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, who had taken his inspiration from Pétrus Borel's tale *Gottfried Wolfgang* – in fact, as he acknowledged in his notebooks, a mere translation of Washington Irving's short story *The Adventure of the German Student* (1824).¹⁹ Dumas had made significant improvements to Lacroix's draft, the principal of which was to put the story into Nodier's mouth: *La Femme*, therefore, was constructed since the beginning as a homage to Nodier, to his skilfulness as a storyteller, and to his pioneering role in the import of supernatural narratives in France. It may be not superfluous to record how Nodier and Dumas were said to have met in 1823, at the premiere of a theatrical work inspired by Polidori's *The Vampyre*. Supernatural anthologies were at their peak in popularity, and Nodier himself had just published *Infernaliana*, a collection of supernatural stories that was 'made with scissors' as much as *Le Livre des prodiges* (8 stories out of 35 were the same).²⁰ From this viewpoint, the fact that the core theme of *La Femme* – as well as of Irving's tale – was a variation of the 1613 story

¹⁸ They have, however, been frequently reprinted together, e.g. in the edition by Callet-Bianco from whence I cite.

¹⁹ «Ce texte est en fait une simple traduction/adaptation de la nouvelle de Washington Irving intitulée L'Aventure de l'étudiant allemand», Lacroix's notepads, quoted in Callet-Bianco's edition of Dumas.

²⁰ Stories 12, 28, 33, 7, 4, 37, 22, 34 in Table II.

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about a man seduced by a demon lover in the streets of Paris, in turn a modern metamorphosis of the story of Philinnion and Machates, acquires deeper resonances.²¹

Lacroix had also provided Dumas with plots for *Le Mille et Un Fantômes*, among which he included the stories of several prodiges allegedly taking place during the profanation of the royal tombs at Saint-Denis.²² These stories would find their way into the book, anticipated, however, by the description of a strange collection amassed by the mayor of Fontenay, Ledru:

– Tenez, me dit-il [...] C'est une collection de reliques, non pas de saints, mais de rois. En effet, chaque papier enveloppait un os, des cheveux ou de la barbe. Il y avait une rotule de Charles IX, le pouce de François I^{er}, un fragment du crâne de Louis XIV, une côte de Henri II, une vertèbre de Louis XV, de la barbe de Henri IV et des cheveux de Louis XIII. Chaque roi avait fourni son échantillon, et de tous ces os on eût pu recomposer à peu de chose près un squelette qui eût parfaitement représenté celui de la monarchie française, auquel depuis longtemps manquent les ossements principaux. [...]
D'où venait cet ossuaire?
M. Ledru avait présidé à l'exhumation des rois à Saint-Denis, et il avait pris dans chaque tombeau ce qui lui avait plu. (Dumas, *Les Mille et Un Fantômes*, my emphases)²³

This collection stands, thus, as a powerful emblem of the obsession underlying the whole of *Le Mille et Un Fantômes*: that the Revolution has broken the old world into pieces, which a few men – who are slowly dying, the one after the other – are painstakingly, albeit vainly, trying to recompose, with the awareness that the original wholeness has completely been lost.

La plupart des monuments étaient détruits, la plupart des familles étaient éteintes, de sorte que les fragments les plus curieux [...] de notre histoire [...] ont été dispersés, perdus. C'est ainsi que tout s'en va de notre vieille France; il ne restait plus que ces fragments, et de ces fragments il ne restera bientôt plus rien.

The book itself is a collection of such fragments. Preceded by a melancholic introduction, lamenting the disappearance of a past world of courtesy and good manners («que fais-je? Je vis avec les morts beaucoup [...]. J'essaye de faire revivre les sociétés éteintes, les hommes disparus»), it relates a day of storytelling in a house in Fontenay, whose owner has since been dead, while the company has disbanded («Il était temps de se retirer; nous primes congé de M. Ledru. Un an après, cet excellent homme mourut. [...] Je ne suis jamais retourné à Fontenay-aux-Roses»). The gap itself between the *thousand* ghosts evoked by the title and the barely six stories that compose the book allude to a fissure between some lost totality and the few remnants that are all the living are supposed to deal with. These remnants, however, may well compose, if properly reconnected, a lost world of wonders, inasmuch as Ledru's collection of royal relics would form a skeleton of the French monarchy if assembled in the right order. By picking his stories from a number of different sources – «documents historiques, souvenirs, sommes érudites...» (Callet-Bianco) – Dumas/Lacroix evokes a world of severed heads that talk (*Solange, Albert*) and prodiges of kings (*Les Tombeaux de Saint-Denis*), of vengeful ghosts (*Le Chat, l'huissier et le squelette*) and Catholic miracles (*L'Artifaille*), of testimonies of love from the

²¹ The metamorphoses of this story from the 1613 pamphlet to Dumas's novella and beyond are now collected in Balduc's *Colliers de velours*.

²² «Violation des tombeaux de Saint-Denis. Voir le procès verbal dans les notes du *Génie du Christianisme*. Divers prodiges signalent cette profanation», Lacroix's notepads, now in Dumas, *Les Mille et Un Fantômes*.

²³ Ledru was a real character, and he actually possessed a similar collection, which was rendered to the French state after his death and replaced in Saint-Denis in 1898 (see Catucci, 24-30).

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afterlife (*Le Bracelet de cheveux*) and vampires (*Les Months Carpathes*, *Le Château des Brancovan*, *Les Deux Frères*, *Le Monastère de Hango*).

Anne-Marie Callet-Bianco comments that *Les Mille et Un Fantômes* is an attempt to «renouer les liens distendus entre le passé et le présent et, plus largement, entre les vivants et les disparus: voilà qui s'apparente à une entreprise de résurrection, à la manière des travaux de Galvani» – which, besides, are explicitly evoked in the text through the memory of Nicolas Philippe Ledru called Comus, one of the pioneers of the magic lantern and a precursor to Phylidor and Robertson.²⁴ Such dream of reanimation, however, is not only a matter of personal nostalgia – bringing back to ephemeral life men such as Nodier or Ledru, who had seen the world before the vulgarity of the present – but also a profound textual operation, by which *Le Mille et Un Fantômes* mimics the variety, the hybridity, and even the naïvety of texts such as *Le Livre des prodiges* or *Infernaliana*, while using their literary terrors for coping with the uncanny memory of Jacobin Terror and the fissure it created with the past.

By so doing, Dumas shows how the post-revolutionary obsession for the return of the dead is firmly engrained in the traumatic reality of a cityscape that is literally constellated with corpses, severed heads, and dismembered bodies, which are always at the risk of *returning*. Gabrielle de Paban, in *Démoniana*, reports the anecdote of *Le Revenant de la place de Grève*: the story is set in 1777, has a rationalistic ending, and the protagonist is an Old Regime poisoner; still the image of the ghost who «revenait toutes les nuits sur la place de Grève» cannot help but evoking closer memories (59). The ghost appears «en robe-de-chambre, tenant un crucifix à la main, se promenant avec lenteur autour de l'espace qu'avaient occupé son échafaud et son bûcher, et s'écriant d'une voix lugubre: *je viens chercher ma chair et mes os*»: the same words, without comment, feature in the book's frontispiece, where an engraving shows the capped ghost walking on the Seine riverbanks, surmounted by the title *Les Terreurs nocturnes*. A site for public executions since the Middle Ages, place de Grève had hosted, in 1792, the first capital punishment by guillotine: since then, ghosts who might be looking for their flesh and bones in the streets of Paris had drastically multiplied.

At the same time, *Le Mille et Un Fantômes* and *La Femme au collier de velours* show how the persistent, obsessive image of reanimation and return possesses a profound textual value. By constructing his works of 1849 as homages paid to the world of Ledru and Nodier, Dumas unveils the metaphor underlying the work of all those who, in post-revolutionary France, had snipped forgotten texts in search for new effects: recomposing the text of tradition by selecting, excerpting, and re-contextualizing the scattered fragments of the lost ages; and re-selling the supernatural, in a disenchanting age, as a matter of entertainment and oblique frisson.

Table I: Anthologies of the supernatural (1802-1822)

C***, editor. *Histoire des revenans, ou prétendus tels, des gens crus morts et rappelés à la vie et sortis de leurs tombeaux, etc.; recueillie et publiée par C****. Paris, Goulet, 1810. 2 vols.

Collin de Plancy, J[acques] A[lbin] S[imon], editor. *Dictionnaire infernal, ou Recherches et anecdotes, sur les Démons, les Esprits, les Fantômes, les Spectres, les Revenants, les Loups-garoux, les Possédés, les Sorciers, le Sabbat, les Magiciens, les Salamandres, les Sylphes, les Gnomes, etc., les Visions, les Songes, les Prodiges, les Charmes, les Maléfices, les Secrets merveilleux, les Talismans, etc.; en un mot, sur tout ce*

²⁴ «M. Ledru commença. – Je suis, dit-il, le fils du fameux Comus, physicien du roi et de la reine; mon père, que son surnom burlesque a fait classer parmi les escamoteurs et les charlatans, était un savant distingué de l'école de Volta, de Galvani et de Mesmer. Le premier en France, il s'occupa de fantasmagorie et d'électricité, donnant des séances de mathématique et de physique à la cour». See also Catucci, 40-43.

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qui tient aux Apparitions, à la Magie, au Commerce de l'Enfer, aux Divinations, aux Sciences secretes, aux Superstitions, aux Choses mystérieuses et surnaturelles etc., etc., etc. Paris, Mongie, 1818. 2 vols.

Collin de Plancy, J[acques] A[lbin] S[imon], editor. *Dictionnaire infernal, ou Bibliothèque universelle.* Paris, Mongie, 1825-26. 4 vols.

Collin de Plancy, J[acques] A[lbin] S[imon], editor. *Le Diable peint par lui-même, ou Galerie de petits romans, de contes bizarres, d'anecdotes prodigieuses; sur les aventures des démons, les traits qui les caractérisent, leurs bonnes qualités et leurs infortunes; les bons mots et les réponses singulières qu'on leur attribue; leurs amours, et les services qu'ils ont pu rendre aux mortels, etc., etc., etc. extrait et traduit des démonomanes, des théologiens, des legends, et des diverses chroniques du sombre empire.* Paris, Mongie, 1819.

[Cuisin, J.R.P.], editor. *Les Fantômes nocturnes; ou les Terreurs des coupables; Théâtre de forfaits, offrant, par Nouvelles Historiques, des visions infernales de monstres fantastiques, d'images funestes, de lutins homicides, de spectres et d'échafauds sanglans, supplices précurseurs des scélérats.* Paris, Veuve Lepetit, 1821. 2 vols.

[Cuisin, J.R.P.], editor. *Les Ombres sanglantes, Galerie funèbre de Prodiges, Evénemens merveilleux, Apparitions nocturnes, Songes épouvantables, Délits mystérieux, Phénomènes terribles, Forfaits historiques; Cadavres mobiles, Têtes ensanglantées et animées, Vengeances atroces et combinaisons du crime; puisées dans des sources réelles. Recueil propre à causer les fortes émotions de la terreur.* Paris, Veuve Lepetit, 1820. 2 vols.

[Cuisin, J.R.P.], editor. *Spectriana, ou Recueil d'histoires et aventures surprenantes, merveilleuses et remarquables de Spectres, Revenans, Esprits, Fantômes, Gnomes, Diabes, et Démons, etc. Manuscrit trouvé dans les catacombes.* Paris, L'Écrivain, 1817.

[Eyriès, Jean-Baptiste Benoît], editor and translator. *Fantasmagoriana, ou Recueil d'histoires d'apparitions de spectres, revenans, fantômes, etc.; Traduit de l'allemand, par un Amateur.* Paris, Schoell, 1812. 2 vols.

Histoire des vampires et des spectres malfaisans avec un examen du vampirisme. Paris, Masson, 1820.

Le Livre des prodiges, ou Histoires et aventures merveilleuses et remarquables de Spectres, Revenans, Esprits, Fantômes, Démons, etc., dont les faits et les événemens sont rapportés par des personnes dignes de foi. Paris, Pillot, 1802.

Le Livre des prodiges, ou Histoires et aventures merveilleuses et remarquables de Spectres, Revenans, Esprits, Fantômes, Démons, etc., dont les faits et les événemens sont rapportés par des personnes dignes de foi. Paris, Pillot aîné, 1804.

Le Livre des prodiges, ou Histoires et aventures merveilleuses et remarquables de Spectres, Revenans, Esprits, Fantômes, Démons, etc., dont les faits et les événemens sont rapportés par des personnes dignes de foi. Paris, Au Dépôt général des Nouveautés, 1808.

Le Livre des prodiges, ou Histoires et aventures merveilleuses et remarquables de Spectres, Revenans, Esprits, Fantômes, Démons, etc., dont les faits et les événemens sont rapportés par des personnes dignes de foi. Paris, Masson, 1821.

Le Livre des prodiges, ou Histoires et aventures merveilleuses et remarquables de Spectres, Revenans, Esprits, Fantômes, Démons, etc., dont les faits et les événemens sont rapportés par des personnes dignes de foi. Carpentras, De Villario, 1846.

N[odier], Ch[arles], editor. *Infernaliana.* Paris, Sanson, Nadau, 1822.

P[aban], Gabrielle de, editor. *Histoire des fantômes et des démons qui se sont montrés parmi les hommes, ou choix d'anecdotes et de contes, de faits merveilleux, de traits bizarres, d'aventures extraordinaires, sur*

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les Revenans, les Fantômes, les Lutins, les Démons, les Spectres, les Vampires, et les apparitions diverses, etc. Paris, Locard et Davi, Mongie, Delaunay, 1819.

P[aban], Gabrielle de, editor. *Démoniana ou Nouveau choix d'anecdotes surprenantes, de Nouvelles prodigieuses, d'Aventures bizarres, sur les Revenans, les Spectres, les Fantômes, les Démons, les Loups-Garous, les Visions, etc., etc.* Paris, Locard et Davi, 1820.

Saint-Albin, J.S.C. de [Jacques Collin de Plancy], editor. *Les Contes noirs, ou les frayeurs populaires; Nouvelles, Contes, Aventures merveilleuses, bizarres et singulières, Anecdotes inédites, etc.; sur les Apparitions, les Diables, les Spectres, les Revenans, les Fantômes, les Brigands, etc.* Paris, Mongie, 1818. 2 vols.

Table II: The stories of *Le Livre des prodiges* (1802 ed.)

C = Calmet, *Traité*

LDF = Lenglet Du Fresnoy, *Recueil de dissertations*

	pp.	Incipit	Summary	Source declared	Actual source	Original source
1	7-8	<i>Le comte de la ville de Mâcon</i>	Demon abducts an impious nobleman	'Pierre le vénérable, abbé de Cluni, rapporte ce fait [...] dans son ouvrage intitulé, <i>Petrus venerab., Lib. 2, de Miraculis, c. I, page 1299</i> '	C I: xxi	Petrus Venerabilis, <i>De miraculis libri duo</i>
2	8-10	<i>Le comte Despilliers le père</i>	<i>Poltergeist</i> in a haunted room	'M. Despilliers racontait cette aventure à qui voulait l'entendre'	C I: xxix	Oral testimony of Théodore François, earl Despilliers (d. 1728)
3	10-17	<i>Il arriva à Paris</i>	A man spends the night with a demon under the shape of a beautiful woman	None	LDF I.2: 72-78	<i>Histoire prodigieuse d'un gentil-homme, auquel le Diable s'est apparu.</i> Paris, François de Carroy, 1613
4	17-21	<i>Pierre d'Engelbert étant un jour dans son lit</i>	Apparition of a soul from Purgatory	'Pierre d'Engelbert [...] raconta cet entretien [...] à Pierre le vénérable, abbé de Cluni, qui le rapporte dans son ouvrage intitulé: <i>Petrus venerab. abb.</i>	C II: xxi	Petrus Venerabilis, <i>De miraculis libri duo</i>

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				<i>Clunia, de mirac.</i> <i>L. I, c. 28, p.</i> <i>1295'</i>		
5	21-23	<i>Vers le commencement du seizième siècle</i>	The spirit of Galeazzo Sforza sends a message to his brother	None	LDF I.2: 186-88)	[Louis de Mailly], <i>Principales Merveilles de la nature</i> . Amsterdam, Paul Marret, 1723
6	23-25	<i>La nuit du mercredi 22 juillet 1620</i>	Two 'men of fire' and other portents appear to many people at the castle of Lusignan	None	LDF I.2: 127-28	<i>Effroyable rencontre, apparue proche le chateau de Lusignan en Poitou</i> . Paris, Nicolas Robert, 1620
7	25-29	<i>En 1609 un gentilhomme demeurant en Silésie</i>	A gentleman of Silesia has his house invaded by devils	None	LDF I.2: 64-67	Pamphlet of 1609
8	29-35	<i>En l'année 1663</i>	A family in Paris experiences supernatural phenomena at the moment of a relative's death	'Ce fait est tire d'un manuscrit de M. Barré, auditeur de comptes'	LDF I.2: 181-86	Manuscript of Jean-Louis Barré, bibliophile
9	35-37	<i>Vers 1570</i>	A Spanish student in Bologna delivers a house from a ghost	'Antoine Torquemada, [...] <i>Les fleurs curieuses</i> '	C I: xxxvi	Antonio de Torquemada, <i>Jardin de flores curiosas</i> . Salamanca, Juan Baptista de Terranova, 1570
10	37-38	<i>Quelques années avant la mort du pape Léon IX</i>	The citizens of Narni see a procession of souls from Purgatory	None	C II: xxi	Wibert of Toul, <i>Vita Leonis IX</i> (XI century)
11	38-40	<i>Une nuit bien tard</i>	Brutus sees a ghost, who prophesizes his defeat in the battle of Philippi	'Ce fait est raconté par Plutarque Appien, au quatrième livre, chap. dernier, des Guerres civiles'	LDF I.2: 47-48	Plutarch (via Pierre Boaistuau and Claude Tisserant, <i>Histoires prodigieuses</i> (1583 [1560]))
12	40-46	<i>Le ving-septième jour de mai 1582</i>	A vain girl from Antwerp curses the name of God and the devil kills her; when her coffin is opened, only a black cat is found	None	LDF I.2: 33-38	<i>Discours miraculeux: inouy et épouventable, avenu à Envers</i> . Paris, Benoist Chaudet, 1582?

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13	46-47	<i>Il y avait à Athènes une fort belle maison</i>	Philosopher Athenodorus frees a haunted house in Athens from a ghost	‘rapporté par Pline, le jeune. (<i>Plin. junior, Epist. ad Suram, lib. 7, c. 27.</i>)’	C I: xxxvi	Plinius, <i>Epistulae</i>
14	47-52	<i>Le marquis de Rambouillet</i>	Preternatural pact between two friends	None	C II: lxiii	
15	52-53	<i>La mort de Carlostad fut accompagnée de circonstances effrayantes</i>	Reformer Andreas Karlstad is tormented by a spectral figure, who prophesizes and causes his death	‘ <i>Mostrovius</i> , p. 22’	C I: xxxiv	Arnoldus Meshovius, <i>Historia anabaptistica</i> (1617)
16	53-57	<i>Xerxès</i>	King Xerxes of Persia is persuaded by a phantom to declare war on the Greeks.	None	C I: xliv	Herodotus, <i>The Histories</i>
17	57-69	<i>Un bon prêtre de la ville de Valogne</i>	Preternatural pact between a priest named Bézuel and his comrade Desfontaines	‘rapporté par M. l’abbé de Saint-Pierre [...] dans le tome 4, page 7, de ses ouvrages politiques’	LDF I.2: 38-48 (?)	Abbé de Saint-Pierre, ‘Explication physique d’une apparition’, in <i>Ouvrages de politique</i> , vol. 4, Rotterdam, Beman, 1733
18	69-71	<i>Deux Arcadiens qui voyageaint ensemble</i>	Two travellers sleep in a hotel. One is killed by the hotelier, and his ghost warns the other	‘Cicéron rapporte ce fait. (<i>Cicero de divinatione.</i>)’	C I: xliv	Cicero, <i>De divinatione</i>
19	71-75	<i>Humbert Birck</i>	After his death in 1620, a man from Oppenheim communicates with his family by raps on the wall	None	C I: xli	A.G.N., <i>Umbra Humberti</i> (manuscript: includes this story and 20)
20	75-78	<i>Le 9 septembre 1625</i>	Apparition of a soul from Purgatory	‘rapporté par un Père Prémontré de l’abbaye de Toussaints, dans la Forêt Noire’	C I: xli	Id.
21	78-83	<i>Sur la fin de l’année 1746</i>	<i>Poltergeist</i> in a printing house in Konstanz	None	C II: xlvi	Communication to Calmet

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22	83-84	<i>Dans l'île de Malte</i>	Two knights of Malta force a slave to obtain a treasure for a demon, but the slave is horribly murdered	'rapporté par M. le chevalier Guyot de Marre'	C I: xxx	Personal communicatio to Calmet by «le Chevalier Guiot de Marre»
23	84-92	<i>M. de S.</i>	In 1706, a man aged 24-25 from Saint-Maur witnesses several phenomena and is asked by a ghost to accomplish some task	'aventure qui a tant fait de bruit'	C II: lxiii	<i>Dissertation d'un anonyme, sur ce qu'on doit penser de l'apparition des esprits, à l'occasion de l'aventure arrivée à S. Maur en 1706, reported by C</i>
24	92-96	<i>En la ville de Beranson</i>	Earthquake and portents in the sky at Besançon, 3 December 1564	None	LDf I.2: 1-4	<i>Le grandes & merveilleuses choses naguères advenues de la ville de Beranson, par un tremblement de terre. Château-Salin, Colombiers, 1564</i>
25	96-97	<i>Théodore de Gaze avait dans la Campanie une petite ferme qu'il faisait cultiver par un laboureur</i>	A spectre kills a labourer's son for unearthing a cinerary urn	'rapporté par le Loyer'	C II: xvi	<i>Pierre le Loyer, III livres des spectres ou apparitions et visions d'esprits, anges et demons se montrans sensiblement aux hommes. Angers, Nepveu, 1586</i>
26	97-99	<i>En 1581 à Dalhem</i>	A man is tempted by a demon under the shape of a beautiful girl and kills his son; the demon brings the boy back as an 'undead'	'Ce rapport a été fourni ar M. Nicolas Rémy, procureur-général de Lorraine'	C II: xxxiii	<i>Nicolas Rémy, Daemonolatreiae libri tres. Köln, Falckenburg, 1595</i>
27	99-101	<i>Michel Mercati</i>	Preternatural pact between Michele Mercati and Marsilio Ficino	'Le Cardinal Baronius rapporte ce fait. (Baronius ad an. Christi 401, tome 15 Annal.)'	C II: xxxviii	<i>Cesare Baronio, Annales ecclesiastici (1588-1607)</i>
28	101-3	<i>Un Soldat étant en garnison chez un paysan à Haidamaque</i>	Earl Cabreras kills a vampire on the Hungarian border	None	C II: viii	Personal communication to Calmet by Cabreras

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29	103-5	<i>Un jeune homme d'une très-grande condition</i>	Clarus, a young monk, has mystical experiences that are actually diabolic illusions	'Sulpice Sévère dans la vie de Saint-Martin, rapporte cet événement [...] (<i>Sulpit. Sever., vita S. Martin., caput 15.</i>)'	C I: vi	Sulpicius Severus, <i>Vita Sancti Martini</i> (c.397)
30	105-6	<i>Un Savant de Dijon</i>	A man in Dijon dreams to read a book in Stockholm, and later discovers from philosopher Descartes that his dream was true	None	C I: xxix	Henri de Montfaucon, <i>Le Comte de Gabalis ou Entretiens sur les sciences secrètes</i> (1670)
31	106-9	<i>Une vieille femme de Malte</i>	Story about a demon guarding a treasure, set in the late antiquity	None	C I: xxx	Personal communicatio to C by Guiot de Marre (see 22)
32	109-11	<i>Un médecin</i>	A friend of St Augustin doubts of the existence of the afterlife, but receives evidence for it in a dream	'rapporté par <i>Saint-Augustin</i> '	C I: xxxix	St Augustine, letter CDIX to Evodius
33	111-4	<i>Monsieur Patris ayant suivi monsieur Gaston en Flandre</i>	Two men experience phenomena in a castle of the Flanders	'Monsieur Segrais fait mention dans ses remarques historiques de cet évènement qu'il dit avoir appris de M. Patris'	LDF I.2: 178-80	Jean Renaud de Segrais, <i>Segraisiana ou Mélange d'histoire et de littérature</i> . Paris, Compagnie des Libraires Associés, 1721
34	114-22	<i>Devant et après Pâques de l'année 1700</i>	Phenomena in a house in Dourdans	'tiré d'un manuscrit de M. Barré, [...] écrit le 15 déc. 1700, par M. Vidi à M. Quindré, son ami à Orléans'	LDF II.1: 64-71	Manuscript of Barré (see 8)
35	122-31	<i>Le trait historique qui regarde Charles-le-Chauve</i>	Charles the Bald has a vision of the afterlife	'raconté par [Charles-le-Chauve] dans une pièce en latin qu'on lui attribue, laquelle est tiré du MS.	LDFI.1: xxv-xxxvi	<i>Visio Karoli Grossi</i> (c.900)

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				2447 de la bibliothèque nationale, <i>in-folio</i> , page 188'		
36	131-4	<i>Un gentilhomme nommé Humbert</i>	Apparition of a soul from Purgatory	'rapporté par Pierre le Vénérable, abbé de Cluny'	C II: xxxviii	Petrus Venerabilis, <i>De miraculis libri duo</i>
37	134-6	<i>Dans le pays des Ititans</i>	The lost soul of a Peruvian girl torments the living	None	C II: xix	Unknown
38	136-41	<i>Le vendredi</i>	Young Denis Misanger de la Richardière is followed by a soul from Purgatory in 1705	'rapporté par le révérend père le Brun'	C I: xliv	Pierre Le Brun, <i>Histoire critique des pratiques superstitieuses</i> Rouen, Behourt, 1702
39	141-7	<i>Le mardi 11 décembre 1616</i>	In Paris, rue Saint-Généviève, the ghost of a woman returns to visit her husband	None	LDf I.2: 101-106	<i>Histoire nouvelle & remarquable de l'esprit d'une femme</i> . Paris, Alexandre, 1618
40	147-53	<i>Un gentilhomme allemand</i>	In 1603 Germany a young man makes a deal with the devil and is freed through an exorcism	'On voit à Molsheim, dans la chapelle de Saint-Ignace, dans l'église des pères jésuites, une inscription célèbre, qui contient l'histoire de ce jeune gentilhomme allemand'	C I: vi	Daniello Bartoli, <i>Della vita e dell'istituto di S. Ignazio fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù</i> . Rome, Manelfi, 1650
41	153-4	<i>En un certain village de Moravie</i>	The revenant of an old woman torments men and beasts in a Moravian village	'Il est fait mention de ce fait dans un petit ouvrage intitulé <i>Magia Posthuma</i> , composé par Charles Ferdinand de Schertz, imprimé à Olmutz en 1707'	C II: vii	Karl Ferdinand von Schertz, <i>Magia posthuma</i> . Olomouc, Ignaz Rosenburg, 1704
42	154-7	<i>En 1726</i>	A clergyman is tormented for a month by the spectre of a countryman,	'attesté par un religieux capucin, témoin de la plupart des	C II: xlviiii	Written communication to Calmet

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			and recurs to exorcism	choses, le 29 août 1749'		
43	158-61	<i>A Tralles</i>	Young Machates spends two nights with a dead girl	'Phlegon, affranchi de l'empereur Adrien'	C II: v	Phlegon of Tralles, <i>Περί θανατώσεων</i> (II century)
44	162-78	<i>Epouvantable et prodigieuse apparition advenue en la présence de Jean Hélias</i>	Diabolical manifestation occurred in Paris in 1623	<i>'le récit est de M. d'Audiguier'</i>	LDF I.2: 149-64	<i>L'Espouventable & prodigieuse apparition advenue à la personne de Jean Hélias</i> . Paris, Daufresne, 1623
45	179-80	<i>Un pâtre du village de Blow</i>	A dead shepherd torments the living until his body is impaled and burned.	None	C II: vii	Václav Hájek, <i>Kronika Česká</i> (1541)

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