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THE FANTASTIC VOYAGE
IN FRENCH LITERATURE
FROM 1662 TO 1789

Thesis submitted to the University
of London for the degree of Ph.D.
by A.C.M. Lavers

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My thanks are due to Professor J.S.Spink, not only for his help and advice during the composition of this thesis, but also for directing my attention to philosophical fiction, a subject to which I devoted my M.A. thesis and which I have attempted to develop further in the present one.

Abstract

The subject of this study is the Fantastic Voyage in French Literature from 1662 to 1789, that is to say a number of works of prose-fiction in which can clearly be recognized a pattern of voyage and discovery, but in which the author (in spite of a sometimes ambiguous attitude) encourages the reader's disbelief in the characters and the adventures recounted. This study therefore aims at being complementary to those of Geoffrey Atkinson on the Extraordinary Voyage .

The Fantastic Voyage was felt as an entity by contemporaries, in spite of a certain confusion of issues in the classification of fiction. Its sources are numerous, for it is one of the earliest types of fiction; but the genre underwent during the seventeenth century a definite twist which increased its dependence on contemporary philosophy, either of a rationalistic or of an occultist type.

Nevertheless, the existing pattern could also be applied to literary criticism (of an author or a genre) to the satire of manners, or to the spreading of revolutionary ideas; its study therefore has a sociological as well as a literary interest.

After an examination of the various types of Fantastic Voyages (determined either by the setting or by the philosophical attitude of the author), there is a summary of the salient features of the genre.

Finally, there is a bibliography of the works studied within the period considered, which helps one to appreciate the popularity of this type of fiction.

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Introduction

The object of this study is "the fantastic voyage in French literature from 1662 to 1789". Some of the numerous works which come under this denomination have been examined in various studies; but they have never been dealt with together as a genre. Thus, the study by G. Chinard¹ is concerned chiefly with exoticism; that by M. Nicolson² with the devices invented by writers of cosmic voyages, and to some extent, with the mental attitudes revealed thereby; those by G. Atkinson³ with the use of fiction for the spreading of rationalist ideas; that by C. Flammarion⁴ with the popularity of the belief in the plurality of inhabited worlds.

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- 1) G. Chinard, L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle, 2nd edition, Paris, 1934.
- 2) M. Nicolson, Voyages to the Moon, New York, 1948.
- 3) G. Atkinson, The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700, Columbia U.P., 1920.
- id. The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature from 1700 to 1720, Paris, 1922.
- 4) C. Flammarion, Les Mondes imaginaires et les Mondes réels, Paris, 1865.

These studies, therefore, often include material which is not fiction. A centre of interest is invaluable for purposes of study, but it can distort the just analysis of some books; if, for instance, one is concerned only with the invention of picturesque and wildly improbable means of flight, one can end up by being obsessed with the repetitive character of most works studied, and by calling "satires of the imaginary voyage" books which are satiric, but aimed at something else¹; one can also treat entire novels as appendages to the voyage with which they begin. Exclusive concern with the possibility of inhabited worlds may blind one to the difference between original scientific thought and a perfunctory use of hackneyed devices.

We propose here to study a number of works published during the second part of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries from a purely literary point of view, inasmuch as they are fantastic voyages,

1) There are numerous instances in M. Nicholson, op. cit., about Micromégas, for instance, p. 57.

according to the definition of this term in the first chapter. We shall, therefore, study in each case the attitude of the author towards his own work, the sources he drew upon, the characters and the plot he selected, as well as the philosophical or scientific theories which form the background of his book. We hope, in this manner, to discover some general trends in ~~that~~^{this} type of fiction. Although most of the works examined are minor (in literary merit if not in length!), such a general study seems to us useful in several ways.

First, it throws interesting light on the habits and tastes of the reading public. The mere number of imaginary voyages published during the period considered (P.B. Gove¹ lists over three hundred during the eighteenth century alone - and there were many translations and reprints of most of them - England:67, France:65, Germany:59, other nations: 5 or 6) demonstrates the popularity of this genre,

1) P.B. Gove, The Imaginary Voyage in Prose-Fiction, a History of Its Criticism and a Guide for Its Study, with an Annotated Check-List of 215 Imaginary Voyages from 1700 to 1800, Columbia U.P., 1941, p. 184.

and fantastic voyages accounted for a sizeable part of this number. It is, therefore, significant that a large number of second-rate writers turned to a type of fiction which they knew was appreciated. The huge Garnier Collection, published in the 1780's¹, is a fitting conclusion to the spate of imaginary travel-stories which readers had been enjoying for the last hundred and fifty years.

Readers were chiefly interested in "voyages," but the content of these voyages is evidently not indifferent; it is, therefore, instructive to notice which ideological background was chosen by the authors for their fictitious stories. One can get in that way an approximate idea of what subjects were fashionable, what sciences were understood. It is not by chance that several fantastic stories are set in caves or volcanoes, in deserts or ^{the} Antarctic, or that several heroes are chemists or astronomers. All this is even more interesting, of course, when the writer is not simply using a current interest, but

1) Voyages imaginaires, songes, visions, et romans Cabalistiques, Ornés de Figures, Amsterdam et se trouve à Paris, 1787 - 89, 39 vol. (edited by C:G.T. Garnier)

5. H. O.
Library

trying to create one, for instance, by spreading a philosophical system or attacking that of an adversary. Some of these works doubtless had some importance in intellectual history.

Such a study also has a literary interest, even if some of the works examined have no great significance. For it is interesting to notice the change in tone, during the period considered, from the relative simplicity of the seventeenth century works to the polished, and often insipid, tales of the eighteenth, and on to the bitter irony of the works written just before the Revolution.

Also, it allows one to put masterpieces in a true perspective, and saves one from making the mistake of admiring them because of an often dubious independence of "sources" instead of because of the inimitable way they have of using these sources. Works like Gulliver's Travels and Micromégas, which came at the end, not the beginning, of a literary tradition, had a sterilizing more than a seminal effect¹.

1) It is amusing to see, for instance, Micromégas described as an "imitation" of Gulliver's Travels by W.A. Eddy, in his critical edition of the latter (Princeton U.P., 1923).

The definition adopted for the fantastic voyage, such as it is enunciated and discussed in the next chapter, determines the limits of this study, which specifically excludes fairy-tales, whether traditional, or Oriental, fantasies like Candide or La Princesse de Babylone, exception being made of some of their episodes; or a perfunctory use of the fantastic, such as is found in Le Diable Boîteux.

The dates chosen are, as is usually the case, somewhat arbitrary. 1662 is the date of the posthumous publication of Cyrano de Bergerac's L'Autre Monde¹, the second part of which and it will be seen in the third chapter (on the sources of the fantastic voyage) that this book was epoch-making. But fantastic voyages on the old pattern went on being written after that date, and conversely several works were written before and still deserve mention. 1789 is a date of no particular literary significance, except inasmuch as it marks the end of an era; the fantastic voyage, which had reflected so faithfully the gay irresponsibility of the eighteenth century, was bound to be affected by dramatic changes in the new social and ideological

1) See A.C.M. Lavers, Cyrano de Bergerac as a novelist, thesis presented to the University of London, for the degree of Master of Arts, 1958.

framework.

The classification of imaginary voyages is difficult, as will be seen in the next chapter, because of the possibility of applying two criteria, that of form and that of content. The inevitable consequence is that all discussions purporting to deal only with a cross-section of works obtained by the application of one only of these criteria end up by including and discussing books which should not be included. We beg a similar indulgence for the classification which we have adopted here, a classification more traditional and empirical than logical. It has seemed to us that some types of form, or structure, do in fact guide the author in the selection of a suitable content. Thus our classification, as it appears in the titles and order of the chapters, makes no claim to being the best; but perhaps it will bring to light as many interesting points as possible. Within each chapter, the books are discussed, as far as possible, in chronological order, except when it has seemed clearer to proceed differently in order to emphasize differences of attitude or elements of progress. Several books are discussed in two chapters, because this study is

concerned with types of fiction rather than with individual works. A few foreign books, and a few plays in which the same pattern is recognizable have been included for the same reason.

1 - The Fantastic Voyage and the Imaginary Voyage

For a very long time (some say since the time when fiction was not yet consciously recognized as a field of human activity) readers have enjoyed a genre which since the eighteenth century has been designated under the name of the imaginary voyage¹. These works displayed an obvious kinship, which accounted for their being lumped together under a common label, without hiding some profound differences. As criticism and fiction itself progressed, however, these differences became more and more conspicuous to the eyes of critics, who passed judgment on their naïve predecessors, the seventeenth and eighteenth century editors, with a harshness that now on the contrary appears too extreme. Before criticising here the nineteenth century attitude, it is useful to record a few examples, chosen at random, of the previous confusion, for it often sheds some light on the nature of the works which interest us here.

1) See P.B. Gove, op. cit., on the history of the criticism of the imaginary voyage.

1703 - David Russen of Hythe, in Iter Lunare, his commentary on Cyrano de Bergerac's first novel, Etats et Empires de la lune, encouraged by the English title of Selenarchia, calls the book a serious "tractate" (sic); yet the "mirth" he enjoys in it makes him think of other works such as Don Quixot, Poor Robin, and, surprisingly, More's Utopia.

1734 - Lenglet-Dufresnoy in his anonymous De l'Usage des Romans¹, significantly, puts together most of these works under the heading "romans divers qui ne se raportent à aucune des classes précédentes" (article XLV).

1755 - Formey in his Conseils pour former une bibliothèque² does not include any imaginary voyages under the heading Romans; but his section on Ouvrages de morale ou "républiques imaginaires" includes Gulliver, the Tale of a Tub, the Sévarambes, Utopia, the Eloge de la Folie, Niels Klim, Gaudentio di Lucca, and the Naufrage des Iles Flottantes.

1) De l'Usage des Romans, où l'on fait voir leur utilité et leurs différents caractères, avec une bibliothèque des Romans, par M. Le C. Gordon De Percel, Amsterdam, 1734.

2) 3rd edition, 1755, p. 64.

1757 - The abbé Desfontaines, in the preface of his translation of Gulliver's Travels, although acknowledging the originality of the work, quotes as belonging to the same "espèce": "la République de Platon...l'Histoire véritable de Lucien et (le) Supplément.....l'Utopie.....la Nouvelle Atlantis....l'Histoire des Sévarambes, les Voyages de Sadeur, et de Jacques Macé et enfin le Voyage...de Cyrano de Bergerac."¹ It is true that he adds: "Mais tous ces Ouvrages sont d'un goût fort différent, et ceux qui voudront les comparer à celui-ci, trouveront qu'ils n'ont rien de commun avec lui, que l'idée d'un voyage imaginaire, et d'un pays supposé."

The Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans² includes a class of "romans traduits du grec et du latin", later becoming that of the "romans étrangers". This, a classic cause of confusion in the classifying of fiction, allows the editors Tressan, Bastide and Paulmy to put Utopia (translated from the Latin) under that heading. (vol. VI., p. 5)

1) L'Esprit de l'Abbé Desfontaines..., Londres, 1757

2) See Bibliography on this publication.

Garnier, although a much better editor than those of the B.U.R., includes in his collection of voyages the history of Montesquieu's Troglodytes after a word of semi-apology, and in spite of the total absence of the voyage element¹.

Thus we see grouped together works of ^{the} utopian type, fictions either humorous or humourless, satires on manners, on society, on politics and human nature. The readers themselves evidently did not object to such confusion.

The phrase Voyage Imaginaire, which may have been used ^r by Moncrif for the first time,² is used as a matter of course in the B.U.R.; it appears in the title of the important collection by Garnier. It is still used to-day in criticism, and yet most of the writers who use it feel the need to re-define it and to accept it only with reservations. Every one of them tries to arrive at a fair summary of all that ~~it~~ implies by analysing the form (or structure) and the purpose (or content) of the works which have at any time been put under ^{this} that heading.

1) "on verra que cet épisode tenoit trop intimement à notre plan pour que nous ne nous empressassions pas de l'adopter", Voyages imaginaires, etc..... vol.X. See Bibliography on this publication.

2) In his Réflexions sur quelques ouvrages faussement appelés ouvrages d'imagination (1741); see Gove, op. cit., pp.20 ff.

What is essentially confusing about the imaginary voyage is not that it is possible to apply two criteria to it (as has been said, that of form and that of content); it is that the classification thus obtained means nothing in actual fact. Emile Pons, more than anyone else, has tried to account for all imaginary voyages by applying to all both criteria; but at the same time he denied using any other criterion than that of form alone; hence his failure, which appears in the necessity constantly to alter the rules of the game and in the number of important exceptions which he has to take into account¹.

A more natural and satisfying method consists of trying to find whether a certain content does not of itself ipso facto require a certain form, or conversely whether a certain form does not automatically guide an author towards a certain content. Some types of fiction, fairly constant, are thus isolated. This is what has been tried by Geoffrey Atkinson in his works on the "extraordinary voyage". As we are here defining the fantastic voyage in opposition to the

1) P.B. Gove, op. cit., p. 102.

extraordinary voyage, it is essential to discuss the meaning and the success of Atkinson's books. But it is better to remark first on a fact which seems to us to be the cause of a good proportion of the confusion ^o in this question.

A special literary phenomenon seems to have upset the study of the imaginary voyage from the start; it is the existence of the type known as the utopia (Staatsromane). By utopia we understand here not More's Utopia as such, but merely the description of an ideal commonwealth whether it is within a voyage framework or not. This definition, therefore, includes works like Plato's Republic and Campanella's Civitas Solis. However, it is essential to remember that although the description of the ideal commonwealth is essential in a utopia, the name comes from the title of a fiction, which was the fountainhead not of utopias but of many utopian imaginary voyages.

The utopia is serious, it deals with the most momentous aspects of human life, and, therefore, it inspires respect. Besides, and especially in the case of France, the genre was represented by works which led to dramatic

political changes. Hence the number of studies which have been devoted to such works¹.

The satire of manners is also an important type of fiction and also attracts the respect of contemporaries; but we believe that in the case of imaginary voyages the desire to write a Utopia is what impels the writer to put pen to paper, whereas the satire of manners often intervenes as padding when the writer, having composed the voyage he wanted to write, has nothing very original to say besides, and falls back on commonplaces.

The distorting effect of the Utopia on the criticism of fiction is well shown by Gove in relation to Wijngaarden². It is, therefore, understandable if the attempt to show a permanent relationship between form and purpose has been mainly concerned with Utopias; this is the case in the studies

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- 1) A bibliography of the utopia from the literary and political points of view would be enormous. Let us mention only a few books:
 C.M. Andrews, Ideal Empires and Republics, c. 1901, Universal Classic Library.
 J. Denis, Le XVIII^e siècle dans le XVII^e, extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie de Caen, 1896.
 A. Lichtenberger, Le socialisme utopique au XVIII^e siècle, Paris, 1898.
 R. Ruyer, L'Utopie et les utopies, Paris, P.U.F., 1950.
 V. van Wijngaarden, Les Odyssées philosophiques en France entre 1616 et 1789, Haarlem, 1932.
- 2) P.B. Gove, op. cit., pp. 117 ff.

of G. Atkinson, ^{looked in this respect} different from a study like Wijngaarden's, for instance, because they purport precisely to examine form and content at the same time. Atkinson, contrary to what Gove says about him, justifies his own books because no one has studied these works "as novels" before.

The Extraordinary Voyage is a novel of the following type: "A fictitious narrative purporting to be the veritable account of a real voyage made by one or more Europeans to an existent but little known country - or to several of such countries - together with a description of the happy conditions of society found there, and a supplementary account of the travellers' return to Europe"¹.

In spite of the careful definition given by the author, and of some reservations ("The term E.V. is then merely a label, convenient for purposes of classification. It implies, not of itself, but because it has been so defined here, the limitations which have been assigned to it.")

1) G. Atkinson, The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700, p.1X.

this term (suggested first by G. Lanson)
 is particularly unfortunate since on the one
 hand it excludes "accounts of travel by land
 only" and thus, although used to criticise French
 novels, is apt to be translated, wrongly, by the
 French word voyage, and on the other hand has
 consistently been used in French for several
 centuries to mean more or less what we here mean
 by "fantastic voyage", that is to say precisely
 what Atkinson does not mean. Chinard, Pons,
 Gove and many others have already lamented that
 fact¹.

Atkinson's aim is to link the existence of
 the extraordinary voyage as a literary phenomenon
 to the rise of rationalism; but he fulfils it only
 thanks to a petitio principii: "Authors of E.V.
 try to authenticate their stories in order that
 they may be mistaken for true accounts."² As the
 authors themselves have said nothing of the kind,

1) P.B. Gove, op. cit., pp. 99 - 100

2) G. Atkinson, The E. Extraordinary Voyage... from 1700 to
 1720, Introduction.

the nearest Atkinson can get to a proof are cases when these novels have actually been mistaken for true accounts. This happened to the travels of Vincent Le Blanc, to the Histoire des Sévarambes which was reviewed as a real voyage by the Journal des Savants, and above all about the voyages of François Leguat¹.

Several things can be said against Atkinson's contention: an extraordinary voyage may resemble a real account, but it does not command belief for that reason alone; in fact, considering the travellers' reputation for prevarication, not only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but at all times, such an account may have aroused suspicion instead.² This is not to deny that the description of real peoples living virtuously without knowing anything of western religion (for instance Garcilaso's Incas) probably had a great influence on the rise of the type of fiction described by Atkinson; but one must remember that utopias

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- 1) About this latter work, see A. Tilley, Decline of the Age of Louis XIV, pp.178ff.; he contradicts Atkinson, on not very solid grounds, however; see also Gove, op. cit., under year 1707.
 - 2) See in the Encyclopédie (1765, tome XVII) the Voyageur article by Jaucourt, which is devoted almost entirely to the mendacity of travellers, and Gove, op. cit., pp.12ff.

whether admittedly fictitious or summarily substantiated and authenticated, went on being written after the first extraordinary voyages, and that, therefore, the latter do not represent a successive phase in the development of fiction. Readers would naturally be conscious of the resemblance between extraordinary Voyages and self-acknowledged utopias, and from that deduce the fictitiousness of the former.

further

One might, [^]argue that utopias (as well as the respect we already have alluded to), also provoke a certain wistful indulgence which arises from the realisation of the small influence they are likely to have, and this may be the meaning of passages such as the introduction of Utopia in the B.U.R. as "aussi utile qu'une chimère puisse l'être"¹, or the title of the 1715 translation into French by M. de Gueudeville: "L'Utopie de Thomas Morus, chancelier d'Angleterre; idée ingénieuse pour remedier aux malheurs des hommes, et pour leur procurer une félicité complete. Cet ouvrage contient le Plan d'une République dont les Loix, les Usages et les Coutumes tendent

1) VI, p. 5

uniquement à faire faire aux sociétés Humaines le passage de la Vie dans toute la douceur imaginable. République qui deviendra infailliblement réelle, dès que les Mortels se conduiront par la Raison." Well aware of this, many authors have not hesitated to write Utopias located in openly imaginary countries like the moon and the sun (like Cyrano's L'Autre Monde . . .) or supposed to be seen in a dream (like Mercier's L'An 2440) or presented as an allegory (Voyage de la Raison en Europe).

Conversely, a fantastic voyage can have a very realistic beginning and equally make use of authenticating devices which lend piquancy to the prevalent atmosphere of the work; such are the novels of Lucian, of Cyrano, and especially of Swift. Therefore, the realistic paraphernalia, let it be repeated, can have a twofold effect and work both ways. The earliest precedent is suitably entitled True History.

Finally, and as it is possible to argue that Atkinson abusively includes real voyages in his list (thus François Leguat), it certainly is possible to argue that works like Jacques Sadeur , and above all

Télémaque, have no place there. Gove has rightly pointed out all the fantastic elements in the former (and we believe that this element is more systematic than a mere exaggeration and indulgence in strange tales, as will be seen). As for Télémaque, nobody seems to have protested against its inclusion. It is true that the combination of a utopian trend (both a utopia and a reformed country are to be found in the book) with a sea story seems to make Télémaque eligible as an extraordinary voyage; unfortunately, the sea element is openly borrowed from a fiction as the mythological names, among other things, constantly remind us. What is more, it comes from a poetic fiction, and the novel thereby assumed quite an original position in French literature as the most important precedent of the prose-poem¹.

In spite of all this, Atkinson's attitude is the only one which it is relevant to adopt in speaking of imaginary voyages as a whole or of a certain type only. For in view of the failure of

1) See on this V. Clayton, The Prose Poem in French Literature of the eighteenth century, Columbia U.P., 1936.

classifications which purport to be based on form alone (thus Eddy's "scientific" approach apropos of Gulliver¹) when one tries to account for all imaginary voyages extant, it seems normal to try to isolate types. But it is essential to remember that such types are due to a combination of deliberate intention on the part of authors of fictions, and of circumstances also. It would have, therefore, been less misleading if Atkinson had shown the extraordinary voyage to be a part of a much wider group, than of the imaginary voyages included in what Gove calls "geographical fiction."² As it stands, the term Extraordinary Voyage should be kept in the vocabulary of criticism, on the one hand because it corresponds to something genuine, on the other hand because the introduction of new terms should be absolutely prohibited, as Gove suggests, in the field of imaginary voyages. Studies have been devoted to the "robinsonade" purely because the term had been coined, none to the "gulliveriad" because, in spite of a few half-

1) in critical edition of Gulliver's Travels.

2) op. cit., p. 178.

hearted attempts, the word Gulliver has not been generally applied to imitations of Gulliver's Travels. This does not mean, of course, that the study of the posterity of such novels as Robinson or Télémaque is not legitimate and necessary.

At the end of his study of the criticism of the imaginary voyage, Gove declares: "Instead of breaking up the imaginary voyage into various kinds I have thought of it as itself a division within a more comprehensive category, under which it combines with some of its related types. This category may be called geographical fiction, comparable in scope to historical fiction¹". This attitude certainly is the most fruitful and indeed the only useful one in relation to such a vague yet so tangible reality. But, in fact, Gove does introduce an important, and according to us, unjustified restriction. For to see the imaginary voyage as part of geographical fiction is, in the last analysis, equivalent to considering only, among imaginary voyages, those which have a

1) op. cit., p. 178.

geographical setting. This preconception is surprising coming at the end of such a book¹, and it makes the check list that follows rather incomplete. Perhaps the cause of such an opinion lies in the dates chosen (1700 - 1800), for geographical imaginary voyages are more numerous during that century than they were in the previous one.

Gove excludes abstract allegories, straight voyages from one well-known point to another, or voyages in the Mediterranean, voyages in dreams or by means of familiar, cabalistic, Rosicrucian spirits or daemons, by magic or metamorphoses, or solely to the land of the dead. But he includes, alongside the terrestrial voyages, extra-terrestrial (i.e. to stars and planets) and subterranean ones. This raises again the essential point that has to be raised in that connection; how far does a classification based on form alone correspond to anything, in the field of imaginary

other

- 1) The only reproach one might make would be that it makes the question appear sometimes more confused than it is; and perhaps also that all readers are not as proficient in (German (not to speak of) Danish, Dutch, and Swedish) as the author.

voyages, unless it be only for the purpose of list-making (and even in that case its limitations are bound to be rather objectionable)? However unsatisfactory, however ^{difficult} ~~delicate~~ to apply, the criterion of purpose (that is to say content) is in the last analysis the only one that is relevant. For just how significant is the fact that Gulliver, obviously a work of the fantastic type, has a realistic setting, except precisely inasmuch as it accentuates the fantastic aspect? The realism matters only if one has adopted a point of view like Atkinson's. On the other hand, is it reasonable and fruitful, to put voyages to the planets or to a world underground together with, say, the Histoire des Sévarambes or Robinson Crusoe? Voyages to the planets or underground may appear to-day as varieties of ^{the} terrestrial voyage; but they certainly did not in the eighteenth century, even, as it is interesting to notice, after the invention of the montgolfière which, for authors of fantastic voyages, is not a landmark of science but a spring-board for science-fiction. As will be seen later,

the idea of the voyage is very comprehensive; it means not only actual travel but also travel by the intellect and the imagination. This appears very clearly and dramatically in works like Daniel's Monde de Descartes. Moreover, one might argue, with Garnier, that the type known as dream or songe, even when it is crammed with nonsense, is more realistic than the most careful description of an ascent to the moon thanks to phials filled with dew, or of a descent to the planetary system within the earth in a lead chest filled with victuals!

What we mean by fantastic voyage here is, therefore, closely akin to what Garnier and the B.U.R. meant by Voyages Merveilleux (in fact, Gove uses the term Marvellous Voyage): that is to say what Garnier introduces in the volume XIII by the following paragraph:

"Ici l'imagination rompt tous ses liens et prend un libre essor; rien ne l'arrête dans sa course; il semble que l'univers ne soit point assez vaste pour ses entreprises; elle le pénètre dans tous les sens. Si elle prend son vol, c'est pour fendre les airs avec rapidité, et visiter, sans obstacles, toutes les planètes; aucune n'échappe

à ses recherches; elle ne craint pas les torrents de flammes dont le soleil est enveloppé, et sa marche n'est pas ralentie par les glaces de Jupiter et de Saturne. La même rapidité qui l'a élevée au-dessus de nos têtes, et l'a fait voyager dans les astres, lui fait percer notre globe jusqu'au centre, et lui fait rechercher curieusement ce qui s'y passe. Quelquefois elle s'amuse à planer dans les airs; enfin, il n'est pas jusqu'au séjour des ombres, où elle ne porte un oeil curieux, et où elle ne se promène à son gré. Des decouvertes curieuses et surprenantes devoient nécessairement être le fruit de courses aussi extraordinaires; pour s'en convaincre il suffira de jeter un coup d'oeil sur chacun des ouvrages qui composent cette division, destinée aux voyages merveilleux."¹

We think, in fact, that the "voyages romanesques", which Gove finds rather difficult

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- 1) Here is Garnier's division of his work:
 Class I Voyages imaginaires (vol. 1-30)
 Division I: Romanesques (vol. 1-12)
 2: Merveilleux (vol. 13-25)
 3: Allégoriques (vol. 26-27)
 4: Amusans, Comiques et Critiques (vol. 28-30)
 Class II Songes et Visions (vol. 31-32)
 Class III Romans Cabalistiques (vol 33- 36)

to define, have been selected according to the criterion of plausibility, that is to say, and in spite of their being the first in the list, retrospectively, in opposition to the following voyages merveilleux. For the latter category seems to come first according to the psychology of the voyage, and the realism, which appears in seventeenth century novels, for instance, has been laboriously achieved, through a series of progressive improvements, and is defined as opposed to the original "merveilleux" atmosphere. Often, besides, these realistic improvements have come about not because of a fundamental yearning for realism; but on the contrary to assist the work of imagination. This is the meaning of the definition proposed by the editors of the B.U.R. for their eighth class or "Romans Merveilleux": including "les Contes de Fées, les voyages imaginaires, les Romans Orientaux dans lesquels il est question de génies et d'esprits élémentaires": "L'empire de l'imagination, pays si vaste, et qui n'a pour ainsi dire, aucune limites, s'étend sur tous les Romans en général: mais ce genre est bien plus

particulièrement de son ressort; c'est sa plus brillante carrière; et il seroit difficile d'ennuyer ses Lecteurs en la parcourant." They remark on the abundance and variety which characterise this class¹.

We shall, therefore, accept as "fantastic", for the purposes of this study, any work of fiction containing an account of a voyage and of the discovery of imaginary lands in which some elements, in the words of Garnier, "passent les bornes de la vraisemblance"; but one must specify that only the author's idea of what 'vraisemblance' is, is considered, or as Eddy says²: "Fantastic Voyages is their admittedly marvellous character, the fact that they are not credible and not intended to be accepted by the readers as authentic....." This definition does "contain phrases implying purpose", as Gove observes, but we

1) Discours préliminaire, vol.I. Here are the other classes:

- 1- Romans grecs et latins (later: Romans étrangers)
- 2- de chevalerie
- 3- historiques
- 4- d'amour
- 5- de spiritualité, de morale et de politique
- 6- satyriques, comiques et bourgeois
- 7- Nouvelles Romans historiques et contes
- 8- Romans merveilleux

2) op.cit., p. 104.

have already emphasized here that this state of affairs is inevitable. One must further mention at the outset that this "admittedly marvellous character" concerns the facts related but not always the ideas and institutions described; indeed, even about the facts themselves, one often senses an effort, on the part of the author, to have the best of both worlds and to appear not only as a satirist but also as a scientific prophet. This is the case, for instance, with *Cyrano*, with *Casanova* in his *Icosaméron*, with Restif in his *Découverte Australe* and with many others. Works of several types are excluded by this definition. Allegories, whether used for political and social satire (as in *L'Île Sérieuse et l'Île Enjouée*) or for literary satire (as in *Fan-Férédin*), moral satire, and the psychology of love (the latter very numerous) have not been studied here. But allegory appearing in an otherwise usual type of fantastic voyage is, of course, accepted and treated as a device; it has numerous links with the fantastic voyage, since the latter is often devoted to the tentative explanation of metaphysical mysteries.

The same can be said about the "journey to the land of the dead", often not a journey at all but a simple "dialogue des morts" (by l'Abbé de la Porte, by Piron, Voltaire, etc., for instance) and an almost inevitable ingredient of the fantastic voyage, and about the "songe". The latter is one of Garnier's classes, which he introduces in the following way, underlining its kinship with ^{the} voyage imaginaire and more particularly the voyage merveilleux: (Avertissement, vol. XXXI):

"Les songes et les visions ont un rapport sensible avec les voyages imaginaires; la seule chose qui y mette de la différence, c'est que dans les songes le corps est supposé dans un plein repos, goûter même les douceurs du sommeil, tandis que l'esprit se promène et parcourt seul des mondes nouveaux, inconnus, et chimériques. Les songes sont aussi plus voisins du merveilleux que les voyages fictifs, et tiennent ainsi de plus près à la seconde division que nous avons indiquée des voyages imaginaires merveilleux. Comme ils sont une imitation des songes réels, et que ceux-ci ne connaissent point les loix (sic) de la vraisemblance,

Le songe fictif doit représenter des choses 32.
extraordinaires." It is interesting to notice
that it is not because of the fantastic element
in them that Garnier compares the "romans
cabalistiques", which form the last class, to the
imaginary voyage, but because reading them
constitutes a discovery, an initiation to a new
world: "Ces découvertes n'exigent point que nos
lecteurs quittent leurs foyers; il nous suffira
de désiller leurs yeux, et soudain ils seront
entourés d'une multitude d'êtres dont ils ne
soupçonnoient point l'existence....." that is to
say "les Gnomes...Sylphes...Salamandres.....les
Ondines et les Nymphes" as well as the dead
(Avertissement, vol.XXXIII). Legitimate as this
is when the cabalistic novels are edited alongside
imaginary voyages, one must not be led astray by
such a metaphorical conception of the voyage of
discovery; but the framework of the dream and of
the cabalistic rites is as frequent as that of
allegory in fantastic voyages.

We must make clear that the epithet fantastic
is not, in this connection, a translation of

fantastique, at least in the sense which is most commonly admitted in modern French.

Merveilleux has kept its meaning whereas that of fantastique has changed, as appears, for instance, in Anthologie du conte fantastique français by P.G. Castex (1947): "Le féerique est un univers merveilleux qui s'oppose au monde réel sans en détruire la cohérence. Le fantastique, au contraire, manifeste un scandale, une déchirure, une irruption insolite, presque insupportable dans le monde réel."¹

The notion of the fantastique makes sense only in a world mass-converted to science, positivism, rationalism and sceptical (at least in theory) about manifestations of the occult. It is opposed to the atmosphere one breathes in the fairy-tale; the märchen. Thus it is not yet to be found in the XVII-XVIII th. century fantastic voyages but will be very conspicuous, for instance, in Edgar Allan Poe, who has borrowed so many of their themes. On the other hand, although borrowing heavily from the fairy-tales both of the West and of the Orient, one cannot say that the fantastic voyage is a fairy-tale. Here, the question of the purpose is all-

1) p. 3.

important. This purpose^{is}, nearly ~~always~~ always rationalistic, by which we mean here that there is a constant desire to dominate one's subject matter, to reflect on it, analyse it and speculate as to its implications and the consequences of the adventures described. This rationalistic spirit explains why the Utopia and the satire of manners can so easily be superimposed on any Fantastic Voyage. Never does one deal with a pure desire merely to give one's readers matter for wonder and idle entertainment. This again has been felt by the sensitive Garnier: "Les deux voyages qui composent ce volume (he writes in vol. XXV(p. vii) about Henri Pajon's Histoire du Prince Soly (1740) and Christoforo Armeno's Voyage des Trois Princes de Seredipⁿ) approchent du genre de la féerie, par la nature des fictions qu'ils renferment, par le merveilleux qui y règne; ils appartiennent néanmoins aux voyages imaginaires." Therefore, a statement like that of S. Goulding about Gulliver: "une fiction merveilleuse, un conte de fées....^l" must be very seriously qualified, as is shown by the fact that in some classifications

1) Swift en France, Paris, 1924, p. 88.

Gulliver is found among realistic voyages.

The fantastic voyage often exemplifies the contemporary opinion on fiction as opposed to history. This explains the inclusion of "romans de magie" in a collection of "voyages" :

"L'histoire nous peint les hommes tels qu'ils ont été ou tels qu'ils sont; les romans nous les peignent tels qu'ils devraient être; le voyageur décrit les terres qu'il a parcourues (....) mais le philosophe a une autre manière de voyager; sans autre guide que son imagination, il se transporte dans des mondes nouveaux, où il recueille des observations précieuses....." Thus spoke Garnier in his Avertissement de l'éditeur (Vol. I). This conception of the novel, which appears to be wishful thinking as far as most of the works of contemporary authors of fiction^{are concerned}, is widespread in the eighteenth century. The novel is constantly compared and opposed to history, both being alleged to have the same moral aim, which they reach by different paths; a few critics (Garnier and the editor of the Bibliothèque des Dames, for instance) add that the novel is even more useful, since the heroes can be directed at the author's will. All this often is

explicitly applied to the "romans merveilleux" or fantastic novels. The fairy-tales, such as those of Perrault, end on a "moralité"; the B.U.R. insists on ~~that~~ ^{the} aspect. There is also a new desire for logic and reason even in such productions: one reads also in the B.U.R. (I, 169) about the tales of Mme d'Aulnoy and de Murat, and of Mlle de la Force: "Il a fallu (since the seventeenth century) que la raison pût approuver ce que le délire même paraissoit enfanter".

Such insistence on the merits and usefulness of fiction doubtless came from a desire to enhance its status. Its prestige was low until well into the eighteenth century, as has been shown by S. P. Jones¹. Many of the works treated of here were published anonymously, even when the preface, or hints contained in the work itself, could make the reader guess the author's name. Sometimes this name was printed in subsequent editions, when the work was successful (as in the case of Daniel).

1) S. P. Jones, A List of French Prose-Fiction from 1700 to 1750, with a brief introduction, New York, 1939; Introduction, part II.

The name given to a work of prose-fiction, as noticed by Jones, is rarely "roman", but rather a hundred other names such as: "conte", "nouvelle", "histoire", "relation", etc. The habit of describing the work in the title would have made the author more aware of the existence of various patterns; that of the imaginary voyage being one. But with these types ("conte moral", "conte galant", "histoire divertissante" etc.) becoming more and more exhausted, a kind of syncretism is reached, epitomized ironically, for instance, in the subtitle of a story by Crébillon fils: Ahi quel conte! conte politique et astronomique (1754), a wholly spurious claim, or in that of another by Fanny de Beauharnais: Volsidor et Zulménie, conte pour rire, moral si l'on veut, et philosophique en cas de besoin (1776). This fusion of the themes is a definite character of the fantastic voyage during the period we have considered.

The long and sad tale of baffled effort which Gove tells at length in his book should lead only to one conclusion, the very one he draws. It is

that rigid classifications defeat their own purpose; they may satisfy one type of mind, but they do not exhaust reality, and in the worst case, they completely pervert that reality and make it incomprehensible. Thus, the novels of Cyrano de Bergerac have often been misunderstood because of the elaborate realism shown in some places. Indeed, such classifications, had they been present in the minds of the authors, would probably have discouraged any velleity of progress. One might say about the imaginary voyage more than about any other genre that the way to progress is to digress. This is how, for instance, a writer hit upon the idea of combining a utopia and an adventure story.

Are there, nevertheless, any natural subdivisions in the bulk of such novels? The criterion of the setting is not sufficient as such, as has been seen. But experience often proves it useful. Writers of aerial voyages are aware of similar works by their predecessors; writers of subterranean voyages are aware of their departure from the acknowledged type of aerial voyage. The fantastic voyage as a whole

is sometimes reduced to a convenient pattern, which can be applied to different contents. We shall see that Voltaire, in particular, made very effective use of it. A study of the sources of the fantastic voyage before 1662 will show the emergence of that pattern.

2 - Sources and Influences

As has been said in the previous chapter, the Fantastic Voyages is almost the first type of fiction ever written; thus it is easy to find for it a formidable pedigree, an outline of which appears, for instance, in Paludan's Om Niels Klim¹ P. Brun's Cyrano de Bergerac², or Toldo's article "Les voyages merveilleux de Cyrano de Bergerac et de Swift et leurs rapports avec l'oeuvre de Rabelais"³. But sometimes such lists achieve little more than proving that examples of a genre have occurred in various places and at various times quite independently, for it can hardly be alleged that any genre enjoyed a continuous development throughout space and time. Especially as far as Oriental and Ancient literature and folklore are concerned it is essential not to assume, on the part of the least cultured writer, universal knowledge. Moreover, the picture such chronological

1) Om Høibergs Niels Klim, med særligt Hensyn til tidligere Satirer i Form af opdigtede og vidunderlige Reiser, Copenhagen, 1878, 1st chapter.

2) Paris, 1893.

3) Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes, T.IV, 1906, T.V, 1907, Paris, Champion.

lists give of literary continuity does not seem, in the last analysis, altogether truthful; for, judging by the writers' own acknowledgment found in the prefaces to their works, as well as by the criticism they elicited, there seem to be, during each century, one or two seminal books, written in the author's own country or abroad, the influence of which is infinitely greater and more significant than that of a myriad older ones. Rare are the authors who, like Lucian or Thomas More, are still felt to be direct ancestors of a literary type after several centuries have passed; the work of most others at best reinforces the effect of a newer book by lending it the weight of a tradition.

It is these comparatively recent books that we shall briefly review, books whose posterity can be fairly safely identified and whose influence can be fairly accurately assessed. Some books and their authors will again be mentioned at the beginning of other chapters when they have a particular relevance to, say, themes and images associated with subterranean voyages, or works with ^{an} occultist background.

As has just been said, Lucian of Samosata

enjoys an exceptional place among identifiable ancestors; his influence on fantastic fiction is only one aspect of the part he played in intellectual history, as the epithet 'Lucianist', often applied to "libertins", shows.

Lucian's influence exercised itself in three ways: over the conception and practice of the fantastic voyage, over that of the dialogue, chiefly the dialogue of the dead, and over the mood of down-to-earth scepticism which is prevalent at some periods of intellectual history.

It has often been pointed out that the True History is a satire. But it is not, as is sometimes said (by M. Nicolson, for instance) a satire of the fantastic voyage¹; it is a satire, by means of a ~~fant~~ fantastic voyage, of travel stories which purport to be true, like those of Herodotus and Ctesias of Cnidus (sometimes, incidentally, and this excellently shows the limits of Lucian who is often shallow, these stories were true). Irony is evident in the title, as well as in the gay irresponsible mood

1) This would be said with more truth about Rudolf Erich Raspe's Baron Munchausen's Narrative of His Marvellous Travels (1785), a satire of mendacious travellers and of imaginary voyages as well.

which pervades the book. Incredible creatures are encountered and events succeed each other in a crazy, dream-like way; but let it not be thought that such effortless ease comes easily. Whoever might think so had better read d'Ablancourt's *Sequel* or Desfontaines's *Nouveau Gulliver*, which will both be discussed later. Nothing is insipid in the *True History* where an inexhaustible imagination and a freshness of invention are noticeable throughout. In fact, one might say that Rabelais alone was able to recapture the "Lucianist" mood, and there are numerous traces of Lucian's works in his books. But nothing is further removed from Lucian than, for instance, Cyrano's *L'Autre Monde*, in which there is almost nothing but allegory and dramatization of precise philosophical theories, and an ambition to rationalize everything. It is, therefore, more because it was a fantastic story than because of what it was in fact that it had an influence, and from the point of view of precise references, *Icaromenippus* is more important.

It is, this time, the story of a deliberate attempt to do something fantastic, namely to fly to heaven.

The hero does, as a matter of fact, succeed, having harnessed himself with the wing of an eagle and the wing of a vulture. ~~Vulture~~
 Menippus wanted to go to heaven for a scientific purpose: to find out about atmospheric phenomena, which no terrestrial philosopher could explain to him - an indirect praise of experiment! He visits the moon and describes it, has a discussion with Empedocles, observes as will later the Diable Boiteux, the inhabitants of the earth who are far from suspecting it and are engaged in various disreputable activities. He listens alone with Jupiter to the widely contradictory wishes of men. The morality is that the earth and men are insignificant, and that human affairs should be treated with scepticism and tolerance.

Icaromenippus contains several themes and episodes which were to be used intensively during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: for instance, the idea of making the heroes of the voyage story meet mythological characters, dead famous men, or characters from the literary work of others, philosophers chiefly, as well as the use

of paradox (on the moon, for instance, children are born dead and have to be animated). Lucian used both fictions to air his feelings about this or that sect of philosophers. There is, for instance, an Island of the Blest where most philosophers are to be found except Plato, who inhabits his own Republic (to be found again and again in fantastic voyages), and the Academicians, who would like to join but "ils s'abstiennent encore et considèrent ; car ils n'ont pas la perception que cette île soit réellement telle qu'on le leur dit(.....). Faut de comprendre , parvenus au milieu de la route, ils étaient retournés sur leur pas."¹ As might be expected, Aristippus and Epicurus had no such scruples and are very popular there.

With regard to the dialogue, a form which Lucian very frequently used, writers of fantastic voyages could read the following profession de foi:²

"Autrefois le dialogue servait, dans un style plein de gravité, à traiter les plus hautes questions sur les dieux, la nature, l'univers. Cela lui donnait une physionomie vénérable, mais peu gracieuse, et tout-à-fait désagréable au public. J'ai commencé à lui apprendre à ne plus se perdre dans les nues et

1) Oeuvres Complètes, Garnier, 1896, I, p. 456.
 2) op. cit., p. 64.

à marcher sur la terre à la façon des hommes. J'ai lavé la crasse dont il était couvert, et en le forçant à sourire, je l'ai rendu plus agréable aux yeux des spectateurs. Mais surtout je l'ai associé à la comédie, et par cette alliance, je lui ai concilié la bienveillance des auditeurs qui jusque là craignaient les épines dont il était armé et n'osaient y toucher qu'à un hérisson."

Thus Lucianic dialogue is often found in fantastic voyages, for the sake of the life it brings and of the literary and philosophical references it allows one to introduce; it was also used independently by Fontenelle, for instance, as a means of discussing and vulgarizing important questions.

However, much of the lively character of the dialogues was due to the pleasure of debunking, not always a very safe guide for intellectual appreciation. This in its turn is due to the author's scepticism which makes him treat all philosophers as if they were cranks while they were alive, such as Empedocles or Peregrinus; he thus assumes quite gratuitously that Socrates's much praised firmness in the face of death was only make-believe, and even makes him confess as much in his dialogues of the dead. Yet this attitude had some attraction in the eighteenth century, when one finds an equivalent in many cultured people who were puzzled by the philosophical quarrels of the day and found

refuge either in Lucian's own vulgarized epicureanism, or in religious and philosophical conservatism. It was tempting to consider, like Tiphaigne or like Swift, for instance¹, Aristotle, Descartes, Newton and others as rival witch-doctors, and it is no mere coincidence that a Bordelon, who also dabbled in fantastic prose-fiction, published a Philosophes à l'encan which contained a translation of Lucian's dialogue to which he had added one of his own, on the same theme².

The next name to mention is evidently that of Rabelais, who is felt as the link between Lucian and Voltaire and credited, by ^{the} B.U.R. for instance, with having written "le premier roman satirique en français". This is, however, a claim both too narrow and too wide, for there were satirical novels before his, and his influence is perhaps less widespread than the popularity of his work, or the genius it shows, would lead one to suppose: by this we mean less precise. It seems to us that the very magnitude of the achievement of Rabelais protected it from proliferating imitation and that smaller and

1) See chapter VII on Tiphaigne; and Swift, Gulliver's Travels, Book III.

2) Paris, 1690.

more precise works, like L'Autre Monde, Télémaque, Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes, Les Lettres Persanes, etc, better adapted to modern purposes, had more direct effect on contemporary literary production, even if some of that effect was due to the somewhat remote, benevolent protection of Rabelais's satire. The linguistic side of the fun had become obsolete for some time, as R. Garapon shows¹, and had no effect whatever on the type of fiction we are now studying, except perhaps on a single book, Relations du Royaume de Candavia.

A very different type of fiction is usually described as an ancestor to the fantastic voyage; it is that of the utopias of both ancient and modern times. Names constantly cited, even when the context hardly justifies it, are those of Plato, for the sake of his Republic, and of the story of Atlantis (to be found in Timaeus and Critias) and of Thomas More, for the sake of his Utopia (1516). No less important however, are Bacon's Nova Atlantis (1629), Campanella's Civitas Solis (written in 1602 but published only

1) La fantaisie Verbale et le comique dans le théâtre français du Moyen-Age à la fin du XVII^e siècle, Paris 1957.

in 1623), Fénelon's Télémaque (especially Books X, XI, XVII) and Veiras' Histoire des Sévarambes, about the success of which Garnier said¹: "On s'est vu pendant quelques tems inondé de nouvelles descriptions de peuples sages et amis de la vertu, qui habitoient des contrées particulièrement favorisées de la nature."

Descriptions of a utopian character supply an ever-ready theme to the writer of fantastic fiction, and are often used as padding. They can be combined with the satire of manners in a neighbouring state or in a pre-utopian stage of a country (as in Télémaque, Book X) and are thus useful in two ways. To the theme of the Utopia is often added that of the Golden Age, as in Télémaque again (la Bétique, Book XVII) or the Lettres Persanes (Troglydites), for it is sometimes felt that only people who fare well under no government at all could cope with over-governed utopian society. Political ideas are on the whole feeble. There is besides a new trend appearing since the sixteenth century in the old conception

1) op. cit. , vol. X, Avertissement.

of the utopia: that of the worship of knowledge and the cultivation of technique. The spirit of rationalization and experiment which accompanies it is often equally found in fantastic Voyages, conspicuous examples being Cyrano's novel, and La Follie's Philosophe sans Prétention, which are a glorification of the mastery of man over the world through judicious application of natural laws.

For an important influence on fantastic voyages is that of contemporary science, both because of the new facts it established and because of the new spirit which, as a result, pervaded intellectual life as from the beginning of the seventeenth century and the work of Galileo. Almost inevitably, owing to the religious and intellectual situation then obtaining in France, the circles which spread this knowledge were also those in which "libertine" ideas were rife¹.

However, it happens that the first writer who transformed the Lucianic tradition into the modern scientific moon-voyage, although convinced of the

1) See R. Pintard, Le libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du dix-septième siècle, Paris, 1943;

importance of measurement, did not hold any libertine ideas: it was Kepler, whose Somnium was written very soon after the appearance of Galileo's Sidereus Nuncius (1610) but published only in 1634¹. Imagining conditions of life on the moon (then just shown to be "another world") while taking into account scientific data made the originality of the Somnium; but while there is considerable picturesqueness in Kepler's descriptions, there are no other philosophical implications and the method used to go to the moon, the age-old one of magic, brought nothing new.

The contrast is sharp with the novel which is the real link between Lucian and Rabelais on the one hand, and works like those of Voltaire on the other hand, Cyrano de Bergerac's L'Autre Monde. It came this time from a man well-informed as to the new developments of science and philosophy, who knew men like Gassendi and Rohault, from a "libertine" who, unlike many of the same group, was not afraid

1) Joh. Keppleri Mathematici olim imperatorii Somnium seu Opus posthumum de astronomia lunari. Francofurti, 1634;

to speak his mind, and, last but not least, from a born writer who had the imagination and the stylistic power forcibly to put across and illustrate his convictions. Doubtless the understandable but drastic and awkward bowdlerization undergone by the novel frustrated it of its due recognition. It was far from unknown, however, during the next century; it is often mentioned particularly in connection with the part it played in the elaboration of the fantastic voyage:

"Nous ne pouvons nous dispenser de commencer par celui de Cyreno de Bergerac, qui a servi de modèle à tant d'autres Ouvrages de ce genre, écrits en François ou en Anglois" declare the editors of the B.U.R. when they open the Eighth Section of their classification of novels, that of the "romans merveilleux"¹. They add: "Ce singulier morceau eut un si grand succès dans son temps que l'on ne parlait d'autre chose, et que la comédie d'Arlequin Empereur dans la Lune, que l'on joua sur le Théâtre Italien, quoique ce ne fût qu'une mauvaise

1) X, Octobre 1776, pp. 165 ff.

Farce, réussit infiniment en 1684¹ uniquement parce qu'elle était regardée comme une imitation du voyage de la lune de Cyrano". One can also read in the Approbation (by the abbé Richard) of Les Aventures du Voyageur Aérien (1723): "C'est un doux plaisir de parcourir dans son cabinet, sans courre aucun danger, tout ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans l'Univers par la lecture des Voyages; Cyrano de Bergerac ne s'en est pas tenu à ceux que l'on fait par mer et par terre; il a porté son effort dans la Région de l'air. L'auteur de ce manuscrit marche sur ses pas....." But there were many things to be found in his novels, fantastic as well as serious, and unfortunately for Cyrano's reputation, the serious ideas passed into utopian fiction, and his name became a byword for irresponsible folly. Grimm, for instance, uses the word "fou" in connection with L'Autre Monde, and so does Voltaire in the article on the Anneau de Saturne of his Dictionnaire Philosophique.

1) It is reprinted in Le Théâtre Italien, ou recueil de toutes les comédies et scènes françaises qui ont été jouées sur le théâtre italien. Par la troupe des Comédiens du Roy de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne à Paris. Troisième édition - Revue et Augmentée, Paris, 1695.

An anonymous short poem in praise of Newton,
Le Télescope, petit conte moral, A Moscou, 1759,
 contains the following lines (p.25):

"Connaissez-vous Bergerac?
 Qui? Cyrano de petit Page,
 Qui fait rougir à chaque page?
 Il raisonne ab hoc & ab hac:
 Des sottisiers c'est le modèle."

Nevertheless, the typical blend of fantasy and ~~experimental~~
 experimental science, of poetry and well-documented
 astronomy which characterised L'Autre Monde, left
 a definite imprint on subsequent works of the same
 type. It is fair to mention that the immediate
 incentive to write his novel was probably given
 to Cyrano by the publication of the translation
 of Godwin's Man in the Moone (1648 ; in English 1638).
 But he wrote a far more interesting work than his
 predecessor in almost every respect, so that the
 only important element which can be safely said
 to have its source in Godwin's book is the idea
 of describing a voyage to the moon as well as the
 landscape which is found there in terms of modern
 astronomy.

As science made progress during the seventeenth
 and eighteenth centuries, the facts it established

became integrated ⁱⁿ to the pattern of the fantastic voyage such as it had been ^{drawn} ~~determined~~ at Cyrano's hands, and this is why, as has been said, it is advisable to study this genre only as from 1662, the date of the second part of L'Autre Monde.

One must keep in mind, however, the date of the publication of the first part, 1657, and the fact that the second part was published posthumously, and was known in manuscript before. Cyrano's originality is all the more evident when one compares it to a contemporary work by the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher: Itinerarium Exstaticum quo Mundi Opificium, id est, Coelesti expansi, published at Rome in 1656. About the effects of religious orthodoxy on thought and literature one may quote this commentary by Huygens (himself, as will be seen, the author of a book on the same subject): "If he had dared freely to speak his mind, Kircher would have afforded us a better sort of Things than these"¹.

1) Quoted in M. Nicolson, op. cit., p. 57 - Huygens refuted Kircher's work in his Nouveau Traité de la pluralité des Mondes.

This is all the more evident because Kircher was a genuine and almost universal scientist¹. He taught mathematics and philosophy, as well as languages like Hebrew and Syriac, and published books on the magnet and on Egyptian hieroglyphs, as well as against alchemy. But in his Iter Exstaticum he did not avail himself of the new scientific data which might have supplied some interesting details about means of flight or the description of the countries visited. Instead, he imagined that his soul was exploring the universe under the guidance of an angel, and he relied heavily on old astrological notions to describe what he "saw". This is all the more surprising, that he did not purport to write a fantastic story but a book of science. Another of his works, entitled Mundus Subterraneus, in quo universae Naturae majestas et divitiae demonstrantur, and published at Amsterdam in 1668, may have had some

1) On Kircher, see A. and A. Backer, Bibliographie des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus. Nouvelle édition par Carlos Sommervogel, Paris, Bruxelles, 1890 - 1909, and J.C. Nicéron, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la République des Lettres, 1736.

literary importance in stimulating the imagination of those who saw its numerous and evocative illustrations of the inside of volcanoes and caves. The subterranean voyage became a new and flourishing form of the fantastic voyage, and generally the authors who selected it worked in ideas suggested by contemporary hypotheses as to the structure and formation of the earth.

It is also instructive to contrast two more works, one by a talented vulgarizer who knew how to combine imagination and carefully checked scientific data, the other by a genuine scientist who, however successful in the practice of science nevertheless let the spirit of deduction run riot when he ventured to speculate: they are Fontenelle's Entretiens sur la pluralité des Mondes habités (1686) and Huygens' Cosmotheoros, sive de Terris Coelestibus earumque ornatu conjecturae (1698).

The popularity of Fontenelle's book is well-known¹. It certainly owes a lot to Cyrano's own, for instance the idea of introducing living characters and badinage to enliven scientific

1) See Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes Habités, edited by R. Shackleton, Oxford, 1955.

discussion, or that of the educational tour of planets and stars, or episodes like that of the imaginary suspension of teacher and pupil, who can in that way see the earth revolve. But it also certainly gave a new impetus to that type of fiction in return, and there are definite echoes of it in works like Le Monde de Mercure or Milord Céton. The optimism of the writer about the future of aviation (Deuxième Soir) may have encouraged imaginary travellers. Fontenelle also practised a Lucianic genre, that of the dialogue of the dead. His dialogues have been criticised by contemporaries for their frivolity, although they reveal, as do his Entretiens, a very sound attitude towards the possibility of progress.

Huygens' Cosmotheoros, on the contrary, although it is also devoted to the demonstration that there are several worlds akin to the earth, was built on a very different principle. Huygens, who was a devout believer, deduced, like Descartes, everything from the qualities traditionally attributed to God. Thus, the planets are finally said to be very much like the earth by a series of

deductions which do not take facts much into account. Life is beautiful and harmonious on all of them, they are covered with utopian cities. Apparently, the presence of evil on the earth did not appear to Huygens as an objection to his line of reasoning. A translation into French was made and published in 1702: Nouveau Traité de la pluralité des mondes par feu M. Huygens (Paris, by M. du Four). On the copy used by Flammarion, there was a handwritten quotation from an article in the Journal de Trévoux of the same year: "Tout est sçavant dans ce livre, et ce seroit se tromper que de le regarder comme les Voyages de Cyrano ou comme le Songe astronomique de Kepler". There certainly are many learned things in Huygens's book (in particular the details about Saturn, since he had discovered its rings himself); but as regards scientific spirit, it is treated too indulgently by the Journal de Trévoux.

The most original fantastic voyage published at the beginning of the eighteenth century was Swift's Gulliver's Travels. Swift's influence on French writers has been the object of a special

study¹. The author, however interesting and thorough her study is, often falls into the pitfall of seeing the influence of Gulliver everywhere, and making it responsible for what is really part and parcel of the tradition of the fantastic voyage. The "sources" of Gulliver are very numerous; there already were giants and little men in fiction, as well as kingdoms of animals and utopias; the introduction of scientific contrivances and philosophical reflections into the traditional tale was already well established; and it will be seen that even extraordinary voyages were not always devoid of incredible elements. All this could be used again and again by later writers without proper imitation of Gulliver. For the only thing that distinguishes Gulliver's Travels is that it is a masterpiece. As such, it may have given an incentive to some writers; but, apart from a few evident imitations such as that

1) See G. Goulding, Swift en France; essai sur la fortune et l'influence de Swift en France au XVIIIè siècle, suivi d'un aperçu de la fortune de Swift en France au cours du XIXè siècle, Paris, 1924.

by Desfontaines (discussed later), this cannot be proved. It certainly started no new trend in French prose-fiction, and is in this very different from Robinson Crusoe.

Unlike the extraordinary voyage, the sources of which are to be found in the current social and political ideas, the fantastic voyage is on the whole due to writers interested in science, both pure and applied, but who are also interested by the sight of human ways and who enjoy satirizing them; in addition, they are often endowed with considerable imagination and poetic feeling.

Sources of another kind are to be found in voyages accomplished by means of spirits or angels; as well as in visions and dreams. The character of Mentor in Télémaque points to the mythological origins of such a type of fiction. Dante's Divine Comedy shows its links with religious ideas. In the latter work, inspired largely by the Aeneid, ascent of mountains and descent underground both have a religious significance;

1) Le Voyage fantastique...
translation from De la science-fiction
de la science-fiction.

but Dante's originality consists in having given realistic descriptions instead of allegory and having peopled the imaginary world with his contemporaries instead of being content with mythology. This undoubtedly had an influence on later writers; the account given by the B.U.R. of the Divine Comedy (and even its inclusion there) shows that it was considered by many as a fantastic voyage, and that there were grounds for Péguy's angry reference to Dante as "a tourist". Yet, although Milton and Bunyan were translated in France, there was nothing comparable in scope or intention written during the same period.

The travels of Astolfo, in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, may be mentioned here, for the poem was still very popular in France, and episodes of it were frequently imitated.

Seventeenth century accounts of real voyages (by Bernier, Thévenot, Chardin, Tavernier, the Jesuit missionaries, etc.) were another important influence on imaginary ones, chiefly extraordinary but also fantastic, for it has been seen that the magical word was "voyage", as the Garnier collection shows, and many episodes and themes were common to both sorts. Prominent among these themes were discussions of a philosophical nature which played an important part in the evolution of ideas¹. Original thought is not often

1) See A. Tilley, The Decline of the age of Louis XIV., Cambridge, 1929, pp. 170-173, and G. Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages du XVII^e siècle et l'évolution des idées, Paris, 1924, and G. Chinard, *op. cit.*

achieved by the authors of those minor works, who most of the time repeat Montaigne's reflections (in his chapter Des Cannibales (I,30) for instance) on relativism of custom and inequality among men, and La Mothe le Vayer's deductions on the discovery of atheistic peoples in his Dialogues (La Mothe le Vayer is praised in Cyrano's novel which also contains an extraordinary voyage to Canada). Much more attractive to writers of fiction were the strange customs, flora and fauna of exotic countries; the transposition of these into things more fantastic still is lavishly used.

One must also mention the influence of Oriental fiction. Antoine Galland's translation of Les Mille et Une Nuits (published as from 1704) and Pétis de la Croix Les Mille et Un Jours (published as from 1712) were the chief introductions to Arabic, Persian, and Turkish tale to the French public. Their vogue, following on that of the fairy-tale in the 1690's was prodigious during the eighteenth century. Many fantastic voyages henceforth cast a Persian or an Arab in the traditional character of the venerable old man ; and use Oriental disguises for the satire of contemporary manners.

3 - Fantastic Voyages in the old Manner

It has been seen that by the middle of the seventeenth century the fantastic voyage had been rejuvenated by becoming linked with the new science and the new philosophy. The necessity for such a revitalizing process will be apparent after an examination of some works whose authors were content to imitate in a superficial way the models set by Lucian and Rabelais, in spite of their claims to the contrary.

A Sequel of the True History (1654)

In 1654 appeared a translation of Lucian's True History by Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt. To the two books of the original story were appended a third and fourth book¹, which have erroneously been attributed to the translator, although J. Balteau's Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise shows that it was the work of Perrot's nephew,

1) See Bibliography.

Jean Jacobé Frémont d'Ablancourt (1621 - 1696).
 Translation and sequel are reprinted in Garnier's
 collection (vol. XIII).

D'Ablancourt ~~has~~ endeavoured to write his own
 story with the devices used by Lucian; unfortunately,
 a slavish imitation often results in dullness and
 has ruined many a would-be pastiche. He had
 greater ambitions, however, for one reads before
 his sequel: "il a pris envie à celui qui a
 fait le precedent Dialogue, de se louer à son
 exemple, en des aventures etranges et inouïes.
 Mais comme il n'y a rien de si facile, que de feindre
 des choses qui n'ayent aucun fondement dans la
 Raison ni dans la Nature, il n'a pas creu le
 devoir imiter en ce point; et n'a rien dit,
 qui n'ait quelque sens allegorique, ou quelque
 instruction meslée avec le plaisir" However,
 there often is in this sequel some poetry which
 was not found in the original. The imaginary
 travellers find a Republic of Animals who live
 in perfect harmony, then they go to the Antipodes
 while their ship is escorted by all manner of
 exotic fish and visit an island of the "Pyrandriens",
 or men made of fire, who fear nothing like water

which wounds them: "Ils ne croyent pas comme nous que l'âme soit renfermée dans le corps, et soutiennent au contraire qu'il n'y a qu'elle qui paroît et que le corps qu'elle anime lui est donné pour nourriture. Aussi vivent-ils tant qu'ils ont de quoi nourrir leur feu; mais lorsqu'il n'y a plus de matière, leur âme (...) s'envole en forme d'Étincelle"¹. Their souls then become will-o'-the-wisps, then comets and meteors. This conception reminds one of other works, chiefly Cyrano's L'Autre Monde. It would be interesting to know more than we know at present on the possible relations between the two men. Cyrano died in 1655, after d'Ablancourt's book was published; on the other hand his own had been written for about five years and was probably known in manuscript. There is a further resemblance in the country of the "Aparctiens" who are the equivalent of the "Pyrandriens" but live in a very cold country, just as there were a Salamander and a Remora in L'Autre Monde.

D'Ablancourt used another device of Lucian's, that of the etymological joke. There are in his book enumerations of fantastic creatures with no

1) pp. 86-87.

less fantastically derived names. Still another familiar device is that of the allegorization of poets' metaphors, chiefly the mineral similes of the Platonists.

There is also an Island of the Pygmies, which probably was a source for Gulliver's Travels (and also an Island of Giants, which is not seen but only alluded to) and finally, as a suitable finale, a sabbath in the island of Magicians.

As has been said, this compendium of fantastic themes is on the whole skilfully composed, and written with some poetry; yet the general impression is one of coldness and lifelessness. This is doubtless due to the fact that initially the work was conceived as an imitation, and had, therefore, to cope with many self-imposed checks on the author's inspiration. Moreover, d'Ablancourt had none of Lucian's satirical intentions. It is, therefore, a proof a posteriori that new devices such as the integration of recent discoveries and of the new scientific spirit were essential if the genre was not to peter out because of aimlessness.

One sometimes finds Mital Ou Aventures Incroyables, Et toute-fois, et caetera. Ces Aventures contiennent quinze Relations d'un voyage rempli d'un très-grand nombre de différentes sortes de Prodiges, de Merveilles, d'Usages, de Coûtumes, d'Opinions et de Divertissements. A Paris, 1708, by Laurent Bordelon (1653-1730), described as a fantastic voyage, presumably because of the title¹. Actually, it is the most insipid, indigestible and pointless book one could imagine. It is literally impossible to know what the book is about until one has read La Suite de Mital, in which there is a key. Apparently, the whole point is in the words "Et toute-fois", in the title. The interminable lists of surprising facts and descriptions of which the book consists turns out to be not the fruit of Bordelon's imagination but a series of quotations from Tertullian, Pliny, La Mothe le Vayer, the Journal de Trévoux, Diopdprus, Albertus Magnus, etc. Bordelon must have been a great reader, but one can hardly expect people to wade through his book purely to reach such a conclusion.

1) For instance in W.E. Eddy, op. cit. , and P.B.Gove , op. cit.

For there is no philosophical attitude of the author towards his subject matter at all; he does not seem to criticise the veracity of the authors he quotes, or on the contrary to admire nature for its prodigies. No voyage is actually made, one being merely mentioned so as to give some sort of order to the subject-matter. Bordelon seems to have had some philosophical ambitions, to which he owes the honour of being mentioned in several studies on the history of ideas, chiefly Lanson's Origines et Premières Manifestations de l'esprit philosophique dans la littérature française de 1775 à 1748¹, and J. de la Harpe "L'Abbé Laurent Bordelon et la lutte contre la superstition en France entre 1680 et 1730".² But he desperately lacked not only any philosophical scope but any stylistic gift as well, to an extent which excites a kind of awe in his modern readers, as can be felt in M. Bardon's description of Mital as "ce récit incroyablement dénué de grâce et de verve;..."³

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- 1) In Revue des Cours et Conférences, 1907 - 1910.
 - 2) Berkeley and Los Angeles, Univ. of Calif. Press (Univ. of Calif. publications in modern philology, vol. 26, N°2) ; 1941.
 - 3) In "Don Quichotte" en France, 1605 - 1815, Paris 1931. Bordelon and his works are discussed in pp. 449 - 454.

Le Nouveau Gulliver (1730)

Guyot

The abbé P.F. Desfontaines (1685-1745), having translated Gulliver's Travels, wrote a novel of his own, which he entitled, doubtless to take advantage of the tremendous success his model enjoyed, Le Nouveau Gulliver, ou Voyage de Jean Gulliver, Fils du Capitaine Gulliver. Traduit d'un Manuscrit Anglois, and published anonymously. This is, however, not a continuation, as d'Ablancourt's tale was a continuation of the True History; for on the one hand Desfontaines did not, at bottom, appreciate Gulliver's Travels at all, in spite of the part he played in the diffusion of the book in France, and on the other hand, he could not select over again the types of fantastic fiction which Swift had chosen (dwarfs, giants, etc). About Desfontaines' attitude to Gulliver, there are amusing details in Goulding's Swift en France¹, in particular the story of Desfontaines's cautious preface to his translation and the ironical letter he received

1) op. cit.

from Swift on that subject. Goulding shows how, whereas Swift had explicitly said that he intended to write only a satire, Desfontaines in his translation, under the influence of the seventeenth century tradition of "instruire et plaire", transformed Gulliver into a moral treatise thanks to his bowdlerization and his personal additions. His own book is evidently conceived according to the same ideal. Garnier also, in the introduction he gave to Le Nouveau Gulliver in Volume XV of his collection, said that the fantastic aspect of Gulliver is the one which the translator had least appreciated. Yet, as probably the name Gulliver was definitely associated with fantastic adventures, Desfontaines had to supply some; he could think of nothing more exciting than another repetition of the type of episode which had been invented by Lucian and used by d'Ablencourt after Rabelais. In his work, however, there is no living and spontaneous fantasy, but a laborious review of all the human types and professions which can lend themselves to allegory: "isles des médecins, des gourmands, des poètes, des géomètres, des philosophes

(without any philosophical scope), des musiciens, des comédiens, des bossus." Two newer ideas are found there, however, but are not really exploited: in one island, people grow very fast, and for that reason think only of quickly achieved enjoyment, neglecting more serious pursuits which require time before the fruits can be reaped; in another, they are born old and grow young with the years (it can be seen that Lucian had had the idea of people born dead). The rest of the story is only an insipid "turquerie" built on the traditional pattern of the "roman romanesque". But it was successful enough to be reprinted and translated into various languages¹, which may be interpreted as an indirect tribute to Gulliver's Travels.

1) See Bibliography.

4 - The New Philosophical Trend in Fantastic Voyages

Cyrano de Bergerac was the first, in his novel L'Autre Monde, to have deliberately selected the framework of the fantastic voyage in order to express and discuss the tenets of contemporary science and philosophy. More than half of his novel had a didactic content and was concerned with problems arising from Aristotelianism, Copernicanism, or Cartesianism. In spite of the great dialectical skill and of the vivid imagination of its author, such a novel might have proved rather tiresome to some readers. Yet the idea was not abandoned by any means; it was a favourite one during the eighteenth century, with those who were anxious to impart a new philosophy to a lay public or, on the contrary, to attack a popular one, and who, doubtless inspired by Pascal's Provinciales, Fontenelle's Entretiens, La Fontaine's Fables, and Fénelon's Télémaque as well as by L'Autre Monde, remembered that "le conte fait passer le précepte avec lui".

The only piece of fiction ever written by Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, was entitled The Description of a New World, called The Blazing World, written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious and Excellent Princess, the Duchess of Newcastle (1666) and was appended to her Observations upon Experimental Philosophy. It is not surprising that such a famous "virtuoso" should have been attracted by the fantastic voyage. The description she gave of the one she wrote: "the first part thereof is Romancical; the second Philosophical; and the Third is merely Fancy, or (as I may call it) Fantastical" well shows the three ways in which the genre could be exploited.

Neither the insight shown by the Duchess into the nature and possibilities of the genre she had chosen, nor its actual execution warrant the contempt which is heaped upon her and her work by Marjorie Nicolson¹. But it is curious that she ^{have} should/felt so strongly that nothing new could be imagined as regards the practical conditions of the voyage. Toying with the idea of writing one of

1) op. cit., pp. 220 ff.

her own, she changed her mind when she reflected that "it would be no better than Lucian's or the French-man's Art, with Bottles, Bladders, etc.

(Cyrano) or like the man that would scruce himself up into the Moon...". Therefore, trusting reasoning and imagination more than "deluding Glasses and Experiments", she decided to invent a world, accepting only the occasional help of mythological memories.

An original feature of her story is the Arctic setting which she chose for the beginning; such a setting may have been remembered by the anonymous author of the Voyage du Pole Arctique au Pole Antarctique, and later Edgar Allan Poe, all the more because of what happens near the Pole: "for it is impossible to round this World's Globe from Pole to Pole, so as we do from East to West; because the Poles of another World, joining to the Poles of this do not allow any further passage to surround the World that way; but if any one arrives to either of these Poles, he is either forced to return, or to enter another World". This reminds one of the Platonic myth of Er (Republic, X) and of old geographical maps. The heroine, soon after her arrival, marries the Emperor and becomes a sort of

enlightened despot who encourages learning and philosophy. There are long discussions on topics of chemistry, medicine, zoology, and other sciences, always from the point of view of good sense or "natural wit" to which the author gives praise all along at the expense of formal logic. Her trust in reason consoles her somewhat for the impediments put in the way of women's education, which she had deplored at the beginning of the book, in a touching plea for feminism.

The heroine and her friend the Duchess then decide to create "worlds in their heads", first according to Thales, then to Pythagoras, then to Plato, Epicurus, Aristotle, Descartes, Hobbes. These metaphysical systems reveal themselves to be impracticable. The Duchess then builds her own world according to natural understanding, and this meets with complete success. Although Gabriel Daniel's novel was chiefly derived from the tenets of Cartesian philosophy, it is just conceivable that he may have heard of the Bleazing World, with the curious insistence of the author upon its purely imaginary character, "a world of nothing but pure wit".

In 1690 appeared anonymously a Voyage du Monde de Descartes, a work interesting not only as a literary achievement or even as a testimony of a certain state of opinion, but as what might be termed the "missing link" between Voltaire, the official inventor of the conte philosophique, and Cyrano de Bergerac, to whom this title should in fairness be transferred. In view of this, the oblivion into which this work has fallen is to be regretted, although it can easily be explained by the amount of material in it which is not of general interest, more particularly since the complete triumph, at least in matters of physical science, of the point of view which Daniel, the author, was criticising, namely what one might call the quantitative outlook, as opposed to the metaphysical, qualitative one.

The success encountered by this work encouraged Daniel, whose "coup d'essai" it was, to put his name to the second edition, "revue et augmentée d'une seconde partie" which appeared in 1702. This was to be followed in 1713 by a third, with this subtitle: Nouvelles difficultés proposées à l'auteur du Voyage

du Monde de Descartes, avec la réfutation de deux défenses du système général de M. Descartes¹.

Daniel was a Jesuit (1649-1728)² who was chiefly known in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for three reasons: as a theologian and as the defender of his Order against the attacks of the Oratorians and the Dominicans; as a historian whose ambition it was to write a history of the French monarchy better suited to the refined taste of his time and to Louis XIV's point of view than was that of Mézeray; and finally as the author of the most successful answer to Pascal's Provinciales. To these serious aims he

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- 1) See Bibliography for the full list of editions and translations; the edition used here is the second (1702), except when otherwise indicated.
 - 2) On Daniel's life and works, the chief references are: A. and A. Backer, Bibliographie des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus, Nouvelle édition par Carlos Sommervogel, Paris, Bruxelles, 1890-1909. Abbé Brémond, Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux, Paris, 1935, III, p. 214, and IX, p. 98. Nicéron, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres, dans la République des Lettres, 1727-1745 vol. XXVII. Chaudon, Dictionnaire, neuvième édition, 1810. Nouvelle Biographie Générale par Firmin Didot, 1861. Mercur de France, août 1728. Michaud, Biographie universelle, vol. IX-X. Journal des Savants, 1691, pp. 19-21, and 1693, pp. 373-380, 482-485, 494-495. Daniel, after taking his vows, first taught theology at Rouen, then went to the "maison professe" in Paris as a librarian, devoting most of his time to study and polemics, and was soon acknowledged as a kind of spokesman for his Order. He was the Superior for three years.

brought a well-stocked and keen mind, and an undoubted gift for presenting attractively even abstruse material; and some of the impartiality mentioned by the Mémoires de Trévoux must be granted to him:

"On connoît sa méthode. Touche-t-il un point de Dogme, de Morale, d'Histoire, de Critique? On peut s'assurer qu'on sera, en le lisant, parfaitement au fait sur la matière. Jusque dans les ouvrages où il va le plus directement à défendre quelque vérité contestée ou quelque opinion qui passe pour particulière à sa Compagnie, il rapporte si exactement l'état des choses; il balance si fidèlement les preuves; il développe si nettement les prétentions des Parties qu'il y a de quoi contenter ceux-mêmes qu'il combat, et de quoi instruire les personnes de tout sentiment et de toute École aussi bien que de toute profession, et de tout caractère."¹

One may well imagine that before adopting his final position, which evidently happened before he started to write the book, he examined and weighed carefully what Descartes had to offer. His inability to grasp the scope of Descartes' work is due more to his time than to his character or even his ecclesiastical position. This feature of his character is also acknowledged by Bayle in the Rorarius article of his Dictionnaire, chiefly in the appended note G.

1) Mémoires de Trévoux, Oct. 1725, article XCLV. It is the account given of the Recueil de divers ouvrages..... (See Bibliography), in which some of the most popular works of Daniel were reprinted.

Having mentioned the deserved success of the first two editions of Daniel's Voyage, Bayle points out that Descartes and the Peripatetics triumph over each other only in the attack, not in the defense, and is accordingly touched by Daniel's statement that the Peripatetics do not propose to put forward a foolproof theory on animals.

The criticism by Voltaire of Daniel's Histoire de France is often pointed, as will be seen; but it does not apply to a work like the Entretiens de Cléandre et d'Eudoxe (1694). In this, Daniel undertook, to use against Pascal the very method he had used against the Jesuits, that is to say to present in an attractive form serious and involved topics, thereby making them popular, and winning back some of the people who had ignored earlier but far duller defenses of the Jesuits. Ten editions and several translations prove the success of this work which the Archbishop of Paris wanted to prevent from appearing, in order to avoid starting another Jansenist quarrel. Daniel, however, while showing the bad faith of the Provinciales, had been careful to exonerate Pascal by presenting him as the victim of the Jansenists who had given him false and

tendentious information to work on. Perhaps the most interesting chapter for modern readers is that in which Daniel criticises Pascal's style, which had played no little part in the success of his book. One discovers there that many quaint phrases appeared just as quaint to contemporary readers, and were as incorrect then as they would be today! Daniel's literary gift was sufficient to allow him to write a pastiche of the fifth and the ninth Provinciales themselves, which he used in his quarrels with a Dominican (1695 and after), thus proving that a judicious choice of quotations can make anyone appear to have said absolutely anything.

What was Daniel's purpose when he had "cette ingénieuse idée sous laquelle il avoit eu l'art de travestir en roman un traité complet de Philosophie Ancienne et Moderne; et d'ajouter les imaginations folâtres de Lucien et de l'Arioste aux raisonnements les plus graves", as the Mémoires de Trévoux put it?¹ Hesitation may be permitted for those who have read only the first edition; but it is not possible any longer after a reading of the second. As for Avertissement of the third, it leaves no doubt as to

1) loc. cit.

Daniel's standpoint: "...et la critique qu'il (the traveller and narrator) fait ensuite lui-même de deux petits écrits composés pour la defense du système général de M. de Descartes montre assez qu'il est parfaitement réconcilié avec le parti de l'ancienne Philosophie, et qu'il n'a pas fort trouvé son compte à suivre celui de la Nouvelle." As has already been said, although Daniel's point of view is only apparently impartial in his Monde de Descartes, one does find moments when the new system exercised on him its seduction. But the general tone is that of irony directed not only at the most obscure points of Cartesianism, but above all at the intransigent attitude of Descartes and of Cartesians. One will see many instances of this in the analysis of the novel which follows. Indeed, Daniel does sometimes accept some explanations put forward by Descartes - it was possible for a Jesuit to do so on isolated points; but his target is more than anything else the Cartesian religion. Besides, his outlook is often as irremediably old-fashioned as was that of Borel

in his compendium on the plurality of worlds (1657)¹. This appears most conspicuously in Daniel's treatment of the nature of motion, in which he was particularly interested. This is how the Mémoires de Trévoux summarizes his position on this problem:

"Le but principal qu'il s'y propose est, dit-il, "de débrouiller la nature et l'idée du mouvement considérée en elle-même, de la purger, pour ainsi dire, des équivoques dont quelques philosophes de l'Ecole l'ont embrouillée, et que les Mathématiciens, qui n'entrent point dans ces détails métaphysiques, lesquels ne les regardent point, ne se mettent point en peine d'éclaircir.(...) Non seulement ils ne les éclaireissent point, mais ce sont eux, selon le Père Daniel, qui ont souvent été des sujets de scandale pour les Philosophes; ceux-ci appliquant à la nature des choses même les définitions Mathématiques, qui ne sont justes et vraies qu'autant qu'on en fait abstraction. Il ne croit donc pas qu'il soit du ressort de la Mathématique de nous instruire touchant la nature et l'essence du mouvement.(...) Le mouvement n'est point un corps; ce n'est point un Etre; c'est une façon d'être; c'est un état dans lequel et par lequel le corps correspond successivement à diverses parties de l'espace. (...) Dire que le mouvement ait un Principe Physique; et qu'un corps communique son mouvement, ou une partie de ce mouvement, à un autre; ce sont des expressions très ordinaires, mais qui n'en paraissent pas plus

1) Discours Nouveau prouvant la pluralité des Mondes, que les Astres sont des terres habitées, et la terre une Estoile, qu'elle est hors du centre du monde dans le troisieme Ciel, et se tourne devant le Soleil qui est fixe, et autres choses très-curieuses, Paris, 1657.

exactes au Père Daniel, et où il ne reconnaît qu'un abus de notions et de propositions empruntées aux Mathématiques et hors de leur place." (This primitive cause of motion being, according to him, the will of God) ".....Cette vérité le conduit à une autre conséquence, c'est qu'il n'y a que des spéculations inutiles et peu appuyées dans toutes les lois du mouvement ou de la communications des mouvements qui passe aujourd'hui pour l'âme de la nouvelle Physique."

In the fifth part of the second edition, in which "il est traité de la connaissance des Bêtes" there is also a systematic discussion of the theory of vortices, ending with a condemnation of it by Daniel¹ and also "un jugement critique des Livres Philosophiques de Monsieur Descartes" about which more will be said later.

The Avis in the first edition states that the book was inspired by the Principia (1664) and the Traité de la Lumière ou Monde de M. Descartes (1664);

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- 1) "....on apporte un Argument général auquel on croit pouvoir donner le nom de Démonstration, contre l'existence et contre la possibilité même des tourbillons dont Descartes prétend que le monde est composé. Cet Argument est si simple, si aisé à entendre, et fondé sur des principes si certains en Physique, et dans la Philosophie Cartésienne même, qu'on ne croit pas qu'aucun Philosophe de cette secte entreprenne de le réfuter." Daniel claims that the theory of vortices is so essential to Cartesianism that the latter stands or falls with it.

but a passage at the end of the book gives a clue to another of Daniel's sources. Giving his opinion on Descartes' works, he praises unequivocally only the Traité des Passions (composed in 1649), which he calls Descartes' "meilleur ouvrage de physique"¹. This traité embodies Descartes' opinions on the union of soul and body, a problem which he had specially considered at the request of the Princess Palatine, as Daniel recalls at the beginning of his Voyage. Daniel's sometimes uneasy position between Aristotelianism and Cartesianism may have made him respond all the more to the Traité des Passions in which Descartes' position itself is often ambiguous. The work was written to underline the differences there are between man and animal in spite of physical similarities. It is based on dualism, the animal spirits acting as go-between. Yet, for all its "apriorism," good sense and scientific anticipation are found in this work in such a degree that it has sometimes been hailed as quite modern in outlook,

1) On the latter work, see G. Gadoffre, "Le Discours de la Méthode et l'histoire littéraire", French studies, Oxford, October 1948, pp. 313-14. and id., edition of the Discours, Manchester, 1941, Remarque B.

by Lefebvre for instance¹. The Articles which seem to have influenced Daniel most are those in which man is described as an automaton plus a soul (Articles 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 16, 43).

The didactic purpose of the Monde de Descartes is confirmed by its appearance; references in the margin, diagrams of vortices, and others supporting Daniel's arguments, on the problem of motion, make the book very similar to Descartes' own. However, it is mainly in the text that the attraction lies, as will be shown by an analysis of the story, and a review of the chief devices employed.

The narrator makes the acquaintance of an old man, of about eighty, that is to say of the same age as Descartes (born in 1596) would have been, had he lived. This old man, who used to know Descartes well and still worships him, reveals to the narrator, whom he hopes to convert, that the philosopher had devoted a lot of thought to the problem of the relations of the body and the soul both from the metaphysical and anatomical point of view, mainly following the searching questions put to him by the

1) Descartes, Editions Hier et Aujourd'hui, 1947, pp. 244 ff. and passim.

Princess Palatine. Having noticed that his hand could without any help from the soul get rid with a gesture of a fly that had settled on his nose, he soon masters the art of leaving his body behind and enjoying instantaneous travel to the places he wants to visit. The indispensable agent for this is a mysteriously potent herb which, when snuffed together with tobacco, relaxes the efferent nerves, while the tobacco keeps the afferent nerves awake. The "eau de la reine de Hongrie" makes him come to whenever necessary. Daniel says that Descartes hoped to prove his dualism experimentally thanks to anatomy. Like the student and the "Diable boiteux", Descartes, incognito, visits relatives and friends and sees with sadness that his religious orthodoxy is suspected.

Another advantage in being disembodied is that one can verify de visu the structure and the functioning of the secrets of nature, for instance the various parts of the vortices and the action of the magnet.

Unfortunately, during one of these excursions of his soul, Descartes' body, then being ill at

Stockholm, is seen by the doctor, who, interpreting its incoherent behaviour as delirium, kills it by his ministrations. Thus Descartes is not technically dead, which allows Daniel to explain that he can meet his soul later in the "espaces indéfinis" instead of being in Heaven or Hell where any good Christian soul should be (this is an example among many others, although facetious, of the shifts to which the authors of fantastic fiction were driven by the demands of religious orthodoxy; another example will be seen in connection with Casanova). This third Heaven or Hell where the philosopher thus caught bodiless decides to retire is beyond the fixed stars, and he considers himself to be its inventor since he deduced its existence from the indefinite extension of matter¹.

1) According to Descartes, Daniel says, there are three "heavens": the first is our own vortex, at the centre of which is the sun; the second includes all we can see, that is to say the stars, each being the centre of a vortex; "enfin le troisième ciel est toute cette matière, ou toute cette étendue indéfinie, que nous concevons au-delà de celui des fixes, qui n'a point de bornes, et en comparaison de laquelle l'espace des autres peut être considéré comme un point. (...) Le troisième ciel, ou le monde de Descartes, n'est autre chose que ce que les Philosophes appelloient avant lui les Espaces Imaginaires; mais comme ce nom d'Imaginaire sembloit ne signifier que quelque chose de chimérique et qui n'étoit que dans l'imagination il aime mieux les appeler les espaces indéfinis."

He lights upon the idea of building there a world similar to our own, except, of course, for the fact that there could only be automata there, and no men¹. He is, however, disappointed to discover that many other people, mainly philosophers, but also some of no particular distinction, have also discovered the secret. Everyone of these souls, who use a "langage spirituel", has kept its prejudices, which fact promises some lively dialogues of the dead. He is consoled only by the discovery that Mersenne was among them, having retired ~~to~~ Mercury at his death in 1648. Mersenne and the old man, having shared their precious herb with the narrator, come to fetch him on their way to the third heaven where they will witness the construction of the World of Descartes.

Even in this, Descartes has been forestalled; every philosopher has been building some community

1) Tiphaigne de la Roche, in Le système des simpathistes, alludes to a story about Descartes, according to which the philosopher, having succeeded in building a perfect human automaton, sent it by ship to France. The sailors, curious about the contents of a mysterious chest in which the object was packed, opened it, whereupon the automaton started to move and opened its eyes. The sailors, terrified, threw it overboard.

or other; most of these are on the moon where Aristotle has his Lyceum and Plato his Republic, as is testified by the selenographical maps of the Jesuit Grimaldi! These two are fortresses of orthodoxy where the weapons are allegorical, consisting mainly of the different categories of syllogisms. More peaceful thinkers like Gassendi and Mersenne nevertheless have their own craters. These are the people met by Cyrano, says the narrator, not men as he thought, but bodiless souls, who amused themselves by making him believe deliberately concocted stories. And there is not any trace of the libertine and licentious atmosphere he described, and which he himself alone, like Lucian, carried about with him. The governor of the Aristotelian fortress is Voëtius, professor of theology at Utrecht. A long history of his quarrel with Descartes follows. Daniel has imagined a sequel to the known history for which he derived his inspiration from Descartes' Lettres,² according to which Regius and Voëtius being reconciled after the departure of Descartes, the former gives to

1) pp. 104 ff.

2) p. 170.

the latter some of the precious tobacco. Voëtius now confesses to the travellers that the Aristotelians have been thinking of a truce for a long time, and that they have a tentative draft of a Traité d'accommodement, entitled De consensu Philosophiae veteris et novae. The narrator exclaims (p177)

"Nous avons...un habile homme de notre monde, qui a fait un livre sous ce titre."¹ Voëtius agrees that the book is very good and suggests that the author (whose name, Du Hamel, is mentioned in the margin) "seroit tout propre à être médiateur dans cette affaire."² Daniel, therefore, dramatizes not only philosophical tenets but also literary history.

The travellers then meet Lamia and Hermotimus, whose adventures, as recorded by Tertullian and Pliny are one of the sources of Daniel; then Joannes Scotus Erigena, an adversary of Descartes³: "Il étoit entouré

1) See J.S. Spink, French Free-Thought from Gassendi to Voltaire, London, 1960, p. 191.

2) See ibid., p. 193. It is interesting to recall the title of a book which appeared nearly a hundred years later, Traité de paix entre Descartes et Newton (1763) by another Jesuit, Paulian, and about which Grimm said: "Descartes et Newton ne méritaient pas un tel médiateur, et certainement ils ne lui ont pas donné de pleins pouvoirs." (Correspondance, 15 jan. 1764).

3) pp. 180-81.

de certains petits je ne sais quoi, qui ne sont point des êtres, mais qu'on appelle des Formalitez. C'est lui qui les a fait connoître le premier dans le monde philosophique et qui leur a donné vogue. Il n'y a rien de plus joli, de plus délié et de plus mince: ce n'est presque rien." Gassendi is given many compliments by the travellers. On the "péninsule des rêveries" they see the targets of many jests, alchemists and astrologers, among them Cardano. Finally the travellers leave the moon, taking with them a "traité d'accommodement entre Aristoté Prince des Philosophes et M. Descartes chef de la nouvelle Secte"; they had previously reassured the Aristotelians, telling them that Descartes' vindictiveness was less great than they imagined.

On their way they meet a Chinese mandarin engrossed in what they hope is a book by Descartes, for he was said to have been converted by Cartesian arguments: alas, it is the complete works of Aquinas: which is a broad hint of what Daniel's convictions really are. At the end of the second part, they arrive in the third heaven and meet Descartes.

The latter is interested only in the news the newcomers can give him of his posthumous reputation and of the fortunes of his philosophy¹. The author gives in the third part a retrospective history of the efforts of the philosopher to secure the support of a sect or religious order in his lifetime: first the Jesuits, then the Oratoire, then the Jansenists. Descartes is said to have abandoned his efforts with the former when he realised that, while having many schools and colleges and being thus eminently suitable for his purpose, ^{they} would not be converted en masse. The Jansenists, thanks to Arnauld, were more amenable, and they rendered him the service of making his philosophy fashionable with ladies. He also thought of the Minims^{Fran} because of Mersenne, then of the Oratoire. And, indeed, the latter is the Order of Malebranche; unfortunately, this disciple, as the narrator informs Descartes, is at present quarrelling with Arnauld².

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- 1) See J.S.Spink, op. cit., chapter X ("The Fortunes of Descartes", l. "The Schools and the Public").
 - 2) In the Avis at the beginning of the first edition, it is said that the book had been ready for three years before it was published; consequently, some events in it are out of date. Since the quarrel between Malebranche and Arnauld, there has since been "une espèce de trêve".

Descartes still feels some rancour about Pascal, claiming to have given him the idea of the Puy-de-Dôme experiment and pooh-poohing the current stories about his precocity.

The narrator is able to give him good news of his influence in Holland, Germany, England. It seems that now reason is used more, and prejudices more often attacked. There is also a new spirit of experiment in schools. Unfortunately, this is not so in universities.

Descartes now prepares to build his "world", a pun on his interpretation of the universe and the title of the book in which he wanted to expound it, as the author explains. But no raw material is to be seen. This is remedied in an expeditious way: the disposition of the organs in the narrator's brain, then left in his house, is modified, and lo! he is able to perceive for the first time that "tout ce vaste espace est de la matière, car cet espace est étendu et le néant ne le peut être"¹, a dramatized expression of the author's conviction that only those who are bigoted in their Cartesianism can accept blindly all its

1) p. 294.

propositions. The two envoys from the Peripatetic citadel, who had accompanied the narrator, Mersenne and the old man, and who have had no such brainwashing, cannot see anything and think everyone has gone mad.

Descartes expounds his principles before¹ beginning his world, and adds a humble prayer in which he claims only to utilise the laws made by God and revealed to him: Daniel condemns (as is shown by the episode of the mandarin) Descartes' way of treating religion and pretending to prove it, but never wishes to make the philosopher appear as a "libertine". All this is accompanied^m by numerous drawings.

The world of Descartes is successfully built and described after the fourth part of his Principia. This success, which might sound a little dull from a dramatic and literary point of view, had, however, already been devalued by the fact that only manipulation of the narrator's brain has enabled the latter to see any result at all. This is nevertheless enough to make a convinced Cartesian of him; he returns to the earth, sees his soul symbolically

1) p. 294 ff

settle in his pineal gland, in accordance with its new faith.

Daniel had previously denied that this gland played the part Descartes supposed, quoting the Anatomie du Cerveau of the anatomist Stensen. He now (4th. part) behaves like a Cartesian, chiefly in showing arrogance and in being cruel to animals. But he does not exhibit the same resentment when he is asked for explanations about some obscure doctrinal point: the lack of humour of the Cartesians, their way of answering questions merely by embarrassing their interlocutors, and, for all their attacks against Authority, their blind respect for that of Descartes, are constantly satirized. Indeed, the new convert is sometimes not quite clear about what he should think, especially when debating with some clever Peripatetic; he, therefore, sends a letter to the Master, and thus the first edition ends. Many signs already point out the author's belief, which nevertheless becomes clearer and clearer with the next two editions; the book also becomes more frankly didactic, although the fictitious garment is kept to the end. Thus the change of

heart that the narrator shows is explained dramatically by his having fallen out of favour because of the very letter with which the first edition ended; besides, his special tobacco has been stolen, and his brain has been put back in its former disposition. There follows then his "opinion considérée" on all the salient points of the Cartesian philosophy. It shows that Daniel, like most of Descartes' adversaries, had ~~well~~ seen all the weaknesses of the new philosophy, but had been unable to see its fruitful aspects.

In Descartes' metaphysics, then, "il y a beaucoup de choses à reprendre et rien ou presque rien à apprendre"; the generalised doubt, in particular, is fanciful and impossible to put into practice (a criticism taken up again by phenomenologists today).

Descartes' morals, that is to say mainly his decision not to extend his conclusions to matters of faith, are wise; but do his disciples conform to them?

The Traité des Passions is Descartes' "plus bel ouvrage de Physique". The Météores, the Lettres,

says Daniel, with the tone of Pococurante in Candide, contain some good things, but not as many as people think. The vortices theory, as has been seen, is rejected entirely; as for the theory of beast-machines "les Cartesiens ne peuvent tenir leur doctrine sur ce point, ni comme une thèse, ni comme une hypothèse; ni comme vraie, ni comme vraisemblable."¹

And Daniel concludes on a sceptical note, quoting Colbert who, when consulted on the education of his son, answered that if both Aristotle and Descartes were "plein de fausseté", he had rather keep to the older philosophy.

Considering that Daniel's purpose in writing his book was essentially didactic, pedagogic, and that his point of view was theoretically neutral but in fact Aristotelian and Thomist, it is all the more interesting to find that he chose the structure and the devices of the fantastic voyage. His novel is a typical example of that pattern used for pedagogic aims. Thus, there are frequent references to the latest advances in anatomy and astronomy,

1) p. 531.

and as far as possible the fantastic element is explained on naturalistic lines, as was the case in Cyrano's novels. There is otherwise no intervention from either Christian or classical "merveilleux".

A device offered by the laws of fiction and grasped eagerly by a polemicist is that epitomized later by Voltaire in Micromégas, when, seeking to refute Derham's idea of an empyreum, he wrote: "ce n'est pas que je veuille contredire Mr. Derham, non, non, mais Micromégas était sur les lieux, c'est un bon observateur, et je ne veux contredire personne." Daniel uses it to state his common-sense ideas about the composition of the air. In fact, the device of the supposed corrections of previous authors is part and parcel of the notion of the fantastic voyage; less than with any other genre has one the feeling that the author writes in a vacuum. On the contrary, he is generally at pains to indicate his sources, and always deeply conscious of a tradition, even when he contributes modifications to it.

In the Avertissement, Daniel declares his intention and the ways in which he hopes to make his

subjective attractive: "Le lecteur verra bien que ce qui ^adéterminé à prendre le tour qu'on a donné à cet Ouvrage a été le dessein de varier et d'égalier un sujet aussi mélancolique, et aussi sec, que le peuvent être des matières de Philosophie: on a tâché de le faire tant par la diversité des incidents, qui donnent occasion de les traiter, que par quelques points particuliers et assez curieux de l'Histoire du Cartésianisme, et même par quelques conversations assez animées de gens, qu'on ne sera pas fâché d'y entendre parler." And there is an unquestionable narrative interest in his novel, whether it is caused by the mysterious actions of Descartes at the beginning, or by the bewildering incidents happening to the narrator.

There is also some sort of characterization, at least in the characters who are imagined, for the famous people who appear in the Voyage often transform it into a dialogue of the dead.

Thus the narrator is that ambiguous being who in such works speaks in the first person, and sometimes bears the name of the author.

Daniel has ingeniously split the traditional

character of the venerable old man, or Mentor, into two, who are differentiated. Merseune on the one hand, a sympathetic character, is Mentor at its noblest; but the old man we meet at the beginning is as silly and bigoted as Madame Pernelle, which gives rise to some amusing scenes.

Above all, everything is dramatized, as was also the case in *Cyrano*. This, the most attractive feature of the book, ^{was} ~~has been~~ noted in the Mémoires de Trévoux: "Le Père Daniel n'égayé pas seulement les questions qui font l'objet de la dispute; il les anime et il leur donne une sorte de vie...." This is a far less cold device than allegory, which is encountered only in connection with the weapons of the Aristotelians. It is, of course, the main device of the Histoire de la Conjuration faite à Stockholm contre Mr Descartes included in the third edition (1713)¹.

1) This work was also printed separately and a copy exists at the B. N.: Histoire de la conspiration faite à Stockholm contre Mr Descartes, Paris, J. Boudot, 1695, 12°, 53 p. It is generally attributed to - Gervaise, of Montpellier (for instance by the catalogues of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale), a convert from Protestantism to Catholicism, according to Barbier, and not otherwise known.

The conspirators are the Aristotelian entities, the Qualitez and Accidens whose existence Descartes has denied. They decide to take revenge on him and on his "Roman de la Nature". Formes substantielles, Vertus, Qualitez occultes, Son and Lumière, Chaleur, Catégories, Estres, Ames Végétatives and Sensitives, Formes Substantielles des Animaux and others, discuss their line of action, but almost come to blows themselves over the questions of precedence and because of antipathies. The most bitter are the Qualitez occultes, because, the author says humorously, "(elles) se plainirent de ce que cette nouvelle philosophie leur étoit leur principal privilège, qui consistoit à être inconnues aux Sçavans: Elles dirent qu'elles en avoient toujours paisiblement jôûi, et que de grands Hommes n'avoient pas osé examiner les secrets ressorts par lesquels elles produisoient tant de merveilles..." Motion is the only entity who has been respected by Descartes, but Heat's opinion prevails, and she it is who, by the means of a fever, carries out eventually the philosopher's execution. Descartes' death is explained by Daniel in a much more imaginative fashion.

Allegory can be entertaining because of the witty speeches put in the mouth of the various entities; but it rapidly becomes tiresome, whereas the use of dramatized philosophy and science as a narrative device rarely misses its aim.

The dialogue of the dead is an almost indispensable ingredient of the fantastic voyage. This is not surprising if one accepts the suggestion made above that the author who utilizes this genre feels himself to be part of a tradition. Among the famous dead encountered there are, on the one hand those who appear in the works which were sources for Daniel: Hermotimus, Lania, Cardano, scientists mentioned in Riccioli's Almagest; on the other hand, those whose opinion the author sees fit to discuss: Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Jean Scot, Mersenne, Malebranche, Arnauld, and of course Descartes.

Daniel expressly criticises Fontenelle's conception and use of the dialogue of the dead, which, like many others, he finds wanton and lacking in serious motivation. Without endorsing this criticism, one must recognize that it is easier to bring about

piquant meetings of people one did not expect to find together where there is no framework of prose-fiction.

Having listed the sources of Daniel's inspiration, it is easier to assess his place in literary history. Cyrano de Bergerac had fiercely attacked the Jesuits not only in a letter in which he accused them of wanting to murder him, as they had murdered Henri IV and Henri III (and this being a common accusation, which Daniel indignantly refutes), but also in his novel, where the Jesuits are seen in Canada as the enemies of science, reason and truth. It is, therefore, not surprising if Daniel attacks him en passant in his own novel, as has been seen. However, it is without bitterness, and this may be explained by the esteem Daniel must have felt for the work of his direct literary predecessor. For although Cyrano is neither mentioned in the Journal de Trévoux which says that "Jusques à Daniel soutenir et attaquer Descartes avoit été une occupation sérieuse, où l'on ne savoit que procéder méthodiquement d'un argument à un autre; et où la politesse du langage avoit tout au plus adouci les expressions de l'Ecole,

mais en leur laissant toute leur sécheresse et toute leur austérité", and not otherwise mentioned by Daniel, the latter is no doubt in his debt.

Thus Daniel was a well-known literary man when Voltaire began to write in his turn. There is reason to suppose that he found Daniel interesting in three different ways, in each case as a forerunner: first, Daniel, as has been said, was the most serious champion of the Jesuits against the Pascal of the Provinciales, and Pascal is a favourite adversary of Voltaire, albeit for different reasons. Secondly, and certainly this is what counts most, Daniel was considered, in spite of what ^{Saint} Simon says¹, as one of the best historians of the day. There is evidence that Voltaire, in the course of his reflections on the nature and practice of history, thought much about Daniel and his shortcomings, for it was often in connection with Daniel that he summarized best his views on that subject. This evidence is twofold: on the one hand the well expressed and deep criticism meant to be read by

1) Mémoires, edition de la Pléiade, IV, pp. 193 ff.

a public or a correspondent like d'Argenson¹ or by the readers of the Dictionnaire Philosophique²; on the other hand, his manuscript notes on a copy of Daniel's anonymous book Observations Critiques sur l'Histoire de France de Mézerai (1700) which are evidence of his resentment are often written with caustic irony³. He quotes and endorses Saint-Simon's opinion, according to which the whole work was written to show that the French monarchy was founded on illegitimate children, and thereby flatter Louis XIV. And indeed Daniel did become a "historiographe du roi", and obtained a pension of 2,000 francs. "Sur les matières de Rome, et de la Ligue, c'est plaisir de le voir courir sur ces glaces avec ses patins de Jésuite" : the phrase obviously

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- 1) Voltaire/ d'Argenson, 26 jan. 1740; "J'ai une drôle d'idée dans ma tête. C'est qu'il n'y a les gens qui ont fait des tragédies qui puissent jeter quelque intérêt dans notre histoire sèche et barbare. Mézerai et Daniel m'ennuient. C'est qu'ils ne savent ni peindre ni remuer les passions. Il faut dans une histoire comme dans une pièce de théâtre, exposition, noeud et dénoûment".
 - 2) "Daniel se crut un historien parce qu'il transcrivait des dates et des récits de batailles où l'on n'entend rien. ... (La) nation est en droit de lui dire: Je vous demande mon histoire encore plus que celle de Louis-le-Gros et de Louis-le-Hutin" (Article Histoire Section IV, De la méthode).
 - 3) These notes were published in 1860 in Voltaire à Ferney, by Evariste Bavoux and A.F., Paris, Didier & Cie. They were written after 1769, as an allusion to Pope Clement XIV shows.

delighted Daniel's rival. It is, therefore, ^{probable} ~~evident~~ that Voltaire would ^{have} ~~known~~ about Daniel's other works, including the Monde de Descartes, and that there was not the gap that has sometimes been alleged in that line of fiction. Perhaps one may even suppose that the stimulus to write works of the same sort was all the stronger since ^{Voltaire's} ~~Descartes'~~ immediate predecessor Daniel had convictions so opposed to his own.

Mundus Cartesii (1749)

It is interesting to find that there exists a second typical fantastic voyage entitled, if not Le Monde de Descartes, at least, Mundus Cartesii, and also by a Jesuit, Pierre Le Coëdic¹. This justifies a brief mention although the fact that it is a poem in Latin would otherwise exclude it from our study.

The beginning belongs more to the traditional pattern of the fantastic voyage than did the careful

1) Printed in Poemata Didascalica nunc primum vel edita vel collecta (by Oudin), Parisiis, 1749, 12°, vol. 1. This collection contains poems on subjects such as Magnes or Terrae-Motus - On Le Coëdic, who seems to have written only one other work, a poem on the King of Spain, see A. and A. Backer, op. cit.

explanations of Daniel: the hero has a dream during which he sees himself carried away by the well-known gust of wind to frozen regions and an underground world. Then he meets Mersenne, and from then on the story resembles to a great extent that in Le Monde de Descartes. Mersenne explains that Descartes is not dead, and has preferred to leave the court of Sweden in order to devote all his energies to unravelling the secrets of nature. He pilots the narrator through grandiose buildings in which we recognize the new feature of the Palace of the Sciences. There, the assembly of the philosophers consists of Descartes' disciples who teach his ideas, and the Master himself has built his world. The hero meets him and they discuss his fortunes on the earth and his future plans. The most important part of the poem is devoted to lengthy explanations on Cartesian lines of principles and experiments in physics, mechanics, and other sciences which reflect the traditional enthusiasm for science and teaching of the author of fantastic voyages.

This poem is thus interesting both as a practical demonstration of the popularity of 'Descartes' theories

and works, and as an indication of the sort of fame Descartes enjoyed in the eyes of some people. For although he stood for up to date science and revolutionary ways of thinking, some aspects of his life, of his character and of his thought made it possible to associate him with the more ancient traditional features of the magician, the demi-god and the demiurge. With his arrogant certitude of having triumphed over former thinkers, with his sweeping ambition and his passion to penetrate the arcana of nature, he is a sort of Doctor Faustus, whom the final destruction of his handiwork, in the last part of the poem, leaves desperate. Through his learning and skill, he has found the means of avoiding the shame of old age (no longer with magic but by a careful application of natural laws); he can alter the organs and the minds of his listeners with a mysterious fluid or a manipulation of the brain, in order to make them perceive the truth of his philosophy; he can make automata behave like men: all these popular stories explain why it has seemed possible to associate him with mysterious societies like the elusive brotherhood of the Rosicrucians.

Thus Daniel's novel makes us see Descartes through the eyes of his staid contemporaries whereas Le Doëdic's poem makes us see him as he no doubt appeared to those who were rather attracted by the more romantic aspect of his glory, in an aura of mysterious practices and grandiose achievement.

Le Génie Ombre (1746)

"Il fallu plus d'un demi-siècle pour apprivoiser les Académies du continent avec l'attraction", wrote Maupertuis¹. "Elle demeurait refermée dans son île, ou si elle passait la mer, elle ne paraissait que la reproduction d'un monstre qui venait d'être proscrit: on s'applaudissait tant d'avoir banni de la philosophie les qualités occultes, on avait tant peur qu'elles revinssent que tout ce qu'on croyait avoir avec elle la moindre ressemblance effrayait. On était si charmé d'avoir introduit dans l'explication de la nature une apparence de mécanisme, qu'on rejetait sans l'écouter le mécanisme véritable qui venait s'offrir".

This appears in a short fantastic voyage, Le Génie Ombre et la Sala-Gno-Silph-Ondine Chimboraco, conte physique, Imprimé à Chimérie (Paris), 1746,

1) Lettre XII - Sur l'attraction, in Oeuvres II, p.284
 (quoted by P. Brunet, L'introduction des théories de Newton en France au XVIII^e siècle, 1 Avant 1738,
 Paris, 1931, p 9)

a very clever satire on Voltaire's Newtonian craze. According to the author (one de la Rougière, according to Barbier) Voltaire was so stung by it that he endeavoured to get the Académie Française, to which he had just been elected, to discover and punish the culprit, but in vain. It was reprinted in the Bibliothèque choisie et amusante¹,

The characters of this tale are: the narrator, his guide Minerva (the significance of such a choice will be seen later), a "Génie Ombre" about whose identity the Explication printed at the end says "Devinez, l'énigme n'est pas obscure", and a Sala-Gno-Silph-Ondine, that is to say, again according to the Explication, an "Intelligence habitant le feu, la terre, l'air et l'eau, ou l'attraction". An alternative definition is: "fille putative de Newton.....Fille du génie Pithagore, et de l'imagination, qui n'a pas plus de pouvoir"². She has usurped the place of genuine scientists at the Observatoire, an event lamented by Minerva when she appears to the narrator to enlighten him. This Sala... is named Chimborazo because of the magnetic mountain near the Equator which had then been

1) Amsterdam, 1748, vol. 4.

2) p. 155.

discovered to attract metals and deflect a pendulum from the vertical: this is the confusion between electric, magnetic and Newtonian attraction, which is a favourite device of adversaries of the latter. Thus Voltaire and Newtonianism are both criticised by the device of an unsatisfactory love affair which is the subject of the book; Voltaire because he is "ce présomptueux mortel qui sans compas osant mesurer l'Univers nous assure qu'il est tel que le calcul des autres a démontré qu'il doit être"¹, and Newtonianism because it is treated by its partisans as a creed, not as a scientific hypothesis²: this is exactly what Daniel had tried to do about Cartesianism, and it is not excluded that la Rougière was inspired by the Monde de Descartes to write his own little work.

1) p. 153.

2) cf. the works of "le législateur Newton, qui sont les Tables de la Loi de Chimborazo" (p. 165). During Ombre's initiation "on lui frota les lèvres d'aiman (sic), de tubes électriques, et de lames d'acier taillées en pointes, et dans l'instant il parla d'attraction comme on sait qu'il en parle" (p. 171): there is a similar brainwashing in the Monde de Descartes. See also p. 157.

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This unknown author, as is shown mainly by the Explication or Glossary which follows the work, was well versed in geometrical and physical matters, and a talented vulgariser; the honnête homme could grasp all the talk about cubes, cones, triangles and real shape of the earth thanks to homely comparisons with respectively dice, sugar-leaves, hats and eggs.

Chimborazo is vain, and has not recovered from the shock of being jilted by Newton, who has given more and more attention to Iris (that is to say, his Optics); she is touched by the enthusiasm of the Génie Ombre about her, but exacts complete devotion. Ombre will, therefore, have to renounce Apollo (that is to say poetry). As the author often refers to the Épître à Mme du Châtelet (printed in the

1) The B.U.R. gives a summary of his book (Feb. 1786) in which it is said that it is already forgotten. It is not mentioned in P. Burnet, op. cit. (which deals only with works published before 1738), in Quérard's Bibliographie Voltairienne (Paris 1842), a list of Voltaire's chief enemies, in F. Bouillier's Histoire de la philosophie Cartésienne (Paris, 1868), nor in I.O. Wade's Voltaire et Mme du Châtelet (Princeton, 1941).

La Rougière is mentioned neither in Quérard's France Littéraire, nor in the Nouvelle Biographie Générale, nor the Biographie Universelle.

Elements de la Philosophie de Newton (1738),

perhaps it is a satire as much of the association with Emilie as of the pretensions of Voltaire to mathematical knowledge. The description of the reception of Ombre into the Chimboracian clergy shows an odd mixture of physics and galanterie.

The altar "étoit d'un morceau de vuide Newtonien, de couleur de gorge de pigeon, agréablement contourné... L'Autel de Vénus à Paphos n'est pas plus élégant"¹.

The arch-enemy of the Chimboracians is "le Législateur Descartes" or "la Salamandre, Subtile et l'Éthérée" (la matière subtile).

Whereas the narrator and Minerva travel through the air thanks to the mythological Zephyrs, Chimboração uses a means of transport which recalls that used by the prophet Elijah in Cyrano's Voyage to the Moon: "se séparant en deux (elle) jetta une moitié d'elle-même à travers les airs qui attirant l'autre, la fit parvenir jusqu'à elle"²; this is also her method for drawing her followers after her.

Chimboração consents to visit the palace which the Génie has just had built according to Newtonian

1) p. 170

2) p. 163.

principles. There, his ignorance of physics already exposed on pages 159-167, has the most untoward effects on the relationship: through a misunderstanding of the laws of reflection and refraction, he had the windows of the sitting-room covered with metal, hoping to make them more perspicuous; on the other hand, those of a "cabinet" are covered with paper, and unexpectedly bright; this is an allusion, the author says, to the second chapter of the "Newto-Voltairianisme". The author is a Cartesian guided by Reason and, according to him, although Newton has been made the god of Geometry, Physics and Metaphysics, the second and the third field of knowledge are still dominated respectively by Descartes and Leibniz. The editor of the B.U.R. explains that "Descartes still enjoyed great success because of the efforts of Fontenelle and Privat de Molières. La Rougière's mixture of orthodox Cartesianism and playful mythology¹ is a civilized way of satirizing the excesses of some Newtonians.

1) thus: the moon (p.185) "selon Descartes et ma mythologie, doit être un vaisseau, puisqu'il est porté et entraîné par un fluide".

Le Philosophe sans Prétention (1775)

The purpose of Le Philosophe sans prétention
ou l'Homme Rare, Ouvrage Physique, Chimique,
Politique et Moral, Dédié aux Savants. Par M.D.L.F.
 (Louis-Guillaume de la Follie, 1733-1780) Paris, 1775,
 is indicated by the motto of the vignette: Docent
Ludendo. What it purports to teach are the author's
 unorthodox ideas about physics, chemistry, and the
 stuff the universe is made of. La Follie's
 intellectual independence^I predestined him to choose
 the imaginary voyage as a means of spreading his
 ideas, all the more because of a tendency to explain
 everything on simple lines and to take one's desires,
 in this regard, for realities, which is characteristic
 of the authors of such philosophical voyages (a
 prominent example being Cyrano).

La Follie's ideas were not all fanciful; he
 made practical discoveries which were used in the
 technique of dyeing and the manufacturing of

1) See Bio Biographie Universelle, 1856, on La Follie,
 "amateur distingué de chimie et l'un des membres
 les plus instruits de l'Académie de Rouen, sa
 patrie". Barbier and Quérard thought him to be
 a "négociant".

sulphuric acid.¹ But he was himself aware of his systematic and mechanistic bias. Thus his hero, the Philosophe sans Prétention, recounting his life and the genesis of his ideas says: "Il me fallut donc étudier les premiers principes de chymie. Je les enchaînai tous à des principes physiques"². His book, self-consciously original, is an attempt to give an experimental solution to all the famous enigmas of physics and metaphysics which recalls similar ones coming from men such as Pomponazzi and Vanini. The main defects of such systems are first, the uncertainty of the principles, then, their overambitious and all-embracing character. Thus, the summary of chapter XIII, chosen at random, reads: "Raisonnemens sur la gravité des corps. Ils sont nécessairement plus pesans lorsqu'ils sont plus proches du centre de la terre. L'origine de cette gravité. Pourquoi le soleil fatigue les voyageurs. Pourquoi la lumière du soleil, au haut d'une cheminée, fait refluer la fumée dans un appartement" and so on. Such detailed

1) See A. Wolf, A History of Science, Technology and Philosophy in the eighteenth century, 2nd edition, London, 1952, p. 647.

2) p. 281.

applications are, of course, the test of a general theory, but as in the case of Descartes, deduction often steps in where induction only was legitimate.

The hero Ormasis first pretends to be an inhabitant of Mercury, who has come to the earth thanks to an electrical machine of a very ingenious design; but the machine is supposed to have been invented by a fellow scientist, and is broken on landing; the hero, therefore, has to stay on earth. Later, however, he reveals to his host his identity: he is a Tellurian, the son of an Arab physician of Aden, whom even Geber of Fez consulted, and who was a pioneer of treatment by intravenous injections¹. The father being killed by an explosion at the house of a chemist friend (perhaps an echo of the perils met by the author!), the son devotes his life to research and proselytism for a spirit of experiment and courtesy among scientists.

The serious purpose of the book is emphasized by the conception of the Table of Contents: not all

1) Geber, a famous alchemist from Hauran in Mesopotamia lived in the VIIIth century A.D. He was not a doctor but a chemist - It seems, therefore, that the whole setting of the novel is in the VIIIth century. It has, on the other hand, Oriental features.

chapters are mentioned, only those in which there is something to be learnt. But a cherished idea of the author is that science must be made attractive to an enlightened public. His Epitre Dédicatoire aux Savants justifies the choice of a novel for the propagation of science: "Une belle Femme simplement vêtue excite rarement la curiosité de ceux qui en sont éloignés; mais cette Femme annonce-t-elle l'éclat d'une toilette intéressante, on accourt vers elle. On reconnoît ses charmes. L'on s'en occupe. Telle est la science." This reminds one of Fontenelle, as again the emphatic feminism of the author:¹ "l'homme est fait pour penser; mais ton sexe a les mêmes droits" declares the hero's host Nadir to his wife. The ideal society, according to the author, is that in which men and women live in equality and freedom, and discuss all subjects from the most abstruse to the lightest².

On Mercury, where Ormasis is supposed to come from; only original merit is recompensed; there is no envy among savants; those who cultivate the sciences do so "par goût et non par ostentation".

1) p. 41.

2) see p. 64-65, and passim.

The "philosophical" sympathies of the author are displayed at the beginning, when the sensible Nadir is seen to discard from his library all useless books. He excepts, of course, "ces deux Dictionnaires nouveaux dont l'un, quoique très volumineux, ne contient que des objets utiles", and the works of "ce vieillard de Nerfey (sic), ce vieillard toujours jeune, ou plutôt toujours dans la force de l'âge, et dont le génie fécond sait prendre mille formes agréables". There are some attacks on Rousseau (unnamed, p. 120), who, however, benefits from the general tolerance of the heroes. The author shows that he is a Deist; among the discarded books are many treatises on theology. To replace the books, Nadir collects paintings which forcibly remind one of those of Greuze's output which Diderot admired and praised most. Greuze is again recalled at the reconciliation of two ridiculous scientists and throughout the book, the emphasis is put on the joy given by benefaction, this joy being for the heroes a proof of the immortality of the soul.

Finally, the device of a fiction is used not only for scientific and "philosophical" propaganda, but also for scientific polemics. The two ridiculous

savants believe respectively in Meyer's acidum pingue, and Priestley's air fixe: both are courteously attacked by the hero, who eventually converts them¹.

The hero reveals his identity during a subterranean journey, which, because it embodies many of the most important themes of that type of voyage, will be studied in a subsequent chapter.

1) La Follie follows Becher and Stahl's theory of phlogiston attacked mainly by Lavoisier (1783) ~~but~~ already ^{by} Pierre Bayen. ~~chapters 13 and 14.~~
~~See also~~ Le Philosophe is, therefore, a topical work.

See on contemporary chemical theories, Wolf, op. cit., chapters 13 and 14.

Micromégas (1752)
Candide (1759)

Never do the didactic possibilities of the imaginary voyage appear more clearly than in the case of Voltaire's Contes, as is well known; but these possibilities are exploited to such an extent that the fantastic voyage, when this is the type chosen, is overburdened and transformed into something fundamentally different. This is why we have placed the section on these contes at the end of this section. Many of the most striking and characteristic effects in the contes are due to the constant implicit reference to a definite genre - the fantastic voyage, the oriental tale, or the adventure story - with its well-known pattern, devices and implications. In Micromégas and Candide one must not speak of a "parody" of the fantastic voyage, but of a parodic use of it; it is fair, however, to assume that Voltaire would have despised the genre, judging by the low status of fiction at the time, and by his contemptuous references to his own Contes (even if one makes allowance for the duplicity which was made necessary by the rigours of censorship).

Voltaire, on the other hand, disapproved of the work of most of his predecessors in this field: of Rabelais because of his grossness, of Cyrano because of his traditional "folie", of Fontenelle because of his gallant similes (not at all out of place in his Entretiens).

Many of Voltaire's assumptions (~~are~~^{are}), that reason ~~pre~~^{before}existed ~~to~~ superstition, or that deism and tolerance are spontaneously adopted by the naturally good man), are inevitably accepted by the reader as a matter of course because of the impression he gives so strongly, of dominating his subject; and this impression in its turn is largely due to a high-handed treatment of the conventions of the genre, a high-handedness which the reader could appreciate. By being careful to choose only those elements of the fantastic voyage which had become trite, Voltaire gives the reader the feeling that he is conniving with him; Candide and Micromégas are a veritable repertory of these elements.

Each conte tends in Voltaire's hands to extend its scope and to embrace all the subjects he is interested in; each thus becomes a kind of intellectual odyssey in which the author leisurely

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follows one main idea while hitting out right and left whenever he catches sight of one of his habitual targets. This is explained by Voltaire's state of mind when he wrote his contes, such as it has been described by Morize in his edition of Candide: "une oeuvre qui jaillit d'un cerveau prodigieusement garni, aidé d'une mémoire merveilleuse pour en conserver l'acquis, et de la plus spirituelle imagination pour le mettre en oeuvre."¹ This applies particularly to Micromégas and Candide and it is not by chance that these are acknowledged as being among the best of Voltaire's contes, and perhaps as the archtypes of this genre which belongs to him.

To illustrate a demonstration of man's powers and of his limitations by means of a comparison of his estate with that of widely different creatures, Voltaire could not but choose a fantastic voyage: it is the subject of Micromégas, published in 1752.²

1) A. Morize, Candide ou l'Optimisme, édition critique avec une introduction et un commentaire, Paris 1913; p. XLVIII.

2) On the subject of the date of composition of Micromégas see W.H.Barber: "The Genesis of Voltaire's Micromégas", in French Studies, January 1957.

The framework of the planetary tour, the similarity of events on the earth and on other planets (for instance the religious persecution), the meeting between beings of different sizes, were all well-established elements of a pattern. Voltaire's attitude towards the latter can be exemplified from two places in his work: for the first time the lesson in relativity is completed by the meeting of three different sorts of beings, the emphasis being thereby shifted from the idea of their difference to the idea of their similarities. The other instance is the "description" of the means of travel used by Micromégas and his companions, and which is all the more striking if one bears in mind the elaborate contraptions imagined before and after Voltaire: "Notre voyageur connaissait merveilleusement les lois de la gravitation, et toutes les forces attractives et répulsives. Il s'en servait si à-propos que, tantôt à l'aide d'un rayon de soleil tantôt par la commodité d'une comète, il allait de globe en globe, lui et les siens, comme un oiseau voltige de branche en branche."¹

¹) Romans, La Pléiade, p. 103.

Once more, Newton had stood Voltaire in good stead; but this is also a satire of anthropomorphism and of a narrowly mechanistic conception of the universe, for the passage ~~was~~^{is} preceded by these lines: "Ceux qui ne voyagent qu'en chaise de poste ou en berline seront sans doute étonnés des équipages de là-haut: car nous autres, sur notre petit tas de boue, nous ne concevons rien au-delà de nos usages". Other conventions are treated just as cavalierly: the "rognure d'ongle" out of which Micromégas "fit sur le champ une espèce de grande trompette parlante comme un vaste entonnoir", as well as the ease with which "en peu d'heures il parvint à distinguer les paroles et enfin à entendre le français"¹ are fully appreciated only by the reader who is conversant with many fantastic voyages. If one compares these two instances with, say, the endless aeronautical explanations of Restif in his Découverte Australe, or the detailed accounts of many a utopian language, one can see the fundamental difference of purpose in the Contes, where the author is interested only in the lesson he wants to teach and ironically dispenses with realistic details.

1) pp. 113, 114.

In the same way, there is very little insistence on the realistic aspects of the different size of all the characters; the few details mentioned put Voltaire much behind Rabelais and Swift. But it has perhaps not been sufficiently emphasized that this is counterbalanced by an original device: by making man not a happy medium between pygmies and giants, but the smallest of the characters, Voltaire reinforces the impression he wishes to produce. For not only are man's achievements and pride undelined, but he is criticised twice, since the inhabitant of Saturn, who is smaller than Micromégas, has the very defects of man, and chiefly a propensity to rash statements and a disdain of facts. This position of man in Micromégas results in a pathetic, almost Pascalian, picture of his "grandeur et misère"; compared to the mixture of pity, admiration and tenderness felt by the godlike Micromégas, the strictures of Gulliver's Travels appear almost inconclusive because of their nihilism.

The only episode which interests us here in Candide (1759) is that of the Eldorado. It opens by a voyage on an underground river which will be

discussed in the relevant chapter. ~~The~~ Eldorado is a utopian country, for the description of which Voltaire drew largely on Garcilaso's book on the Incas. The accuracy of the local colour in Candide has been shown¹; but this does not apply to the Eldorado chapter as much as to the rest of the book, which is built on the pattern of the adventure story. For, as much as on Garcilaso, Voltaire relied on the description of fictitious peoples like the Sévarambes (also derived from Garcilaso in fact) and Foigny's Australians; and one can well imagine that it is impossible to borrow realistic details from fiction without borrowing as well some of the conventions and details which go to make its ethos. This will be seen in connection with the underground voyage; but there seems to be another instance here. Both Chinard and Morize neglected to take into account the weight of a tradition when they commented on the "Palais de la Science" which is not the least admirable feature of this utopian country. Morize writes: "Il ne me semble pas qu'il faille chercher le motif de cette addition ailleurs

1) See Morize, op. cit.

que dans le souci artistique d'améliorer le rythme de la phrase et sa cadence un peu sèche: je ne vois pas Voltaire, à la fin de 1760, particulièrement occupé de mathématiques."¹ Such a supposition is surprisingly naïve. Chinard, with more reason, writes that this gallery full of instruments of physics and mathematics "ressemble singulièrement à l'Haab"², the most august building of Foigny's Terre Australe. But even before Foigny, such an institution was a traditional one in fantastic philosophical voyages: it is found in Utopia, in New Atlantis, in Campanella's City of the Sun, and so on.

Other traditional features are the drifting boat, which is discovered after a march during which the travellers have lost their bearings, and leads to a kind of paradise, as well as the fabulous riches found there. Realistic documentation already used for the chapter on the Incas of Peru in the Essai sur les Moeurs is combined here with older elements belonging to fantastic tales. The idyllic Eldorado is not a reformatory utopia; it is the Golden Age viewed by a "philosophe".

1) See Morize, op. cit., p. 122, note 1.

2) op. cit., p. 372, note 2.

Doubtless it ^{was} ~~is~~ the same desire not to encumber his tale with technical description, no less than his taste for Orientalism, that made Voltaire resort to the traditional elements of the Oriental tale in La Princesse de Babylone (1768), which is ~~not~~ ^{not} for this reason considered here as a fantastic voyage. Apart from a blackbird, the only animals encountered in this tale are a phoenix, unicorns, and gryphons, the latter dwelling significantly "dans l'Arabie Heureuse". The Princess travels in comfort on "un petit canop^a commode avec des tiroirs où l'on mettra (ses) provisions de bouche"¹⁾, but this episode is no more fantastic than the whole tale. What is interesting from our point of view is the ironical and high-handed attitude of Voltaire when he avails himself of the facilities afforded by a genre; this attitude is again found with regard to the Oriental tale in La Princesse de Babylone, for instance when he unexpectedly mixes realism with fantasy:

"Les deux griffons cinglèrent vers le Gange avec la rapidité d'une flèche qui fend les airs. On ne se reposait que la nuit pendant quelques moments pour

1) p. 381.

manger, et pour faire boire un coup aux deux voituriers."¹ Thus Voltaire neither created nor brought to an end the fantastic voyage: he by-passed it. Genuine fantastic voyages, with their typical blend of seriousness and fantasy were written before and after his Contes. One might almost say that their equivalent in Voltaire's work, are rather his tragedies, which are examples of "committed" art, but where the serious intentions are clothed in more noble garments.

And yet, it is now a commonplace to comment on the vicissitudes by which the Contes have become more famous and more often read than the tragedies; thus one might say that the fantastic voyage has indirectly contributed to Voltaire's chief title to glory.

1)p. 381.

5 - The Aerial Voyage

While new paths were open to fiction of the fantastic type during the eighteenth century, the old paths were still assiduously followed; chief among these was the aerial voyage.

This term does not cover voyages in which the author-narrator-hero imagines himself at the outset in the place he wishes to describe, for instance the numerous works which are supposed to be the content of a dream or vision, whether realistic or allegorical. We shall consider here only the voyages which are accomplished by means of an apparatus which, at least in theory, can be visualised, that is to say, only those in which however fantastic and incredible the means of travelling, there is at least a pretence of realism. Thus works like Daniel's Monde de Descartes, or Voltaire's Micromégas, although analysed elsewhere, should be in this category, for the means of travelling is in both a direct application of physiological and physical laws respectively, and not a vague entity like the "fire of imagination" used by some previous writers. The fact that the aerial voyage is one of the earliest

established types explains ^{why} ~~that~~ it is often used as a framework for an insipid tale; for just as the author of extraordinary voyages perfunctorily mentions a storm, an author of fantastic voyages who does not wish to imagine concrete details perfunctorily alludes to a whirlwind, a gigantic bird, and later, a balloon, in order to explain a sudden translation to some fantastic land.

The legendary, literary and historical ancestors of air-borne heroes are extremely numerous. Many are listed in the works of, for instance, Klinckowstroem¹, Faure-Favrier², Nicolson³, and Duhem⁴. Greek mythology is full of flying horses and chariots, which, however, by the very fact of being attributed to heroes or gods, were implicitly not meant for man; the same can be said about displacements in the air without any visible cause, also a property of the gods, and later of angels, devils and witches.

There seemed to be hope in the case of Ganymede, borne to heaven by an eagle. His name is found again

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- 1) C. von Klinckowstroem, "Luftfahrten in der Literatur", in Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde, N. F. III, 2, 1911-1912.
 - 2) L. Faure-Favrier, "Le romantisme littéraire né de la conquête de l'air", in Mercure de France, N°192, 1926.
 - 3) M. Nicolson, op. cit.
 - 4) J. Duhem, Histoire des idées aéronautiques avant Montgolfier, Paris, 1943.

and again under the pens of writers like Dante and Chaucer, when they want to imagine human flights. In this case, of course, the eagle was in fact Jupiter, but there seemed to be a possibility of harnessing large birds. This ambition, which started, it seems, with Babylonian literature, and perhaps the Zend Avesta of which Zoroaster is the traditional author, is again reflected in the medieval romance of Alexander (where one finds a chariot pulled by gryphons), in the stories about the ruck of Madagascar, described by Marco Polo and also found in Oriental tales, and in one of the first modern fantastic voyages, that of Godwin's Spaniard Gonsales, who went to the moon pulled by wild geese. It lasted until the end of the eighteenth century, well after the balloon had been invented and put to frequent use; the idea ^{now} was not to ascend, but to steer.

Another important variation on ~~that~~ ^{this} theme is the myth of Daedalus, in which the exploits of birds were achieved by man himself. This myth, however, was double-edged: a clever craftsman succeeded in usurping the field of another sort of creature, but his son

perished, and in him human audacity was punished. Nevertheless, this path of aeronautics was the most consistently followed in real life by bold pioneers; human anatomy as well as ornithology were diligently studied ^{even} after the publication of G.A. Borelli's De motu animalium (1680) in which the differences between man and bird were stressed, and which dashed the hopes of most of those who had specialised in this field of research. In fiction, Lucian's Icaromenippus made a successful flight to heaven with one eagle's wing and one vulture's. There were pioneers such as Bladud, the legendary IXth century king, Elmer of Malmesbury, the Abbot John Damian and Giovanni Batista Danti. There were the studies of Roger Bacon and Leonardo da Vinci. During the seventeenth century, there was the attempt of Besnier, a smith of Sablé, who made a short flight by means of four wings attached to his arms and legs. A book perhaps edited by C. Cotolendi, Arlequiniana, ou Les Bons Mots. Les Histoires Plaisantes et Agréables. Recueillies des Conversations d'Arlequin (Paris, 1694), relates a similar attempt, which ended by the aeronaut falling on a neighbour's roof, injuring himself....and suing

the neighbour¹. Even if this is purely imaginary, the fact that it is in a collection of *Arlequiniana* shows that the subject was popular, for all current subjects of conversation were sure to be reflected by the activities credited to Arlequin, as is proved by titles such as Arlequin janséniste (by Bougeant) démocrate, imprimeur, journaliste, etc.

In 1742 there was the exploit of the Marquis de Bacqueville, who with an apparatus very much like that of Besnier, flew over the Seine and broke his thigh. This unfortunate conclusion did not prevent Rousseau from writing, probably prompted by the event, his enthusiastic Nouveau Dédale². There also were

1) pp. 85-87.

J. Duhem, in "Un essai de vol à voile d'après le plus ancien des recueils connu sous le nom d'Arlequiniana" in Bulletin du Bibliophile et de Bibliothécaire, 1939, suggests that the editor might be Bordelon. He also validly argues that the inventor who helped the hero of the story might be one Deson of Reims, who was known by Buratini, Huygens, Leibniz. On Buratini and his machine, see A. Mansuy, "L'aviation à Varsovie et à Reims au dix-septième siècle et Cyrano de Bergerac", in Le monde Slave et les classiques français aux XVII-XVIII^e siècles, Paris, 1912.

2) See below in connection with the discussion of Restif's Découverte Australe.

toys like the dove of Archytas, whose story was retold by Aulus Gellus in his Attic Nights (X,xii), and the eagle of Regiomontanus. Finally, there were flying machines, characterised by an austere mechanism when they were in fact (such as that of the Italian Buratini)¹ and an attractive variety of principles when they were fiction.

The superstition according to which dew was attracted to the sky, mentioned for instance in connection with Empedocles in Icaromenippus, and again found in Cyrano's L'Autre Monde, Mouhy's Laméris and some popular almanacs² reminds us of still another path for research, that of a study of aerostatics. One of the most famous speculations on that subject was that of Francesco Lana Terzi. The sixth chapter of his Prodromo ovvero saggio di alcuni inventioni nuove premesso all'Arte Maestra (Brescia, 1670) contained the description of an airship and was reprinted in the same year with the title La Nave Volanti.³

1) See Mansuy, op. cit.

2) See C. von Klinckowstroem, loc. cit.

3) On Lana's "invention" and its literary influence, in Europe, see M. Nicolson, op. cit., pp. 168 ff., and the diagram facing p. 174.

Lana had the idea of the "lighter-than-air" machine, and had studied ancient and modern science, Euclid, Archimedes, but also Torricelli, von Guericke, Boyle and others. His aerial ship consisted of a canoe-shaped vessel fitted with a sail and oars made of leather, to which were attached four evacuated globes. Some contemporaries thought Lana had solved the old problem; but others, chiefly Hooke, Leibniz, Borelli, pointed out the reasons for the practical impossibility of the aerial ship. After the invention of the balloon, Lana's work was reprinted, and the four metal balls were replaced on the diagram by four hydrogen balloons!

All this research eventually bore fruit. The first actually to put reflections on aerostatics to practical use were the Montgolfier brothers, who used air rarefied by heating, at Annonay, on June 5th. 1783. The physicist Charles was the first to use "inflammable air", that is to say hydrogen, at Paris on August 27th. 1783. The first to ascend in a montgolfière was Pilâtre de Rozier, on October 15th. of the same year in a captive balloon, and on November 21st. in a free

flight. The first ascension in a charlière was made by Charles and Robert, on December 1st. 1783. The channel was crossed by Blanchard on January 7th. 1785. The first successful attempt to use a parachute to jump from a balloon was made by Garnerin in Paris in 1797.

The fantastic voyages written during the period considered reflect their origin; one finds in them traces of idle speculations, poetic fictions, legends with religious overtones, and scientific research. Some writers try to keep abreast of science, and even go one better; others devote little time to realism and are content with means of flight borrowed from mythology or legends, such as Bordelon in his Gomgam, who uses Diodorus Siculus's tale of Abaris, who flew around the world on a golden arrow. The old distinction drawn by Bishop Wilkins, in an optimistic spirit of progress, and quoted again by M. Nicolson is still valid: "There are four several ways whereby this flying in the air hath been, or may be attempted. Two of them by the strength of other things, and two of them by our own strength. 1) By spirits or angels. 2) By the help of fowls. 3) By wings

fastened immediately to the body. 4) By a flying chariot."¹

The most inventive of all writers of fantastic voyages was also the first in modern literature, as has been seen. Undeniably, he ~~is~~^{was} Cyrano de Bergerac, although a close examination of his work shows that he did not take his suggestions as seriously as his biographers later did. Others used magnets, a mysterious fuel (as in Defoe's Consolidator) or rockets (as in Mac Dermot's Trip to the Moon), a serious study being made of the latter possibility by the Jesuit physicist H. Fabri in his Physica Rerum Corporearum.

The new invention itself was perfected in imagination by those who were its contemporaries, and writers of fantastic voyages were not last in doing so. Grimm wrote: "On ferait un livre beaucoup plus fou que celui de Cyrano de Bergerac en recueillant tous les projets, toutes les chimères, toutes les extravagances dont on est redevable à la nouvelle invention²."

1) Discovery of a New World in the Moon, 1638.

M. Nicolson, op. cit., p. 40.

2) Correspondance, août 1783; see also passim, on the disputes of the inventors, and Bachaumont, Mémoires, 26 Mars and 6 mai 1782, for details of Blanchard's invention.

The hero of Dulaure's Retour de mon pauvre Oncle devises a means of transport to bring him back from the moon to the earth¹. It resembles Lana's airship and consists of four balloons attached to a kind of boat in which there is a bellows "dont la force du vent agissant dans l'intérieur de la machine, devoit l'emporter sur le vent de l'atmosphère, ou du moins lui résister et servir à sa direction", a description which provokes the following comment on the part of the nephew and editor: "Qu'on se garde bien de rire de ce moyen de diriger les aérostates; il n'est pas plus ridicule qu'une foule d'autres proposés . D'ailleurs celui-ci a fait le voyage de mon Oncle , qui n'avoit à la vérité ni argent ni souscripteurs."

The difference in outlook between writers interested in realism and writers who are not (whether because of a lack of visual imagination or because they have another purpose in mind) is well shown by a comparison between, say, Foigny's Jacques Sadeur and Voltaire's Princesse de Babylone. The heroine of the latter book is pulled through the air by gryphons without any difficulty, whereas Foigny's hero has to tame the Urgs of the Terre Australe as slowly and cunningly

1) pp. 53-54.

as Godwin's Gonsales had done with his wild geese. We shall in this chapter examine only works which consist mainly of an aerial voyage, or the relevant parts from some others which are more interesting and are studied in more detail in another chapter; the advantages of such a method is to show very clearly the capacity for realism of each writer, and his attitude towards his subject.

It happens that the first aerial voyage of note in the period considered is admirably suited to this treatment, for if the travels in Les Aventures du Voyageur Aerien, Histoire Espagnole (1724), attributed to M. A. Legrand, are fantastic, the "aventures" themselves are not, and can be safely discounted here. Two Spaniards hunting see a dark cloud burst before their eyes, and in the middle of it appears a man "en robe noire, avec une toque doctorale sur la tête". They offer him their hospitality and he begins his story:¹ "Je suis originaire du pays où le vent trouve des vendeurs et des acheteurs, et où l'on peut faire deux cents lieues en douze heures sans s'incommoder". He is, incognito, the Crown Prince of Sweden; he was

1) p. 216, of Voyages imaginaires.... Vol. XXIII.

well educated in letters, law, philosophy, theology, medicine and mathematics. But his desire to learn even more drove him to visit Germany, Holland, England, France and now Spain. Having gone to see his mother in Amsterdam, he has to go back to Valladolid too quickly for him to hope to use ordinary means of transport. He, therefore, resorts to the device used in countries such as Lapland, "Finmarchie", and "Leporie", the invention of which was due to an ingenious old man from Norway, and who lived five hundred years ago. Having been requested to think up a means of alleviating the fierceness of northern gales, he caused an enormous palisade made of whole trees to be erected on the banks of the "mer Mormanskou". But "les vapeurs de la mer glaciale, et les exhalaisons des terres boréales sont la matière des vents qui se forment en ce pays-là: ces vents et ces exhalaisons se condensent tellement à cause du froid insupportable du climat, qu'elles deviennent pour ainsi dire solides, et qu'elles ne se dilatent qu'à proportion qu'elles se répandent dans des climats échauffés par les rayons du soleil; cette condensation est si serrée dans son commencement qu'il n'en faut que la grosseur d'un oeuf

d'oie pour couvrir un grand pays dans sa dilatation".¹

The old man, therefore, killed two birds with one stone and not only preserved the country from the blasting effect of winds but organised transport on a large scale. A series of holes were bored in the palisade at three different heights, and fitted with mobile shutters. In front of each stood a sledge guided by sylphs and gnomes; the travellers who wished to go above the clouds selected the highest line of holes; those who preferred the middle region chose the medium one; the lowest line was for surface transport. Price varied according to the destination. Our traveller chose the middle way²: "Le sylphe qui me devoit conduire fit aussitôt un chariot de vapeurs et d'exhalaisons fort épaisses dans lequel il me dit d'entrer sans rien craindre; il se plaça lui-même sur le devant, et l'ouvrier préposé à la coulisse nous donna un tiers de lis de vent, à cause de la longueur du chemin. A mesure que nous nous éloignons du nord, je voyois notre chariot se dilater et se convertir en une nuée fort grosse et fort épaisse. Cette nuée

1) p. 340.

2) pp. 342-43.

grossissait à vue d'oeil, jusqu'à ce que devenue trop subtile, elle ne fut pas capable de nous porter. Alors le sylphe (jugea) à propos de cingler vers la plus proche montagne pour y déposer son fardeau..." and this is how the speaker and his listeners met. Not the least fantastic feature here is the fact that the news of such an extraordinary convenience had not spread abroad! This method of aerial transport, the principle of which is in fact that of the montgolfière, has generally been omitted by compilers of strange ideas in that field. This novel was attributed by Barbier to Legrand, purely because it was printed with a play itself attributed to Legrand, who did not write anything but plays apart from this¹. The strange thing about it is that the fantastic element, although treated in such detail (contrary to what happens in works like Le Diable Boiteux) is nevertheless purely confined to one journey of the hero. The rest of the novel consists of a series of little romances, and of a disputation between the hero and a pedantic theologian with a strong anticlerical bias. The monks got during the Middle Ages into the habit of meddling with everything; they should

1) Quérard, in La France Littéraire, points out that this attribution is uncertain, but does not suggest any other author.

withdraw and confine their activities to preaching, now that the sciences have been made again the field of specialists, argues the hero who, therefore, is a kind of philosophe before the time. It is to be noticed that this hero comes from the North, from Sweden. There are bitter reflections on the Inquisition¹, but these strictures do not apply to France: "Je dis ceci par rapport à la sévérité des Espagnols; car en France on jouit d'une plus grande liberté".²

In La Follie's *Philosophe sans Prétention* (1775), as has been said already, a scientist and philosopher, wishing to guide a friend in the ways of true philosophy, thinks it will give him more prestige if he pretends to come from the planet Mercury. He, therefore, describes an extraordinary electrical machine with which he is supposed to have come to the earth. As he himself had not invented it but merely used it on a test flight, he cannot repair the parts which were broken on landing. The search for the materials necessary to his scientific studies in that connection is a useful pretext to take his friend along with him and gradually enlighten him.

1) pp. 357 ff.

2) P. 302.

Although non-existent, the machine is nevertheless described with great accuracy, and drawn at the beginning of the book. The many physical and philosophical analyses contained in the novel show that its conception is derived from the author's ideas, and not entirely fanciful:

"Je vis deux globes de verre de trois piéds de diamètre, montés au-dessus d'un petit siège assez commode. Quatre montants de bois couverts de lames de verre soutenoient ces deux globes. Dans l'intervalle de ces montants paraissoient quelques ressorts que je jugeai devoir donner le mouvement aux deux globes. La pièce inférieure qui servoit de soutien et de base au siège étoit un plateau enduit de camphre et couvert de feuilles d'or. Le tout étoit entouré de feuilles de métal". The inventor explains the principles at work: "vous voyez que pour m'élever en l'air, mon principal moyen est d'annuler au-dessus de ma tête la pression de l'atmosphère. Observez que la percussion de la lumière agit actuellement au-dessus de ma mécanique. C'est elle qui va m'enlever sans beaucoup d'efforts, et maître du mouvement de mes globes, je descendrai ou monterai en telle proportion qu'il me plaira."

Finally, just before the balloon was invented, the most elaborate description of flight "by wings fastened immediately to the body", as Wilkins said, is found in Restif's Découvertes Australes². The sources of such a work cannot but be very numerous: the

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- 1) pp. 30-32. There exists an article on the scientific aspect of this machine by M. Nicolson and N. Mohler: "The first electrical flying machine", in Smith College Studies in honour of William Allan Neilson, Northampton, 1940, which we have been unable to consult.
- 2) 1781. See p. 261 of this study, and Bibliography.

epigraph is borrowed from Ovid's lines about Daedalus in the Metamorphoses (VIII,4), and after citing a few other myths Restif states his attitude towards the status of mythology and the problem of flying in Antiquity: "Il est/que le secret des ailes f/actices fut connu des Anciens (...) Voilà des faits (the myths). Que l'on n'objecte pas que la Fable est ma seule autorité: à la différence des fables modernes, celles des Grecs n'étaient que les débris de l'histoire primordiale." Ovid, being a poet, was not interested in technicalities; but not so Restif, who describes at length the very precise illustrations showing Victorin taking off, carrying a basket and snatching Christine, his future wife. There are also remembrances of Paltock's well-known Peter Wilkins with his flying men and women.

But there is perhaps a more direct source, a manuscript by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, unpublished at the time, and entitled Le Nouveau Dédale. This short work which is not often mentioned even nowadays was known to a few people during the eighteenth

century, and bore the date 1742.¹ The manuscript seems now lost, but the authenticity of Rousseau's writing was vouched for by contemporaries who saw the manuscript. "Cet écrit, véritablement de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, porte l'empreinte de son style", one reads on page two of the Masson fac-simile. "On peut certifier que le manuscrit existe, pour convaincre les incrédules".²

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- 1) Le Nouveau Dédale appeared in excerpts from the original manuscript (then in possession of one Naurois) in the official paper La Gazette Nationale ou Le Moniteur Universel, 7 floréal An IX (April 27th. 1801) and was published soon after as: Le Nouveau Dédale; ouvrage inédit de J.-J. Rousseau, et copié sur son Manuscrit original daté de l'année 1742. A Paris, chez Mme Masson...Aux Hommes Célèbres, rue Galande...s.d., 8°, 16p.(B.N.). It is not complete, the editor (could he not be Mercier?) having cut several important passages with a brief indication as to their content. It is mentioned in Quérard's France Littéraire, 1836 edition, tome VIII. The 1801 edition was rediscovered at the Bibliothèque Nationale by Pierre-Paul Plan, who reproduced it in the Mercure de France of October 16th. 1910, with an essay of his entitled J.-J. Rousseau aviateur. 175 copies of both Nouveau Dédale and essay were issued at Geneva in 1910(8°). The Masson edition was again reprinted recently: Le Nouveau Dédale. A reproduction of the 1st. edition with an introduction by members of the staff of the Aeronautic division. Library of Congress, Published by the Institute of Aeronautical History, Pasadena, Calif. (B.N.)(1950).
- 2) It is, however, listed in the British Museum Catalogue under Rousseau but among "doubtful or suppositious works".

It is known on the other hand that Rousseau had scientific interests, and even more precisely that he was interested in aeronautics, as appears from a letter by Grimm dated from June 15th. 1762, in which he states that Rousseau, around the year 1753 "s'occupoit d'une machine avec laquelle il ^pcontoit apprendre à voler. Il s'en tint à des essais qui ne réussirent point. Mais il ne fut jamais assez désabusé de son projet pour souffrir de sang-froid qu'en le traitât de chimérique. Ainsi ses amis, avec de la foi, peuvent s'attendre à le voir planer dans les airs."¹

The manuscript is mentioned for the first time in the Vie de J.-J. Rousseau précédée de quelques lettres relatives au même sujet, par M. le Comte de Barruel-Beauvert, Londres, et se trouve à Paris,1789. (8°), pp. 17-23. This early biographer of Rousseau mentioned the Nouveau Dédale in one of the letters announced in the title, and dated 1788.

In a footnote to his study of Rousseau published in 1791; Louis-Sébastien Mercier stated that he was in possession of the manuscript; he had wanted to include it

1) Correspondance, édition Tourneux, Paris 1878, V, pp. 102-103.

in his edition of Rousseau's works, but decided against it.¹ Now Mercier had praised Restif first in his Tableau de Paris, then perhaps in an article in the Journal de Neuchatel about Les Contemporaines. Restif thanked him; they soon became fast friends (1781) and Mercier introduced Restif to Fanny de Beauharnais:² "Les deux noms de Restif et de Mercier deviennent inséparables". In a list of the works on which he is then working, which Restif gave in a letter to Mercier, he did not mention any work resembling La Découverte Australe. Can one conceive that Mercier would have hidden from his friend and Mentor a manuscript by Rousseau? It is, therefore, certain that Restif knew Le Nouveau Dédale; could he not have derived from it not only the idea of his Découverte Australe, but also several precise details which we now credit him with, since we do not know Rousseau's work entirely?

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- 1) Oeuvres complètes de Rousseau; édition by Mercier and the Abbé Brizard, 1788.
 - 2) See on the relations between both men Léon Béclard, Sébastien Mercier, sa vie, son oeuvre, son temps, Paris 1905, pp. 732 ff.

The date on the manuscript seems to point out that Le Nouveau Dédale was written after Rousseau had watched the attempt of the Marquis de Bacqueville, who that year, with wings he had made, managed to glide over the Seine, but like so many inventors before him, finally crashed after "flying" for three hundred yards. Bacqueville's name is mentioned in La Découverte Australe, although some letters are replaced by initials.¹ Restif even seems to hint that he met Bacqueville himself and discussed his invention with him. He, at any rate, corresponded with him.² The epigraph given by Restif to his work reminds one of the title of that of Rousseau. And it seems erroneous to think, like the American editors, that it corresponded in the latter's mind to an idea of spontaneity.³ The name Daedalus is merely an indication as to the content of the work and symbolises study and craft rather than spontaneity, as is shown among other things by its modern use by James Joyce.⁴ It is a "new", a modern Daedalus. After having aroused the interest of the reader: "On ne lira point sans intérêt tous

1) p. 17.

2) p. 21.

3) Rousseau "preferred the spontaneity of Daédalus; or why his title?", op. cit., p. 16.

4) See Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: "Old father, old artificer..."

les efforts de tête qu'a faits un homme de génie, pour l'art de voler dans les airs avant la découverte des aérostats.....J.-J. Rousseau n'avoit su interroger que les forces mécaniques. Mais combien son esprit se montre souple et aimable dans ces moyens d'ailleurs insuffisants!"¹ , the 1810 editors did not hesitate to cut out the most technical passages, and chiefly the descriptions of the machine itself.² It is, however, evident that it consisted of wings, like that of Bacquville, of Restif and of Daedalus himself. Like most imaginative writers, Rousseau had understood that the aeronaut could not learn his new craft in a matter of seconds:

"Revenons à nos ailes...Nous les attacherons bien proprement à nos bras le long de nos bras, après nous être équipés le plus légèrement qu'il sera possible; il ne restera plus qu'à nous essayer quelques temps en nous balançant avec beaucoup de précautions. Nous ne ferons d'abord que raser la terre comme de jeunes étourneaux, mais bientôt enhardis par l'habitude et l'expérience, nous nous élancerons dans les airs avec une impétuosité d'aigle, et nous nous divertirons à considérer au-dessous de nous le manège pueril de tous ces petits hommes qui rampent misérablement sur la terre"³.

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- 1) p. 2.
 - 2) p. 8.
 - 3) p. 9.

It will be seen that all these prescriptions are followed by Restif's hero. Another original idea may have been suggested by Rousseau's work, although Restif hardly needed any prompting in this regard: that of giving his hero a flying female companion. Rousseau had written: "Il ne seroit pas bien difficile d'imaginer plus d'une tendre heroïne également hardie, complaisante et légère, qui daigneroit quelquefois leur épargner la Moitié du chemin."¹

But there the resemblance ends; for, as has been rightly said by the American editors, there is in Le Nouveau Dédale an optimistic confidence in progress and a certainty about the moral value of any civilizing agent, which are diametrically opposed to what is commonly assumed to be Rousseau's teaching (and may be the cause of the surprising neglect in which this work has fallen). "To paraphrase Rousseau jugé par Jean-Jacques, Rousseauism is judged and refuted by Le Nouveau Dédale"², both as far as the general thesis and the detail of the arguments are concerned. Its author welcomes anything that makes communication between countries easier, and favours the increase of trade and

1) p. 9

2) p. 9.

riches and luxurious commodities; he will not hear of the objection, sometimes found in fantastic voyages in connection with flying machines, that these could be put to harmful uses: for "le blâme des meilleures choses, par la considération de leurs abus est un sophisme souvent combattu et souvent renouvelé"¹ If all this differs from Rousseauism, it differs no less from La Découverte Australe in which the pervading atmosphere is less one of positivistic trust in the immediate achievements of science as of illuminist faith in the cosmic destiny of all creatures, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter.

Unlike many other authors, Restif had so strong a visual imagination that even pages of description are not sufficient to make his thought completely clear, and he must resort to the graphic art, as has been said. The same applies to the Hommes-Brutes, (very different from those of Lucian, d'Ablancourt, or de Desfontaines) which are described at length in the second book; the reader is urged to compare what he reads with pictures provided. Never has the frequent ambiguity in the attitude of these writers been so evident as it is in a passage at the end of Cosmogénies

1) p. 8.

which follows La Découverte Australe¹: "Ce qu'on a prétendu, en publiant cet Ouvrage, a été de chercher à faire naître une bienveillance générale entre les hommes de toutes les couleurs et de toutes les formes. Tel a sans-doute été le but de cette fiction (supposé que les faits soient inventés)."

Restif at the beginning quotes at length the celebrated passage of the Metamorphoses:

"...posuit in ordine pennas
 A minima coeptus, longam brevior sequente,
 Ut clivo crevisse putes....
 Tum lino medias, et ceris alligat imas.
 Atque ita compositus parvo curvamine flectit
 Ut veras imitetur Aves..."

and adds: "on voit qu'Ovide parle ici en poète, qui néglige tous les détails du mécanisme, comme n'étant pas de son sujet." Not so Restif, however, who tells at length how his hero Victorin, wishing to carry off the young lady he loves, tries for years with a servant to build wings, and finally succeeds. The two inventors are first stopped by the usual, and indeed, sole obstacle to human flight: "Ils firent des roues qui s'engraineraient; ils compliquèrent les mouvements, et parvinrent à faire un rouage en bois, qui mettait en jeu deux ^{ailes} de toile. Cette lourde machine pouvait faire

1) p. 621.

élever de terre un Homme: mais il falait un mouvement très-fatigant pour faire aller le rouage."¹
 This objection was also discussed in Le Nouveau Dédale.

Soon, Victorin and his servant perfect their machine: "Enfin ils perfectionnèrent leurs ailes, et après quelques additions, et avoir substitué du taffetas à la toile, ils parvinrent à donner un mouvement horizontal, progressif, et même rétrograde; à s'élever perpendiculairement, et à s'abaisser à volonté."² The servant being killed, however, during one of these attempts, Victorin, who is less gifted, must plod on, and study attentively the flight of birds and insects. At long last, the machine is ready: "Une large et forte courroie, qu'il avait fait préparer au Bourrelier, lui ceignait les reins; deux autres plus petites, attachées à des brodequins, lui garnissaient latéralement chaque jambe et chaque cuisse puis venaient passer dans une boucle de cuir, fixée à la ceinture des reins: deux bandes fort larges se continuaient le long des côtes, et joignaient un chaperon, qui garnissait les épaules par quatre bandes, entre lesquelles passaient les bras. Deux fortes

1) pp. 41-42.

2) p. 44.

baleines mobiles, dont la base était appuyée sur les brodequins, pour que les pieds puissent les mettre en jeu, se continuaient sur les côtés."¹ Since the description of this elaborate machine goes on for three and half pages more, we can but urge the reader, as Restif himself did², to have a good look at the abundant illustrations. There is a "parasol", which is used as a kind of rudder and is seen open and closed. Thus the hands of the flier are free, and he puts them to frequent use, carrying off first a batch of servants to a high mountain in the neighbourhood, then Christine, the lady he loves, here³, then a priest to marry masters and servants by pairs! Restif's innate realism is shown in the preoccupation of Victorin with the wear and tear of his machine (most literary contrivances are as tireless as those who use them). He gives thought to the choice of materials, to the problem of lubrication. This realism is also apparent in the story of the progressive attempts made by the hero, and the description of his sensations. Restif does not forget the noise of the wings, which frightens

1) p. 55 ff.

2) Passage p. 58 on direction of flight.

bystanders. Finally, there is also at the beginning of this book a most entertaining picture of provincial life, written with an accuracy and a humour which recall Stendhal; the illusion is enhanced by the fact that the locale is the Dauphiné. Victorin was only the son of a "procureur-fiscal", whereas Christine was the daughter of a local squire, and Restif shows the conflict in her between her aristocratic prejudices and her innate sense of humanity. The servants Victorin carries off are all victims of society, and enjoy their new found equality on the mountain, and later in the strange lands they visit. There is another interesting touch; the characterization of the helpful servant is subtle. He is a kind of aeronautic genius, but can think only of petty and indeed harmful uses to which to put his machine. He is conveniently disposed of by the author, so as to leave Victorin free scope for his humanitarian plans, which will be studied in a subsequent chapter.

The anonymous author of the Première relation du voyage fait dans la lune, Par Monsieur +++¹ affected not to want to divulge the means he used to go to the moon, then announced ironically, a little further on, that

1) s.l., 1751.

he did not know that famous secret; later authors had no need of either ingenuity or insolence, for the balloon was invented, ready to be used by scores of authors. Neither this Première relation nor the Deuxième and Troisième relation which follow in the same volume are very interesting either intellectually or artistically. The author had indeed announced at the outset that he would not allow himself to be tied to a precise plan, and his book consists rather of disconnected reflections on all subjects. It is interesting, however, to find even the author of such a work conforming to the now established habit of putting philosophers on the moon. They are called Corocolis, devote their life entirely to philosophical speculation and are distinguished by the strength of their imagination which allows them to enjoy every worldly good in the midst of destitution. Like a Cartesian hero, they have made their bodies and their minds the servants of their wills¹.

The enthusiasm of the writers for the newly invented balloon is reflected in the dedication, by the Baroness Cornélie Wouters de Vasse, of her novel Le Cher Volant, ou Voyage dans la Lune² to the Count de

1) pp. 16 ff.

2) Londres et Paris, 1783.

St Sauveur de Nozières. Speaking about the "génies sublimes inventeurs" she writes: "Leur étonnante invention franchit non seulement la barrière que l'espace sembloit avoir opposée entre l'univers et l'homme, mais elle étend (sic) celle qui les sépare de la création animale...(..) Hommes célèbres à jamais mémorables! Montgolfier, Charles, Robert, et vous intrépide Pilâtre de Rosier, dont le courage brava le premier l'élément Diaphane, recevez les hommages d'un coeur pénétré de votre mérite; vous n'y avez qu'un rival: c'est la douce, la consolante amitié."

The hero, Eraste, wants to go to the moon in order to perfect his education, and advertises to find companions: this is a pretext for the usual review of contemporary characters. Are finally accepted: an Englishman, a woman abandoned by her lover, a man who has lost his money in a lottery. The journey is not at all interesting; nor is the vaguely utopian society found in the moon. The author seems to have exhausted her energy in the dedication, and little is left for the work itself. Her attitude is worth mentioning, however. It is shot through with philosophical enthusiasm. Her conception of human

nature is optimistic¹; she contrasts in chapter X with the "faux philosophe" who usurps his reputation with the "vrai philosophe" who is "l'ami de l'humanité".² Her overall opinion of Parisian society tallies with most contemporary descriptions: "D'ailleurs, on sait qu'à Paris tout est calculé pour le moment: les têtes y sont plus propres pour la planète de Mercure que pour celles de la Lune, de Jupiter ou de Saturne. Ces dernières sont trop froides pour tant de vivacité."³

More interesting because of an unusual effort towards realism is the anonymous Histoire intéressante d'un Nouveau Voyage à la Lune, et de la descente à Paris d'une Jolie Dame de cette Terre Etrangère. A Whiteland et se trouve à Paris, 1784, attributed to Antoine-François Momoro (1756-1794). It is also inspired by the first attempts to fly in balloons, but many details, such as the 'bouleversement' which occurs when the machine passes from the earth's attraction to the moon's come from the tradition of the fantastic voyage. Besides building a large balloon, more like a dirigible than like any other known at the time, and

1) p. 71.
2) p. 76.
3) p. 83.

fitted with a "galerie" or cabin in which the travellers live and distil their 'inflammable air' as needed, the hero equips himself with wings, thanks to which he can fly around his airship. Jules Verne may have known this work and derived a few ideas from it, such as that of bourgeois comfort coupled with adventure as the modern ideal¹, or the episode in which the travellers frighten the inhabitants of the moon who think they are gods² (this also happens with African natives in Cinq Semaines en Ballon). After twenty-four hours, they arrive on the moon, where everything is topsy-turvy: the trees bear strange fruit; animals are of strange aspect; water is red. Physics are allegedly different on the moon³, but this does not disturb the travellers. Men are misshapen there, but women are remarkably attractive: thanks to this convenient arrangement the work can proceed on familiar XVIIIth. century lines without troubling any further with scientific realism.

1) There is a similar luxury in Defoe's Consolidator (1705).
 2) p. 25.
 3) p. 21.

We shall now discuss another type of fantastic voyage, in which the setting is underground. It will be seen that in spite of some very distinct traditions, the subterranean voyage can be said to be in several ways an offshoot of the aerial voyage, from which it inherited the well-known pattern.

6 - The Subterranean World

Writers of utopias had at first placed their imaginary lands in the New World; when the latter became better known and it was no longer possible to keep up the pretence of an ideal world there, the utopian countries were placed in the unknown Austral Land. In the same way, for reasons literary rather than empirical and philosophical, some writers of imaginary voyages, in search of novelty, hit upon the idea of sending their audacious travellers no longer to the stars and the planets, but to the centre of the earth instead. Often such voyages begin realistically with a voyage to the Arctic, and again still later to the Antarctic, which is in itself a variation from the usual pattern.

The question of a subterranean world is somewhat ambiguous, for it involves speculation not only on the nature of the physical and mystical centre of the earth, but also on the existence of Antipodes; moreover, caves and underworld rivers have at all times captured the imagination of men, and have given rise to many legends which found their way into subsequent imaginary voyages.

Thus writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who wished to exploit this new vein had three sources to tap: speculative, literary or legendary, and finally scientific.

In the Terre article of the Encyclopédie¹ one can read that the Earth has three parts: one "extérieure", one "intermédiaire" and one "intérieure ou centrale qui nous est inconnue, quoique bien des auteurs la supposent d'une nature magnétique; que d'autres la regardent comme une masse ou sphere de feu; d'autres comme un abîme ou amas d'eau, surmonté par des couches de terre; d'autres enfin, comme une espace creux et vuide, habité par des animaux qui ont, selon eux, leur soleil, leur lune, leur plantes et toutes les autres choses qui leur seroient nécessaires pour leur subsistance." Speculation as to what was under the surface of the earth naturally was linked to the question of the shape of the earth and, therefore, had religious implications; St Virgil, bishop of Salzburg (who died in 1784) was thus excommunicated by Pope Zachariah for having said that there was **under**

1) Tome 16 (1765)

our world another habitable world¹ (while not having any particular opinion about the sphericity of the earth). It is thus not easy to tell, in some ancient and medieval legends, whether the world referred to is under, inside or behind the earth.

The idea of a descent to the underworld is very ancient; it is for instance found in a primitive Assyrian epic, in Buddhistic narratives, in Plato's Republic and in the Odyssey (11th. Book), and again in the 6th. Book of the Aeneid. It reappears in some medieval legends like the vision of Tundal or the Tractatus de purgatorio St Patricii, describing a journey through hell to the earthly paradise and put into French by Marie de France.

Lucian's True History, a compendium of all the main themes and episodes of future fantastic voyages, also shows the heroes, after a celestial voyage, being swallowed by a whale, the inside of which they explore for two years, wondering at the strange populations they find. There is also a journey to Hades, and another to the Antipodes. The episode of the whale

1) See P. Marchand, Dictionnaire Historique, Article Allais.

in the True History was taken by Rabelais in a modified form, as the exploration of Pantagruel's throat¹. Dante's Divine Comedy and Ariosto's Orlando Furioso have already been acknowledged as general sources for the fantastic voyages; they both contain a descent underground. One should add to this the literature and folklore of grottoes, volcanoes and caves, whether these are the entrance of the underworld (either that of Graeco-Roman times or that of German or Nordic mythology) or the dwelling of a prophet or Sybil; thus a source attributed to Niels Klim is the folklore of the Trolls.

Thus the subterranean world was associated with a double tradition. The first is that of Hades or that of Hell; it is sometimes fanciful like that attributed to the Jesuits in Cyrano's L'Autre Monde, according to which the damned, trying to escape the fire of Hell, make the earth revolve. The second is that of the Elysean Fields or that of the Golden Age (with all the characteristics attributed to it in the works of Hesiod, Virgil, Horace and Ovid) or again, that of the legends concerning the Islands of the Blest

1) Pantagruel, Chapter XXXII.

and the Earthly Paradise¹, often reached after a voyage on an underground river². This double tradition is found in fantastic voyages in the more frivolous guise of the satirical and what might be termed the 'fanciful utopian', as distinct from the 'serious utopian' usually associated with a realistic setting. There is an echo of this tradition in Niels Klim, for instance, in which a friend asks the hero on his return from the world underground, to give him news of the dead, being sure that there is nothing else to be found there; one is reminded of the famous episode of Epistemon's resuscitation in Pantagruel³, itself inspired by Lucian's Menippus seu Necyomantia.

To the force of this tradition was soon added the impetus given by scientific speculation and experiment; it did not yield as much in this field as it had in the field of astronomy, but some scientific themes or lines of research became fashionable and have left many traces in contemporary literary productions.

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- 1) See Arturo Graf, Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medioevo, Torino 1892-95, II, p. 357 and also Leo Jordan, in Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprache und Literatur, CXII (1904) p. 340.
 - 2) See on this A.H. Krappe, "The Subterranean Voyage" in Philological Quarterly, vol. XX, April 1941, N°2.
 - 3) 2nd. book, chapter XXX.

The influence of Gilbert's researches on the magnet cannot be overemphasized; here was scientific sanction for all the fantasies in which writers had indulged about the mysterious nature of the lodestone. The hope of discovering a scientific key to the world's physical and metaphysical secrets was never so great, and in the meantime, the magnet proved a boon to writers in need of an appearance of seriousness. Every self-respecting fantastic voyage underground is complete with its magnet, whether the latter is used to stabilize an underground building, or whether it emphasizes by its movements the direction in which the heroes' various contraptions travel, or symbolizes in a crude way (as in the English Voyage to the world underground) the earth's attraction. J. Paludan¹, summarizing a century of research on the sources of Niels Klim, suggests as a direct source an article by Halley in the Philosophical Transactions (XVI, 1692): "An account of the cause of the change of the variation

1) op. cit.

of the magnetic needle, with a hypothesis of the structure of the internal parts of the earth¹. Halley supposed that the inside of the earth was inhabited, the concave surface being of gleaming matter, and the rotation of the inner core explaining the variations of the magnetic needle.

A treatise like Kircher's Mundus Subterraneus exemplifies the growing interest in geology; Marjorie Nicolson sees in Kircher the 'onlie begetter' of the subterranean voyage²; this may be exaggerated if one considers the weight and variety of the underlying tradition; but his book may have been important insofar as its author was a scientist, in the same way as Galileo's Nucius Sidereus, Kepler's Somnium, Huygens' Cosmotheroros and Kircher's own Iter Extaticum. Nicolson further suggests that readers unacquainted with Latin may have been influenced all the same by the accompanying diagrams and pictures. A.&A. Backer, in their bibliography list a French translation, a manuscript in nine vol. in-4°, "travail immense,

- 1) This was first suggested by E.G. Werlauff, Niels Klims underjordiske Reise...med historiske og literariske Oplyninger, 1857.
- 2) op. cit., pp. 225 ff.

exécuté avec beaucoup de soin.

Other theories, such as those of Buffon, Maillet, Burnet, Woodward do not seem to have had any direct influence; but they show that a new interest for the earth was beginning to match the existing interest for the heavens.

Somewhat freed from the shackles of religious orthodoxy, much contemporary thought was devoted to speculation about the origin and structure of the earth, as is shown by Descartes' Principia (1644), Part IV, Kircher's Mundus Subterraneus (1665), Burnet's Sacred Theory of the Earth (1681), the works of Leibniz, Woodward, Newton, etc. This was closely connected with the observation of such phenomena as the sun-spots (this appears, for instance, in a partly didactic novel such as *Cyrano's*), the study of the earth's magnetism, and a tentative study of volcanoes. The Journal des Savants¹, for instance, states that Kircher's interest in geology was fired by his observations of the eruptions of Etna and Vesuvius, and an earthquake in Calabria, as well as by contemporary reports to the effect that there were springs of fresh water at the bottom of the Mediterranean. Among eighteenth

1) 1666, pp. 180 ff and 207 ff.

century thinkers is Benoît de Maillet, who dedicated his Telliamed, in which he put forth his geological theories, to Cyrano de Bergerac. A very curious case is that of Symmes, whose theory of a hollow earth and concentric spheres came too late to be considered serious (around 1820); although inspired by eminently scientific sources (mainly the study of animal migration) it reminds one only of the cogitations of fiction-writers of the previous century, and might be thought to form the substratum of stories like Klim, Icosameron, etc.¹ Kircher's study Magnes, sive de arte magnetica (Rome 1641), although less epoch-making than Gilbert's, was nevertheless noticeable for its experimental approach coexisting with the more usual mystical attitude towards such phenomena. But in the face of theories seeking to explain the latter by

1) See The Symmes theory of concentric spheres, Demonstrating that the earth is hollow, habitable within, and widely open about the poles, compiled by Americus Symmes from the writings of his father capt. John Cleves Symmes, Louisville, Ky, 1878; and Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications, XVIII, 1909.

comparison with love, intelligence or will, Descartes is nevertheless the first who propounded a scientific (or at least mechanical) theory in his Principia; magnetism was, of course, explained by him on the lines of his theory of vortices. Halley (in Philosophical Transactions, 1683 and 1692) recognized the connection with the Aurora Borealis, which was attributed to effluviae entering the North Pole; this seemed to encourage the supposition that ^{the} inside of the earth enjoyed light and was, therefore, ~~being~~ habitable, and possibly inhabited.

R. Messac in "Voyages Modernes au Centre de la Terre"¹ quotes a Canadian professor²: "Cette extraordinaire théorie des passages souterrains par les volcans qui remonte à l'Egypte des Ptolémées peut-être, que les Rose-Croix hermétiques, je pense, ont reprise. Cette théorie fait la base du voyage au centre de la terre. Des savants ont voulu y recourir pour expliquer le passage des Asiatiques en Amérique et leur descente de l'Alaska au Mexique..."

1) Revue de Littérature Comparée, 1929.

2) Charles Leluan, La Presse, Montréal, 28. 2. 1928.

On literary evidence, it seems that speculation on the earth and its structure largely reflected speculation on the structure of the universe. In spite of some allusions to the real shape of the earth and to equinoctial phenomena, and in spite of echoes of contemporary studies in mechanics and ballistics, the travellers underground are mainly concerned with problems of gravitation recalling those of the aerial travellers. Indeed, one may safely assume that it is for want of more precise knowledge both of the real problems which would be encountered were such voyages actually carried out, and of the possible solutions, that the idea of another universe inside the earth, and not only of caves and underground rivers, was so popular. By Jules Verne's time this device was no longer needed. There is, for instance, nothing about the breathing difficulties the travellers might experience, or about the effects of pressure. Casanova, it will be seen, is practically the only one who has enough imagination to realise that a journey underground would be a very disturbing experience indeed.

Before considering the various works written on

that theme, let us mention a particular problem, which always arose, whatever appearance the underground world was said to have: namely that of the illumination of this universe. Halley's idea may be original, or may have been suggested to him by legends; it is a fact that often in fiction or legend, a cave or the entrance to Hades, or the inside of a volcano, is hung with jewels. Hence, the idea of light refracted by the concave vault of the inner universe. Often, however, there is a central sun¹; finally, some writers perfunctorily assure the reader that there is there a mysterious but undeniable light. In Paltock's Peter Wilkins, it is only a twilight, the indigenous population having accordingly very poor eyesight (and wings, which suggest that the idea may have derived from his knowledge of bats). In Casanova's Icosameron, on the contrary, the inner sun is so bright that the Megamicros have an organic 'capeline' to protect their eyes.

The concave vault hung with jewels is obviously

1) The writers show their knowledge of astronomy by inventing the phases of the inner moon, and the length of the inner day, seasons and year.

suggested by the firmament, which thus received a new lease of life.

The chasm which separates the old and the recent way of apprehending works of a fantastic nature is well shown in the case of an episode from Candide, in which the heroes follow an underground river which leads to Eldorado. Morize in his edition is at a loss to account for it, and wonders whether he should not resort to a passage in Buffon's Théorie de la Terre (1749) describing the Devil's hole in Derbyshire, after having, in vain, searched among narratives of travels in America, in the hope of finding an account of the rocky vault, the underground stream, and presumably Eldorado also.

A. Krappe¹ traces the episode to a much more likely source: a similar one in Jacques Massé (1719), a novel from which Voltaire seems to have borrowed several details. He adds, however, "We are led to suspect that the adventures of Jacques Massé was not the only model or the only reminiscence of the author of Candide": this would have been obvious to contemporary readers,

1) "The Subterraneous Voyage", Philological Quarterly XX, April 1941, N° 2.

who still enjoyed Ancient and Medieval themes. Krappe's article deals not with every sort of subterranean expedition but only with an episode which is recurrent in fantastic fiction: a trip on an underground river. This interesting and very thorough article traces the theme to the voyages of Sinbad the Sailor introduced to the French public in the Mille et une Nuits, and other examples of Oriental fiction such as the Voyages of Aboulfanaris translated and reprinted in the Cabinet des Fées. Krappe points out that there are in fact two patterns: either the voyage leads into a country like the earthly Paradise, the Islands of the Blest or Eldorado or, on the contrary, it leads from such a country into a known sea, from which the sailors are rescued. He interprets the second pattern as a corruption of the first. The latter itself probably dates only from the first travels of the Arabs, and is usually combined with an adventure story.

This motif is found again in Gerusalem^m Liberata, in Huon de Bordeaux, in the medieval romances of Alexander and Herzog Ernst, and finally ^{stems from} to a tradition older than Hellenism, of which an example is the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh, the prototype of the

river being probably the Tigris, which flows underground for some distance and leads upstream to a country beyond the Armenian mountains, then unknown and supposed to be some earthly Paradise. The motif of the underground river recurs constantly in this type of fiction; another modern example is found in Erewhon.

An early example of the combination of legend and science is found in Grimmelshausen's Abenteuer des Simplicissimus (1669). In Book V, chapters 12-16, the hero journeys to the centre of the earth through the Mummelsee in the Black Forest, to the country of the Sylphs. Their prince explains to the hero, a keen geometer, the construction of the earth's crust and the nature of the Sylphs.

Voyage du Pole Arctique au Pole Antarctique (1721)

The first real subterranean voyage seems to be an anonymous Relation D'Un Voyage du Pole Arctique, Au Pole Antarctique, Par le Centre du Monde, Avec la description de ce périlleux Passage, et des choses merveilleuses et étonnantes qu'on a découvertes sous le Pole Antactique...A Amsterdam, chez Etienne Lucas 1721(reprinted twice in Paris in 1723, then in Garnier, Vol. XIX).

Although the first chronologically, it is not in any way a prototype; for the strangeness, which in fantastic voyages is at the best a support for philosophical ideas and at the worst an indispensable padding, is the main purpose of this curious work. The beginning is realistic: a ship leaves for Greenland from Amsterdam in 1714; it is worth noticing at the outset that the narrator is not individualised, a highly uncommon feature; it is a collective adventure. The sailors run into the customary storm, then find themselves among icebergs, and eventually realise that the gyrating motion of their ship is due to its being caught in a maelstrom into which they finally descend, having first made the ship watertight. The icebergs

recall the Ancient Mariner to the modern reader, and the ma^rstom of Edgar Allan Poe, who seems to have known not only the old Mercator maps he refers to, but also this story, the atmosphere of which is as eerie as that of his own tales. The travellers having emerged on the deck, realise that they are in the centre of the earth, and soon that they ^{are} "under", that is to say, "at" the South Pole. The two striking features of the tale is that it is entirely devoted to the description of romantically beautiful landscapes (and of a few strange animals, for instance ferocious fishes which devour one of the sailors) and that men other than the heroes are mysteriously absent. This has not always been so, however, for they find first a monument bearing inscriptions in unknown characters, then some ruins. When the series of short chapters is finished (each chapter devoted to a different aspect of the scenery, and to various excursions of the sailors), the story ends with another strange episode: the sailors at the Cape of Good Hope, hear of a friend of the narrator who has just died; knowing, however, that he used to be subject to fits of lethargy, they exhume him, revive him; and go back together to Amsterdam. About this

work, apparently written solely for the sake of poetic, and slightly morbid, beauty (although without any stylistic power), Garnier wrote that "il plaira par sa singularité". Such was not the opinion of everyone, for S.P. Jones reprints a manuscript note in the Arsenal copy of the book: "On ne conçoit pas trop quel peut avoir été le but de l'auteur en faisant ce voyage imaginaire. Ce n'est point un roman puisqu'il ne contient aucune aventure intéressante. C'est une description d'animaux, de plantes, etc..., d'un pays, sans qu'il paraisse y avoir là-dessous aucune allégorie. D'ailleurs la table de tout cela est absurde; aussi n'y a-t-il eu que cette édition de ce livre"; the latter part of this statement is false, as has been seen; the former accurately reflects the feelings of eighteenth century readers, and what they expected from fantastic voyages.

The work of Charles de Fieux, chevalier de Mouhy (1701-1784): Lamékis, ou les voyages extraordinaires d'un Egyptien dans la terre intérieure avec la découverte de l'Isle des Sylphides, (1735), in spite of its title, is not really the story of one hero whose adventures are restricted to the interior world or the planetary system. It is rather a compendium of everything fantastic that can happen to several heroes, whose life-histories are recounted together with complete disregard for the rules of suspense.

Thus Garnier's introduction (tome 20) is misleading: "Nous promenons encore nos lecteurs dans l'intérieur de la terre; mais ce n'est point un nouveau monde que nous y parcourrons; nous y découvrons seulement une retraite de sages, ou, pour mieux dire, de zélés sectateurs de Sérapis, qui pour célébrer tranquillement leurs mystères, avoient cherché à se dérober aux yeux du reste des hommes..." This is true of the beginning only. Sémiramis, queen of Egypt, wants to know the mysteries of Serapis, and forces the High Priest Lamékis to take her underground, where the secret part of the temple lies. Realising the potential danger for the monarch of such a large and dedicated population as lives there

she orders the temple to be destroyed, and the priests, after putting up a fight, have to give up. This constitutes the first descent underground, and is not fantastic in any degree. The High Priest is then taken with his family and abandoned in a boat without oars; the family perishes, with the exception of the son, who is found and cared for by the inhabitants of a strange land. This man lives with his wife in a cave, at the bottom of a deep gorge, and this may be considered to be a kind of second stay underground. This couple have strange habits, such as the pulling of each other's hair as a sign of affection (the customary reversal of habits); the man (and soon the young host) are coloured blue by a kind of dye; the dog is as big as a donkey, a hen resembles a cat. The hero stays there for ten years. Soon Motacoa, the host, recounts his ^{this} story, and provides the occasion to deal with a third descent underground, the only one that truly belongs to the fantastic voyage of the subterranean type. Motacoa's mother, the queen, being suspected of infidelity has been, as is the custom, condemned to be lowered by a rope, with her child, into a very deep pit. However, she finds there, instead of death, a pleasant

landscape and even company, for a former minister equally condemned, has survived and now helps her bring up her son. There is an enthusiastic praise of the idyllic life one can lead away from the ambitions of the world; the minister, "le sage Lodai", teaches the boy "une philosophie naturelle qui n'étoit point hérissée de mots, mais de choses aisées à tomber sous le sens"¹. This existence lasts for twelve years. Among the prodigies encountered in this underground world are many strange animals and fruits², and a river of liquid gold which cures all ills, clearly modelled on the notion of the philosopher's stone. The rest of the story belongs to both the "aerial voyage" and "occultist" types of novel, and will be studied in the next chapter.

1) p. 72:

2) p. 66:

Voyage de Calvin (1700)

In 1700 appeared in Paris the translation of a Relation du Voyage de Calvin aux Champs Elisées et aux Enfers par Dom Galeo, Potugais. This novel, dedicated to Marie de Neubourg, queen of Portugal, was first added to a new translation (the first being ^{by} Geneste) of Quevedo's Nuits Sévillanes ou Visions, then reprinted by itself. Although Calvin is one of the heroes, the narrator is the one who travels; Calvin's name appears merely, the author naïvely confesses, because it is likely to attract more interest than his own. The narrator enters the cave of Mount Taenarus in Greece, which according to tradition was the entrance to Neptune's (sic) subterranean empire, and the place where Hercules and Psyche both began their descent to the Underworld. The way is made of precious stones, and after a steep descent appear¹ "une nouvelle terre et un nouveau ciel" which the narrator supposes to be those of the Antipodes. As often in such works, classical remembrances supplant realism at this point, and the hero, after seeing the Styx and the shades, listens to a dialogue of the dead which, in this case, is distinctly "libertine" in tone, and full of irrelevant buffoonery (Calvin, among other things, is said to have a seraglio).

1) p. 5. of the 1737 reprint.

There is a reference to the system of the "père Kirker Jésuite allemand" ¹ according to which there is fire at the centre of the earth, and on the other hand the author imagines that a strong magnet is the foundation of Pluto's palace. After admiring the mines, the various characters join King Arthur and his army in an aerial voyage on horseback; it has already been seen how often fragments of well-known fictions are called upon to lend another dimension to fantastic voyages.

The conclusion is surprisingly tolerant, coming from a man supposed to be a "chevalier de l'ordre du Christ": commenting on the differences in the accounts given of Hell by various religions, the author writes²: "mais les Juifs, les Chrétiens et les Payens conviennent du principal, c'est-à-dire de la récompense des gens de bien, et du malheur éternel des méchants".

1) p. 48.

2) p. 62.

Niels Klim (1741)

Although by 1741 there already had been at least three works of fiction (not to speak of scientific ones) written on the theme of the subterranean world, Niels Klim is generally acknowledged as a prototype of its kind. Holberg, the 'Danish Molière' (1684-1754) wrote his work in Latin (Nicolai Klimii Iter Subterraneum Novam Telluris Theoriam Ac Historiam Quintae Monarchiae Adhuc Nobis Incognitae, Copenhagen, 1741) probably both as an imitation of and a satire on learned theories of the earth, Kircher's among others. It soon was translated into every European language, including the author's, and often reprinted. The French translation by Mauvillon, Voyage de Nicolas Klimius Dans le Monde Souterrain, Contenant une Nouvelle Théorie de la Terre Et l'Histoire d'une Cinquième Monarchie Inconnue Jusqu'à Présent, à Copenhague chez Jacques Preuss, is reprinted in

Garnier's Voyages Imaginaires (Vol. XIX).

Holberg's novel, although it had to wait some years before being published, is generally accepted as an imitation, not as a source of Gulliver; but perhaps the influence of the latter has been exaggerated, as has already been stated here.

It seems nearer to the truth to consider Gulliver as a stimulus rather than as a model to be literally copied, and this applies particularly to Holberg's Klim. Holberg's comedies prove what he could do as a satirist, and the portrayal of the society of Copenhagen in his novel derives from his own observations. As for the fantastic aspect, it seems to come mainly from Lucian's works (chiefly, of course, the True History, which, with the famous continuation by d'Ablancourt, was found in his library), although each one of the story's details can be traced to many sources. As ^{for} ~~from~~ the main originality of the setting, the narrator alludes at the beginning to "ceux qui croient que la terre est concave et qu'elle renferme sous sa surface

un monde plus petit que le nôtre"¹. This shows that this idea was felt to have philosophical and scientific, and not only imaginative, origins; the attitude of writers dealing with the subterranean world is therefore ambivalent; nothing was yet proved, and the notions entertained by the various authors, although perhaps not treated very seriously, are nevertheless handled differently from the poetic imaginative passages about hippogriffs and semi-human trees, both of which are found in Klim.

Whatever the sceptical Holberg's real opinion about the existence of an underground world (and perhaps a clue about this is to be found in his antedating his story, which supposedly takes place in 1664), the beginning is perfunctory enough: the hero wishes to explore a deep cave near his home town Bergen; the rope holding him breaks, and he falls down until a light breaks in

1) p. 7 of Voyages imaginaires..., Vol. XIX.

on the darkness, and he comes in sight of the inner planetary system - there are none of the scientific trimmings to be found in Casanova's Icosameron . The recent progress of astronomy is then epitomized in a famous episode: Klim revolves round the inner central planet Nazar, and deplores this lowering of his status; but soon his pride is flattered for his loaf of bread starts revolving around him , and he can boast of a satellite! He then makes acquaintance with a utopian society of trees, who judge mankind in him with severity; this might come from Swift's Houyhnhnms, but no less from Cyrano's Birds. Many other details in fact also seem to come from L'Autre Monde : the praise of life at the expense of futile honour, the deprecation of luxury and of diplomas as such, the satire on authority and religious orthodoxy (in the famous episode of the oath required from the Cypresses in their country, that they see a square as oblong, and in the fact that it is a punishment, not a

reward, to be exiled to the inner firmament) and the submission of old men to their own sons; the musical language, and also, although this is part and parcel of the genre, the flight by means of a great bird. The return is effected by a volcano. Paludan¹ wonders at the apparent lack of imitators of Klim: this is because everything was copied in the first place! But it is as a satire of society, and as a pleasant tale, that Klim deserves its success. It has neither the originality nor the depth and scope of Gulliver or L'Autre Monde.

Voyage to the World in Centre of ^{the} Earth (1755)

Anonymous² Voyage to the World in the Centre of the Earth, Giving an Account of the Manners, Customs, Laws, Government and Religion of the Inhabitants, Their Persons and Habits Described: With several other Particulars, In Which is Introduced, The History of an Inhabitant of the Air, Written by Himself. With some Account of the Planetary Worlds (London, 1755) elicited the following

1) op. cit.

2) A French translation (1823) gives this indication: "traduit de l'anglais de Sir Heridas Peath".

comment from the reviewer of the Monthly Review¹:

" a moral and philosophical romance, somewhat after the manner of Bergerac's voyage to the moon, and the well-known journey of Don Gonsales; but inferior to both in the plan, conduct, and writing: it seems to come from the author of the Dog-Birds, Glums and Gawrys (Robert Paltock) and some other later marvellous performances, which we have had the ill-luck to peruse." This inferiority, however, is probably due chiefly to its chronological place for it came after Godwin; who was a pioneer in the field of the fantastic voyage, and after Cyrano who wrote a book of genuine worth, and also broke new ground. But the present Voyage is not devoid of all interest and the style shows that the author was aware of those who had come before him, by his satirical imitation, for instance, of some of the devices and mannerisms in Gulliver's Travels. Since this is an English work, let us mention but briefly the features which help build the pattern of the subterranean voyage: the hero, when he comes back to the surface of the earth, although a hundred and thirty,

1) XII, 394 f.

looks as if he were only forty; his descent is made by falling through a marsh. Later, he falls down the crater of Vesuvius, admiring the effect of the flames on the jewels which cover the walls of the chimney, but thinking that he is going to reach the Antipodes. He, of course, eventually speaks the language of the inhabitants he encounters, although this time not because of his quick understanding but because he is smeared with a special ointment. Another ointment tempers the strength of the magnet which is in that interior world, and to which the hero had stuck fast on falling. The world is always luminous because of the jewels which cover the firmament. Various ideas belonging to contemporary physics are mentioned. The general moral, which is that every part of the universe is inhabited and that every creature has a rational soul, as well as a description of birds and the episode of a citizen being tried for ungratefulness, point to an imitation of Cyrano. The return to the surface of the earth, accomplished thanks to some large birds, reminds one of Godwin, and to round off his repertoire the author adds a short political satire of European countries attributed to the above-mentioned inhabitant of the air.

Similar episodes are again found in Desfontaines' Nouveau Gulliver (1730), in which there is "un affreux souterrain qui conduit aux Enfers par des chemins très courts" and in a rare work by Tyssot de Patot: La vie, les aventures et le voyage de Groënland du Révérend Père Cordelier Pierre de Mésange. Avec une relation bien circonstanciée de l'origine, de l'histoire et du Paradis des Habitants du Pôle arctique (Amsterdam, 1720). The hero leaves Holland on a whaling expedition, is shipwrecked with his companions, but they are welcomed in "une ville souterraine construite d'une pierre blanche et lumineuse, munie d'égouts, de palais, de promenades publiques, et habitée par les plus heureuses gens du monde..." This happiness is reached through a utopian mixture of communism and enlightened despotism. The religion is Spinoza-inspired. The place is at the "ville-capitale de Russal, située sous le Pôle Arctique". Chinard¹ remarks on the typical mixture of fiction and indigestible lengthy discussions on scientific topics such as gravity.²

1) op. cit. p. 212.

2) See also D.R. Mac Kee, Simon Tyssot de Patot and the background of Critical Deism, Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literature and Language, vol.40, 1941.

Paltock's work (1750), called by Grimm a "bien ¹ mauvaise copie du Gulliver de l'imitable Swift", nevertheless enjoyed a great success well into the nineteenth century. The hero travels for six weeks on an underground stream, and reaches the country of mysterious beings whose weak eye-sight and wings are obviously ~~an imitation of~~ ^{taken from} bats. The title, as often, is an accurate description of the contents:

"The life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins, A Cornish Man: Relating particularly, His Shipwreck near the South Pole; his wonderful passage thro' a subterranean Cavern into a kind of new world; his meeting there with a Gawry or flying woman, whose Life he preserv'd, and afterwards married her; his extraordinary Conveyance to the Country of Glums and Gawrys, or Men and Women that fly. Likewise a Description of this strange Country with the Laws, Customs and Manners of its Inhabitants, and the Author's remarkable Transactions among them. Taken from his own Mouth, in his Passage to England, from off Cape Horn in America, in the Ship Hector. With an Introduction..... Illustrated with several Cuts clearly and distinctly representing the Structure and Mechanism of the Wings of the Glums and Gawrys, and the Manner in which they use them either to swim or fly.... London ..."

... note will be made about this work in the history of the tracing of flying devices. Various opinions have been expressed about the tale²; although the title shows that it can hardly claim originality for any of its episodes,

1) Correspondance, V, p. 235.
2) See Gove, op. cit., pp. 325-27.

its main novelty is probably the poetic feeling which pervades some of them, particularly the description of the flying creatures. This puts it apart from the others as an underground voyage and explains its later influence on Coleridge and Shelley¹. Frequently reprinted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is now virtually forgotten.

L'Aventurier Français (1782)

L'Aventurier Français, ou Mémoires de Grégoire Merveil² by R.M. Lesuire (1737-1815), suddenly takes a fantastic turn in the ninth book (to be found in the second volume). Certainly nothing hitherto, in this lively and realistic chronicle, could make one anticipate that the hero would one day find himself alone in a boat drifting towards a rocky vault under which falls a cataract. Thus he unexpectedly arrives, terrified but unharmed, in the country of the gnomes, who are astonished at the sight of the statue of "his Julie", which this exemplary lover always carries around with him. We are told these gnomes are strange, and had better believe

1) See Gove, p.327.

2) Londres et Paris, Quillau, 1782.

it, since no further description will be vouchsafed; the story subsequently ¹shows, however, that they are human, the descendants of miners who had in the past been trapped in a gold mine by an earthquake. Julie notwithstanding, the hero has a pleasant time learning the local language with a "Gnomide", and is afterwards able to hear of the efforts of the pioneers to explore their new world and establish communication with the surface. This was eventually done and there now exists a kind of commercial treaty with the country which is situated above their own. The new king used to be a political prisoner; he now is universally respected for his virtues as a ruler.

The most interesting episodes are those in which the artifices of the priests are seen through by the hero whom they sought to frighten and subdue, because they feared his influence on the people. This part of the story, which reminds one of the Histoire des Oracles or the Histoire des Sévarambes (especially the parts ² concerning the impostor Stroukaras), begins ironically: "The religion of these miners had nothing very particular;

1) pp. 147 ff.

2) We have been unable to read the French text and quote from the English translation, see Bibliography.

it was absurd in point of doctrine and in point of worship, like that of every nation that is not enlightened by revelation. It resembled most of the known superstitions, by the coarse, but tolerably just notions it gave of true morality. Religion tended there, as elsewhere, to render men good, and the priests, sometimes, to render them wicked."¹ These priests are past masters at utilizing natural phenomena, the effect of which is magnified by the structure of their underground temple, to terrify or even enrapture the gnomes. Sun-light and the sound of thunder make them believe that they have died and that they are now in another world. Needless to say, an actual voyage to the surface, which the priests make them accomplish now and then and commonly accomplish themselves, has an even more overpowering effect. The priests take advantage of this to lead an immoral life by which they hope to tempt the hero to join their ranks. The impostures of the priests are clearly the only subject the author could associate with the idea of an underground world. When he has finished describing

1) pp. 167 ff.

them, the episode ends with the return of the hero to the surface and the resumption of his adventures there. It is probably to the latter that the extraordinary success of the book was due¹, and not to the underground story; but the latter is nevertheless interesting because of its unusual coupling with a mostly realistic work, and also because of a concrete aspect which is far from common.

Icosameron (1788)

Having become at the end of his life the librarian of Count Waldstein, at Dux in Bohemia, Casanova wrote his Icosameron ou Histoire d'Edouard et d'Elisabeth qui passerent quatre vingt un ans chez les Mégamières habitans aborigènes du Protocosme dans l'intérieur de notre globe, traduite de l'anglois par Jacques Casanova de Seingalt Vénitien Docteur ès loix Bibliothécaire de Monsieur le Comte de Waldstein seigneur de Dux. A Prague, 1788, in French, following the precedent he had established when he wrote his Memoirs in that language.

1) See Bibliography on the "Suites".

The title immediately and rightly recalls that of Voltaire's famous work; it is explained in the novel¹: the Mégamères are the size of children, yet their minds are distinguished. The word Icosaméron is ~~taken after~~ ^{based on} the Decameron: the novel is the transcription of the tale told by the two heroes during twenty days after their return to the surface of the earth. The title also hints at the scientific pretensions of the author, in spite of which Edmond de Goncourt² described the work in disparaging terms: "un rêve en cinq volumes in-8, dans lequel Edouard et Elisabeth pendant un séjour de quarante ans en une station de ce monde sublunaire laissaient 4.000.000 de descendants produits par l'heureuse propagation des quarante filles dont Elizabeth était accouchée depuis douze ans jusqu'à l'âge de cinquante-deux ans."

This novel, which is now very rare, does not seem to have enjoyed a great success, which is perhaps explained by the political events, and by the plethora of similar works. Lorédan Larchey, in two articles which appeared in the Bibliophile Français³, remarked that the works

1) I, p. 226.

2) La Maison de l'Artiste, II, p. 27.

3) III - 1869: "Un Voyage de Casanova".

had never been commented upon yet. An article by Louis Dépret in L'illustration¹ made good this omission, but is marred by the usual defect of superficial commentators, that of treating a book as if it were the only one of its kind. Thus, the author notices that between Icosameron and Jules Verne's Voyage au Centre de la Terre (1864) "il n'y a pas seulement analogie de sujet, il y a rencontre (évidemment fortuite) dans le choix de détails singuliers..." Nothing could be less fortuitous, of course, both Casanova and Jules Verne being the late heirs of a once flourishing genre involving numerous conventions.

Casanova, in spite of many disreputable adventures, had been lucky enough to find a sinecure at Dux, and in spite of some unpleasant aspects of his life there, kept up a correspondance with several distinguished people, and fancied himself to be a kind of "patriarche de Dux" and hoped to rival Voltaire, whom he half admired and half resented, his Icosameron being a better version of both Candide and Micromégas. He had visited Voltaire at Ferney, but had resented his criticism of his own translation of L'Ecossaïse. Speaking about Voltaire, he uses, like his enemies, the word "clinquant".

1) 3rd. March 1877.

In his introduction to Icosameron he resolutely takes the side of the Ancients, Voltaire being on the side of the Moderns. But much more than Voltaire, it is Cyrano whom he recalls: he has the same intensely realistic imagination, the same thirst for knowledge, which he parades like the true autodidact, the same gift for compelling story-telling, and, in spite of a great show of religious orthodoxy, the same fundamentally free mind. Perhaps also the story was written to rival his Venetian enemy the Abbé Chiari, an indefatigable hack-writer, who had written among other things a novel on the fashionable theme of Robinson (L'Uomo d'un Altro Mondo, 1768).¹ The title page shows Casanova's pretensions to academic titles (some of his works exhibit other fantastic titles); he was nevertheless genuinely interested in science. An unpublished manuscript, in the hands of the Brockhaus booksellers of Leipzig, contains some Rêveries sur la mesure moyenne de notre année, selon la réformation grégorienne, part of which are speculations on the moon. There are also

1) On Casanova's life and works, see J. Le Gras, Casanova, adventurer and lover, Paris, 1923, and J. Pollio, Bibliographie anecdotique et critique des œuvres de Jacques Casanova, 1926.

some manuscripts on problems of astronomy and mathematics. The sources of his work are freely acknowledged by Casanova in a sort of introduction curiously printed at the beginning of the second volume. They are both literary and scientific; it is obvious why the genre of the fantastic voyage would have appealed to him. "Platon, Erasme, le chancelier Bacon, Thomas Morus, Campanella et Nicolas Klimius aussi sont ceux qui me firent venir envie de publier cette histoire, ou ce roman." He also knows and thinks "sublime" Lucian and Don Quixote, and cites Robinson Crusoe. He is acquainted with the discoveries and the ideas of Copernicus, Descartes, Galileo, Newton as well as "Tykobrahe" and "Tolomé". His culture and the activity of his mind are, in fact, quite remarkable. The only names conspicuous by their absence are Cyrano and Swift.

There is, indeed, a commentary on the work printed in the first volume, but it is very different. In the Dedicace to Count Waldstein, Casanova pretends to have got the idea of his book only from Genesis; "...le monde intérieur est le Paradis terrestre, ce même jardin d'Eden dont nous ne pouvons pas révoquer en doute l'existence réelle, malgré que son local nous soit

inconnu. Quelques savants ont déjà dit qu'il pourrait se trouver dans l'intérieur de notre globe, mais personne n'est allé le chercher". Most of the first volume¹ is taken by a very long "Commentaire littéral sur les Trois Premiers Chapitres de la Genèse",² where Casanova's attitude is hard to define. Now he seems to speak in jest, and now to hope to light inadvertently on some future scientific discovery. This ambiguous attitude is often found in writers of fantastic voyages. He knew La Peyrère's Preadmitae, and is quite possibly putting forward a similar theory. Reflections on Genesis was a frequent exercise of people interested in philosophical and occultist speculation (as is shown, for instance, by the Comte de Gabalis); but it was more usual to place Hell rather than Heaven at the centre of the earth.

The epigraph is borrowed from Propertius and Casanova says in the second volume that it expresses

1) pp. 1-108.

2) Perhaps suggested by Dom Calmet's Commentaire Littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, 1720, 28 vol.

the whole book:

O prima infelix fingenti terra Prometheo!
 Ille perum cauti pectoris egit opus.
 Corpora disponens, mentem non vidit in arte;
 Recta animi primum debuit esse via.

(Propert. L 3 E 5)

This applies to men but not to the virtuous Megamicros. One might say that Icosameron is a fantastic voyage framed in an extraordinary voyage, for the beginning, in which is described a voyage to Iceland and Greenland, is very realistic. Edouard and Elisabeth are on board a ship which is caught in the Maelstrand off the Norwegian coast. Before the ship finally disappears, brother and sister are accidentally trapped in a leaden chest and thrown overboard. The chest is fortunately full of victuals, but very narrow, uncomfortable and hot (perhaps a recollection of the famous Venetian prison). The subsequent adventures of the couple in the chest are admirably described, and make one regret that Casanova wrote a fantastic voyage instead of a great realistic novel. They are frightened, sweating, sick, hungry and eventually slightly drunk because they have run short of food and have only some spirits left. These experiences are utterly unusual for heroes of fantastic voyages. Edouard knows physics

and mathematics and tries to account for the strange movements of the chest, which are emphasized by the behaviour of a magnet which happens to be inside. First the magnet lies on the ground, then after a moment of "ecstasy" when all motion is suspended, the magnet jumps to the ceiling of the box and stays there: this marks the usual "bouleversement" which indicates that a new attraction is felt, whether that of the moon, sun or planets in the case of voyages in the air, or that of an interior sun, which in this case is made of iron. The heroes as yet know nothing about the interior world; they think, in a highly ^{un}orthodox manner, that the Universe is "un borbier épais et infini, dont le centre est partout et la périphérie nulle part". The chest had gone through the bottom of the sea, and comes finally to rest at the bottom of the interior sea. Through the portholes, the heroes see strange beings, the size of children and multi-coloured, observing the leaden chest; the Mégamicres finally hoist it to the shore, and dissolve most of it in mercury before breaking it open and delivering the heroes, for they are learned and resourceful, "tout le temps occupés à étudier la Physique, la Géométrie

sublime, les Mécaniques et la Jurisprudence; ils sont tous géographes et musiciens" , as is said in the Preface.

Unfortunately, the rest of the novel does not fulfil the promise of the first episodes, which are, however, sufficient to make of Casanova, with Cyrano, the only true ancestor of Poe and Jules Verne, because of an exceptional blend of scientific and realistic imagination.

The country of the Mégamicres is more or less Casanova's idea of an utopian country, although there is, as usual, a war with other inhabitants who mysteriously have not been contaminated with the atmosphere of general good, in order to supply the author with a few adventures to record (as usual: hatred of priests and prison, visit to the king, fights with rival kingdoms). The Mégamicres are hermaphrodites, like Jacques Sadeur's Australians, and consider one-sexed persons as monsters; they follow Epicurean principles (there is praise of Epicurus in the Preface); they speak in music, like Cyrano's Selenites, although Casanova claims to have found the idea in Genesis again. The language is explained fairly technically. Most of the legends of the Golden Age have left a trace in Icosameron, one

of them being the enduring youth of the two heroes; like the Atlants who were supposed to have the power of becoming young again after a certain age, they miraculously keep their youth and are denounced to the priests as sorcerers for that reason, after their return to the surface of the earth. After that, however, in the fashion of Poe's Mr. Valdemar, they age very rapidly and finally die as a result of their having regained their real age.

Their system of feeding from each other has a mystical ring, for the Mégamicres are born in pairs and need each other in a way which reminds one of Plato's Androgynes. However, all this, and the complications it brings about for the heroes is, in spite of an interesting realism, rather tedious because Casanova appends long scientific and religious explanations to imaginary "facts" not very interesting in themselves, and rather to show that he knows a lot of things than to suit the scope of the subject. The Mégamicres are amphibious, and are naturally born in social classes distinguished by colour of skin - which perhaps is an aspect of the spontaneously

aristocratic feeling of some writers of utopias (Cyrano, for instance).

Another sure sign of failure on the part of writers of fantastic voyages is the constant resort to the device of reversing every custom or feature of the earth, when the author's imagination has run dry; thus in the country of the Mégamires blood is white and milk is red, sleep is harmful, not restful, etc. This device can be very effective when it is philosophically justified, as is the case with Cyrano, Voltaire or Swift; otherwise, one can but approve of Moncrif's strictures in his dissertation entitled Réflexions sur quelques ouvrages faussement appelés ouvrages d'imagination, read in 1741 to the Académie Française:

"Par quelle prévention de certains Ecrits sont-ils communément regardés comme des fruits d'une belle imagination? Qu'on les examine ces Ecrits si favorablement jugés; on s'apperçoit, et il est bien aisé de s'en convaincre, qu'ils sont en eux-mêmes plus dénués d'imagination, que beaucoup d'autres Ouvrages qui semblent n'avoir aucun rapport avec cette partie de l'esprit, et qui cependant ne peuvent se passer de son secours..... On conçoit sans doute que ce que j'entends ici par imagination, ^{est} ce qu'on appelle Invention, Genie Idées neuves, ou du moins rendues d'une manière originale.

Si nous recherchons les sources où l'on peut puiser toutes sortes de Contes et d'Histoires fabuleuses, nous allons trouver qu'elles se réduisent à quatre....

La première est un simple renversement des principes ou des usages commun à toutes, ou du moins à presque toutes les Nations... Les sujets que présente la seconde source exercent un peu plus l'esprit:

c'est de mettre un ou plusieurs personnages dans quelques situations extraordinaires ou embarrassantes... La troisième source n'est que l'art d'étendre ou de réduire la forme de certains êtres..."¹

Although the examples quoted by Moncrif abundantly show that he could not grasp the originality of Gulliver or Robinson, it is unquestionable that many would-be authors were well aware that the possibilities listed above were quite suitable for the confection of an acceptable pot-boiler.

; The interest of such a book lies first in the confirmation it gives of an existing pattern (even if all writers were not conscious of it) and second in the insight it provides into the author's mind. For a striking character of Icosameron is the contrast between the comparative lack of interest and irrelevance of many details of the story (although it must be said in fairness that had the tale been written a century earlier, before the pattern was established, these details would have had a far greater import) and the attractive quality given to the work by the author's gift for realism. This realism when it is applied

1) Oeuvres, nouvelle édition, Paris, 1768, II, pp. 93-98. The fourth source concerns Génies and Fées.

to physiological matters, for instance, reminds one of Swift, but with a very different significance; for Casanova has set out to write a pleasant tale without any satirical or didactic purpose, and the best parts of his work are those in which he deals with what he understood best of all: the relations between human beings. Thus the work in spite of its length is less tedious than most similar ones because the author is not bound by the sense of propriety Mowhy deplored in Laméris; and passages like the end, when the heroes return to the surface of the earth through the bottom of a well, while a faithful Mégamire, thanks to his amphibious nature, can help them to reach the top and finally dies from exhaustion, are almost moving.

Giphantie (1760)

There is also a subterranean voyage in Tiphaigne's Giphantie. The hero, who has reached the wonderful abode of elemental spirits, returns to his native "Babylone" (that is to say Paris) through a labyrinth of caves and underground passages. He watches with awe the impressive phenomena produced by fire and water, and of course discovers, like most of his literary co-travellers, "la cause des tremblements

de terre", which is the detonation of trapped steam. One presumes that this voyage enables him to regain his earthly ideas, for after having bitterly satirized his country he now confesses that Babylon is the most wonderful city in the world.

Le Philosophe sans prétention (1775)

One of the episodes at the end of La Fontaine's Philosophe sans Prétention is particularly interesting because it is a fusion of myth and science which is artistically successful. The hero Ormasis has already offered a large amount of gold, found underground, to his friend and host Nadir; the latter now accompanies him on a journey underground, for it is there that Ormasis hopes to find the minerals from which he will be able to make the glass globes of his electrical machine.

The journey is described with an accuracy which reflects the contemporary interest in speleology; the heroes are not casually dropped from a hanging rope as in former voyages, but on the contrary fully equipped with fitted suede garments, a sledge with lamps attached,

and other gear carried by slave porters who have been trained in the art of rope-climbing. A variety of ingeniously prepared chemicals, such as concentrated foods, refreshing lotions and ointments against the inner fire, allow them to travel in comfort and safety. Yet, the author is also sensitive to the romantic side of such a journey. The travellers approach the mouth of the cave by moonlight: "ces lieux solitaires observés pendant le calme de la nuit, offroient à l'imagination des tableaux intéressants"¹. He describes how the noise of dripping water reverberates, how fantastic the stalactites look, how mysterious the vast caves, filled with mist, appear to the traveller. Later, an earthquake takes place, which is the pretext for more descriptions and scientific interpretations; another romantic touch is the gruesome sight of corpses which have just been trapped by the falling rocks.

It is interesting to find that, in spite of all the scientific outlook of the book, it is during such a journey, which is the climax in the relations between Nadir and his mentor Ormasis, that the latter chooses

1) p. 208.

to enlighten the former as to his own identity, his aims, and Nadir's own character. Even to scientifically minded writers the underground voyage still appears as the fit locale for an initiation. Nadir renounces his love of riches, shows himself ready to sacrifice his feelings to ensure the happiness of his friend, and understands that a disinterested love of truth must be the only guiding principle of the true scientist. Omasis's courage and resourcefulness when the friends believe themselves trapped by the earthquake bring the last touch to Nadir's admiration. And the sentence by which he expresses his feelings adequately unites the old and the new: "Il contemple avec admiration l'assurance et l'activité du philosophe. Il croyoit voir un de ces gnomes puissans, qui parcourent avec majesté leurs ténébreuses demeures, et paroissent commander aux Elémens."¹ La Follie's book is an act of faith in man as opposed to mythical creatures, and in reason and experiment as opposed to the illusory power of imagination.

1) p. 214.

7- Works with an Occultist Background¹

Even during the classical period, the taste for marvellous tales had never completely disappeared; it was the literary expression of a need which manifested itself in real life by an interest in magic, to be found in all social classes, and ~~of~~ which there are numerous literary and historical testimonies². At

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- 1) See for the background of this chapter:
 C. Bila, La croyance à la magie au XVIII^e siècle en France dans les contes romans, et traités, Paris, 1925.
 G. Bord, La Franc-Maçonnerie en France, des origines à 1815, Paris, 1908.
 G. Encausse, L'occultisme et le spiritualisme, Paris, 1902.
 G.L. Figuiet, Histoire du merveilleux, Paris, 1880.
 A. Fliche et V. Martin, Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, vol. 19, Paris, 1956.
 D. Saurat, Literature and Occult Tradition, London, 1930.
 A. Viatte, Les sources occultes du romantisme. Illuminisme, Theosophie, 1770-1820, Paris, 1928.
 There is an Anthologie littéraire de l'occultisme compiled by R. Amadou and R. Kanters, Julliard, 1950.
- 2) The narrator in Comte de Gabalis, wishing to learn more about secret sciences, pretends to know something, and immediately comes in contact with innumerable people who have, they think, nothing to hide from an adept. He realizes the universality and the eclecticism of occult research (p. 8 of the 1715 Amsterdam edition): "j'avois pour compagnons des Princes, des Grands Seigneurs, des Gens de Robe, des belles Dames, des laides aussi; des Docteurs, des Prélats, des Moines, des Nonnains, enfin des gens de toute espèce. Les uns en voulaient aux Anges, les autres au Diable, les autres à leur Génie, les autres aux Incubes, les autres à la guérison de tous maux, les autres aux Astres, les autres aux Secrets de la Divinité, et presque tous à la Pierre Philosophale."

the end of the seventeenth century, it came to the fore with the amazing success of fairy-tales¹ which was soon to be relayed by that of the newly-translated Oriental tales. To the witches, magicians, dragons and fairies which were the stock-in-trade of the writer of magical stories were now added geni in Oriental garb. Yet, for those who found such manifestations of the other world too crude, there was another type of superhuman being, mythological gods transformed into pedagogues like Télémaque's Mentor, or "daemons" like Socrates's and Cardano's about whose status, material or spiritual, real or allegorical, nobody was quite sure. There were also, of course, the Intelligences, angels, and devils of philosophy and religion, not forgetting the dead and their spectres. But a very important addition was due to Nicolas Montfaucon de Villars when he published in 1670 his Comte de Gabalis, where for the first

1) See on this M.E. Storer, Un épisode de la littérature de la fin du XVIII^e siècle; la mode des contes de fées (1685-1700), Paris, 1928.

time the theory of elemental beings was explained¹. Spirits were now neatly divided into Gnomes, Sylphs, Salamanders and Undines, and confined to their respective elements, earth, air, fire and water. The eighteenth century definitely favoured sylphs and salamanders, as being more appropriate to French quickness of mind and French frivolity. Thus one could say, in the

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- 1) On details about Villars (1635-1673) and the influence of his book see Viatte, op. cit., I, pp. 30-31, E.D. Seeber: "Sylphs and other Elemental Beings in French Literature since the Comte de Gabalis (1670)" in P.M.L.A., 59, 1944, and the 1921 edition of Gabalis. Although published in 1670, it was mentioned in a legal document concerning its author in 1668. Villars' life is mysterious, and his being murdered on the road to Lyons made some people think that elemental spirits had taken their revenge on the man who had made their secrets public. There are nowadays editions of Gabalis, with serious commentaries, treating it as a book of revelations. The Nouveaux Entretiens sur les sciences secrètes, published thirty years after Villars' death, are a refutation of Cartesian philosophy, not very vigorous or interesting; in the latter part there are objections to Descartes' physiology by a surgeon who brutally underlines the inaccuracies in Descartes' system. Descartes is further discredited by his association with Giordano Bruno in the mind of one of the characters, both presumably being woolly metaphysicians. Another interesting work, from the sociological point of view, is Bordelon's Histoire des Imaginations extravagantes de M. Oufle (1710, reprinted in 1754), a "drame bourgeois" closely following Tartuffe, where religion is replaced by concern with occult science. There are numerous notes which give information on the sources of occult belief. For a later period, see Viatte (303, passim) and the article Spectre in Encyclopédie.

one-act opera by Fagan and Panard, Le Sylphe Supposé (1730), about a voracious reader that:

"....le Sylphe et Gulliver
Lui font voir un monde en l'air:
Bergerac et Gabalis,
Et toute la sequelle
Des chimériques Esprits,
Ont brouillé sa cervelle."

Finally, writers desirous of lending an attractively mysterious (or falsely profound) character to their work could introduce well-known notions of astrology, alchemy (potable gold, panacea, homunculus, powder of projection, Paracelsian "signatures" and analogies), the science of numbers and other occult sciences.

As rationalism and experimental science gained ground, and as religion was accordingly weakened, these ideas became more and more popular and their literary expression became more and more frequent; we shall here consider only the branch which is combined with the idea of a fantastic voyage. Yet, rationalism has left its mark even on this aspect of literature which might have been thought furthest removed from it, in two ways.

First, by making it extremely difficult for an author to believe in the superhuman beings which

appear in his work; Swedenborg is from that point of view an exception. Secondly, because the type of author who is driven by a desire to know the universe throughout (a desire he tries partly to assuage by the creation of a work of fiction), although admiring and practising rationalism, cannot help seeing its limits all the time. This is why there is a definite link between a total apprehension of the world which is tentatively rationalistic, and the introduction of some supernatural element. The task is easiest for a Christian who sees no contradiction between faith and science: Daniel and Huygens were in that case. It is more difficult for a "libertin" like Cyrano. As has been said, anecdotes concerning men like Socrates and Cardano offered a kind of solution (there is in Garnier's collection ¹ a section Du Démon de Socrates, which has little reason to be there, but is included for the sake of its associations—Garnier's sensitiveness to intuitive associations between types of books has already been remarked upon here); but it is used shamefacedly. It is sometimes hard to tell for instance, when the writer's philosophy is ^a pantheism

1) vol. 33.

very near atheism, whether the supernatural beings are taken seriously or are mere props for the fiction.¹

Whatever the attitude of each writer, the association between science and some sort of fantastic creatures is very effective from a literary point of view; it is interesting to see that the necessity for which we have tried to account was already felt by the first modern writer of fantastic voyages: Kepler, who in his Somnium, and in spite of his scientific training, introduced a witch. The difficulties experienced by this type of writer in his dealings with the supernatural (which might be epitomized by the motto: "ni avec toi, ni sans toi") are conspicuous in Cyrano's work.

Since the writer is not willing to believe wholeheartedly in his own fictions, the serious ballast of his work is, therefore, often constituted by moral teaching - as trite and insipid as can be managed. If he cannot imagine episodes which would illustrate his teaching, he falls back on the novel of manners, the

1) Vista Clayton, op. cit., quotes Sainte-Beuve (Causeries du lundi, VII, p. 410) as ridiculing the literary device of the supernatural in a work which would reduce everything to the working of natural laws. As has been seen, this contradiction is more apparent than real.

panacea of second-rate writers. Since rationalism and belief in an occultist interpretation of the world are attitudes of mind which are not subject to proof, the part played by science in such types of fiction can be twofold; it can be used to strengthen the position of the "scientiste" or on the contrary can be used as a proof of pre-existing poetic intuitions. Thus magnetism, electricity, and later, attraction, seemed to some writers nothing more than the age-old idea of sympathies, and the difference in nature between stars and planets, emphasized by the progress of astronomy, was thought to be a proof of the co-existence of two principles in the formation of the universe (a Cabalistic idea). There is another amusing instance of the use to which some people put science in Bordelon's M. Oufle; the hero sees a fly through a microscope for the first time, is thoroughly frightened and strengthened by this sight in his belief in the ubiquitous presence of demons. Sometimes, astronomy also seemed to confirm astrology: thus, when the question of the plurality of worlds was debated, taking into account the climatic conditions obtaining

on each planet, the temperature on the surface of Mercury and Venus agreed with the traditional attribution of these planets to gods respectively for their nimbleness of mind and their amorous propensities, as is shown by many works, from Fontenelle's Entretiens to Le Monde de Mercure, Milord Céton, Le Char Volant, etc. Thus science can be superimposed on ancient myths such as Platonic ones (Ex in The Blazing World).

Information about the universe has often been presented as having been obtained in a trance or a dream, as in Henry More's Insomnium Philosophicum, a poem (1647),^{or} Huygens' Cosmotheros (1698),^o but, as has been said, the position of Swedenborg, whose work does not substantially differ from these, is exceptional inasmuch as he really thought he had visited the worlds he was describing. Thus the title of his Arcana Coelestia (1758) was aptly translated Des Terres dans notre monde solitaire, qui sont appelées planètes et des Terres dans le ciel astral; de leurs habitants, de leurs esprits et de leur anges, d'après ce qui a été entendu et vu par Emmanuel Swedenborg¹.

Swedenborg's Diarium for 1748 reads like Daniel's

1) 1851, a translation by J.F.E. Le Boys des Guays St Amand, Cher.

Monde de Descartes, only he and his followers believed in his fantastic voyages, and that the information he was vouchsafing came to him from on high, not from his imagination or reason. Yet Swedenborg's scientific achievements were not to be denied, and even Grimm, who uses the word "delirium" about Les Merveilles du Ciel et de l'Enfer¹, had to acknowledge Swedenborg's double career as scientist and theosophist.

On the contrary, when the author of the Vision du Monde Angélique (in Garnier, vol. III) states: "je ne sais si mon imagination est plus disposée que celle d'un autre à réaliser les idées qui la frappent, ou si l'influence du commerce des esprits purs dont je viens de parler me rendoit alors capable d'avoir des notions plus claires et plus fortes du monde invisible; mais il est certain que mon âme fit un voyage réel dans toutes ces prétendues terres habitables", there is little effort to convince the reader. The description of the soul's ascension is completely unoriginal, and might have been taken only from such imaginary flights as were performed by Milton's Satan. It may be mentioned here

1) Translated by A.J. Pernety, Grimm op. cit., June 1783.

that the author is original inasmuch as he writes to show that there is no such thing as ^a plurality of worlds, thereby making Flammerion indignant.

La Terre Australe Connue (1676)

La Terre Australe connue c'est-à-dire la description de ce pays inconnu jusqu'ici, de ses moeurs et de ses coutumes par M. Sadeur. Avec les aventures qui le conduisirent dans ce continent, et les particularitez du séjour qu'il y fit durant trente-cinq ans et plus, et de son retour. Réduites et mises en lumière par les soins et la conduite de G. de F., 1676, has already been mentioned in the introductory chapter, for it epitomizes the difficulty experienced by those who wish to sort out the different types of fiction to which the name voyage can be applied.

It is treated by Atkinson as the first extraordinary voyage, and this is justified by the many realistic details given, first by the author (mainly when he tries to authenticate his work by means of a long description of how he came into possession of the manuscript now printed), then by the supposedly real hero Sadeur.

Yet there are many other details to which the name fantastic would be more rightly applied. Gove, for instance, and to a lesser degree Chinard, have pointed out that the presence of pink and blue animals in some of the countries described, episodes like those in which the hero is carried off by giant birds, the existence of the Austral continent, of people who not only are hermaphrodites but have six fingers on each hand and sometimes possess a third arm fixed to their bodies on the hip, were not exactly devised to enhance the credibility of the story.

What matters to us, therefore, is to try to determine in what light the author himself viewed such details. It is interesting to notice in this connection that he makes quite a frequent use of the method of authentication which consists in bluntly denying previous travellers' accounts, or even impeaching their veracity, and this when one is oneself stating something that is difficult to believe. This was to become quite a hackneyed device, and is, therefore, used by eighteenth century authors only with irony, as the hallmark of self-consciously fantastic fiction, and sometimes with

a double effect, to ridicule the opinions of an adversary (as has been seen about Voltaire and Derham). On the contrary, this irony is never felt in La Terre Australe; there is instead an enigmatic brazenⁿess, which seems to imply that Foigny trusted his readers would be reminded of similar claims on the part of well-known travellers. This seems borne out by the not negligible length of the part which is purely an adventure story. Above all, this adventure story (by means of which Foigny seems to have compensated ^{tr} his life which was, if not uneventful, at least fairly sedentary) is the framework of a utopia of the collectivistic type, owing much to Campanella and Plato, about which Foigny seems to have experienced the same ambivalent feelings except for the religious part, (as is shown by Atkinson). The various oddities of the tale (such as the hermaphroditism of the Australians or the existence of strange fruit) are always intimately connected with the meaning and the teaching.

The fact that Sadeur was unwillingly carried ~~off~~ to the Austral land by several large birds would, if anything, be realistic, inasmuch as many accounts of

medieval travellers abounded in such episodes, but such an episode could have had literary sources as well. The realism is further indicated when Sadeur effects his return to Madagascar by means of another of these birds which he has, this time, tamed. It has been seen that this was suggested seriously even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; but unfortunately the idea of harnessing a large bird seems, from innumerable quotations, to have been linked with the idea of Godwin's Gonsales, who unfortunately for those who wish to make La Terre Australe a purely realistic novel, used his team of geese to go to the moon.

It seems, therefore, that the attitude of Foigny towards his work - from which can legitimately be inferred that of his readers - is essentially ambiguous. A careful and fairly skilful introduction which purports to authenticate the work is followed by an incredible accumulation of adventures (Sadeur is shipwrecked four or five times, for instance), often verging on the fantastic. Whenever the latter occurs, Foigny uses the old device of challenging retroactively those who have

written on the subject, be they geographers or travellers, a device which was at the time already wearing thin. Finally, as has been shown by Atkinson, Foigny seems to tire of his utopia and satirises it at the end in order to explain the return of his hero¹. All this may leave the reader perplexed, and in this, in spite of the importance of La Terre Australe from the point of view of the history of ideas, it is very different from, say, Histoire des Sévarambes, and, whatever the literary and intellectual superiority of the latter, may have destroyed in advance the credibility so carefully built up by its author Veiras. The conclusion of Chinard²:

"Les aventures de Sadeur, qui annoncent sur tant de point les doctrines du XVIII^e siècle, sont encore imprégnées de l'esprit du moyen-âge; la rencontre est curieuse et, en même temps, très significative; elle nous fait mieux sentir la parenté qui existe entre la nostalgie de l'Eden des siècles de foi et le rêve de bonheur social du XVIII^e siècle..." is equally

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- 1) Yet it is worth noticing that Sadeur does not wholeheartedly approve of the thorough-going rationalism of the Australians, in which he suspects not a little ostentation: see p. 124 (Satire of "libertins"?)
 - 2) of F. Lachèvre, Les Successeurs de Cyrano de Bergerac, Paris, 1922.
 - 2) op. cit., pp. 204-205.

significant in this connection. Soon, with the progress both of rationalistic ideas and of the knowledge of the earth, the ambiguity which characterizes La Terre Australe, whether one considers the episodes or the devices, became impossible, and the realistic and fantastic were much more sharply divided. It may be that Foigny was content merely to expound in great detail a system of limited scope (chiefly, as Chinard rightly points out, because it is applicable only to hermaphrodites who are free from most human passions) but of great religious import, and to hint, thanks to a careless but highly entertaining authentication, that it was worth while musing about its possible adaptation to a human society.

It seems evident that mere references to Christian orthodoxy and heresies, as well as to the most common themes of free-thought, are insufficient to account for the whole of the ideas expressed in La Terre Australe. This is very obvious in Lanson's Origines et premières manifestations. . . .¹; Lanson has to fall

1) loc. cit., 1908, Tome II, pp. 145 ff.

back weakly on Spinoza (wrongly interpreted) and the doctrine of Nirvana. But just as Foigny, in search of adventures which he might attribute to his hero resorted to medieval stories like that of the Rok, could one not suggest that in search of strange décor and habits for the utopian people his hero discovers he resorted in the same way to what was commonly attributed to adepts? This would explain the properties attributed to the protean "fruit du repos" which can sustain life through joy, (dispensing besides with the necessity for excretion, a traditional feature of highly spiritual people), make hard things soft and vice-versa, and create life?¹ The most important principle of the religion of the Australians, that of an unknowable God, may also have a Cabalistic origin.

1) pp. 127, 139 of M. Lachèvre, op. cit.

Lamékis (1735)

In the preface to his work, Mouhy alluded to some of his readers objecting to his literary fecundity, and expressing the wish that he would perfect one work instead of writing three. Mouhy accordingly hoped to please them with the present work. A brief summary of the plot and the order of exposition will give an idea of the difficulties readers had to put up with.

In this "roman à tiroirs", the tale is told by Mouhy, who got it from an Armenian friend. But an initial difficulty arises from the fact that the one who speaks is Lamékis, the hero, not Mouhy - at least, not for three hundred pages or so. Lamékis is telling his friend Sinouïs, aboard a ship, about his past life. The story of how his father, a High-Priest of Egypt, angered Semiramis, who in consequence had the whole family abandoned on a boat without oars, has already been recounted here¹. Young Lamékis is found by a stranger, Motacoa², who tells him his story³. Motacoa, it has been seen, was dropped as a baby with his mother into an underground cave.

1) See "The Subterranean World".

2) p. 44 of Voyages imaginaires...., Vol. XX and XXI.

3) p. 54 of Vol. XX as all page numbers.

After living there for a few years, he explores this strange world, is attacked by worm-like monsters and saved by a huge dog, Falbao. He surfaces again and meets one of the former subjects of his mother, one Boldeon; they both go underground and are captured by the worms.

Like a "feuilletoniste", Mouhy probably thinks that the reader is sufficiently wrung with anguish as to the fate of Motacoa, and returns to Lamékis¹, that is to say, not to the child Lamékis, but to the present one, who is on the ship and reminiscing in front of Sinouïs. Now this ship is suddenly lifted, as in Lucian's True History, by a waterspout, then carried by a whirlwind and finally stranded on the top of a tree from which the heroes can see wonderful landscapes in the clouds. This is the Island of the Sylphs where Lamékis and Sinouïs will in due course be initiated. During a respite from the temptations and tortures which constitute this initiation, Lamékis is urged by Sinouïs to go on with his past history². This is the start of a new series of flashbacks; for, as will perhaps be

1) p. 97.

2) p. 134.

remembered, Lamékis had interrupted his flow of reminiscences by repeating Motacoa's story.

Charitably, Lamékis reminds Sinouïs of this, but this gifted Listener did not need such help: "Ne vous donnez point la peine, interrompit Sinouïs, de me faire ressouvenir de ces choses, malgré tous les prodiges qui sont arrivés, qui semblent devoir confondre les idées; je n'ai pas perdu un mot de cette histoire".¹

Motacoa and Boldeon then save a princess from the worms. The princess cannot but oblige and tell her story. This story, at least, being finished (which is more than can be said about all the others), Lamékis goes on with his own, not without warning Sinouïs again: "je crois inutile de vous répéter que c'est toujours Motacoa qui conte son histoire et qu'il n'est encore jusqu'ici fait qu'une mention indirecte de ce qui me regarde".² But here the respite ends and the initiation starts with a vengeance³ During it, Lamékis meets the famous philosopher Déhahal, of whom more will be said later. To

1) p. 135.

2) p. 200. There is a third warning p. 412!

3) p. 264.

encourage him, Déhahel recounts his aerial voyage to this same island of Sylphs, as well as his own initiation¹. More tortures follow for Lamékis². Then suddenly Mouhy's own voice is heard³. There is, he says (apparently forgetting about the Armenian), a blank in the manuscript (a well-known device). But his own adventures are interesting enough to replace those of his heroes, for there is now a Pirandellian situation in which all the most unpleasant characters of his work appear to the author: the dog Falbao watches him from the street, Sémiramis who finds herself libelled, comes to protest, and, worst of all, one of the huge worms is in Mouhy's own bed! In spite of such interference, Mouhy goes on bravely for six or seven pages, then he is kidnapped in a dark alley-way and taken through catacombs, led by Falbao who now reveals himself as no less than the philosopher Déhahel⁴: "C'est moi, O de Mouhy, qui(...) imaginai de remplir des vessies de rosée..." Thus the story of the two heroes are mingled. Mouhy

1) pp. 320 ff

2) p. 337.

3) p. 339.

4) p. 379.

having refused the initiation undergone by Déhahal and Lamékis, is able to go on with his story in spite of more interference (a power prevents him from describing the last stages of the initiation, for instance), and adds a post-scriptum to both the princess's and Déhahal's adventures. There is, of course, a happy ending for all concerned.

This analysis shows that an author at bay can hit on a literary devices which will later be laden with metaphysical significance; in the meantime, they can be very burdensome to readers. It says a lot in favour of Mouhy's inventiveness that in spite of such a hopelessly entangled story, there is some interest in Lamékis, and all the more when one considers its date. It has been seen that although the adult Lamékis is the main hero, Motacoo comes close second since his own story has to be finished before that of the child Lamékis can be told. Thus the novel may fairly be divided into two parts: the story of Motacoo is an underground voyage, that of Lamékis is partly an aerial voyage and partly a novel of the type which has an occultist

background.¹ Its early date ensures it at least the merit of some originality, in its choice of such a double subject, and one is amazed to find the novel described by Chinard as "une froide imitation du Télémaque"!²

It is also unique in Mouhy's production³, and when F.C.Green writes about this second-rank novelist:

"Even if we look upon his work as so much flotsam in the slow-moving current of literary history, it does

1) The title Lamékis ou les voyages extraordinaires d'un Egyptien dans la terre intérieure, avec la découverte de l'Isle des Sylphides must then be interpreted in part as Motacoa's voyages? For there is no indication as to which sea or ocean Lamékis's ship is sailing; it is, however, a terrestrial ocean since during the elevation of the ship to the Island of the Sylphs the heroes can see the sun and planets.

2) op.cit., p. 410 n.

3) See F.C.Green on "Charles des Fieux, chevalier de Mouhy, 1701-84" in Modern Philology, XXII, 1924-25. We have been unable to consult Les Huit philosophes aventuriers de ce siècle ou Rencontre imprévue de MM. de Voltaire, d'Argens, Maupertuis, Marivaux, Prévost, Crébillon, Mouhy et M. de Mainvilliers dans l'auberge de Mme Tripaudière, à l'enseigne d'Uranie, comédie de nos jours, 1752, 8°, by Mainvilliers, or the édition modifiée of 1754, and there is no mention of Mouhy in Les huit philosophes errans ou nouvelles découvertes de Voltaire, de Maupertuis, de Montesquou, du Marquis d'Argens, de l'Abbé Prevot, de Crébillon, de Marivaux et du Chevalier de Mainvilliers, comédie du tems présent, 1754, which we have ~~had in~~ hands.

seen

at least show which way the current is moving", it applies more to the purely "romanesque" aspect of his work. As an underground voyage, Lamékis is among the earliest, and already presents the complete pattern: an idyllic life, a fight with monsters, and an entrance into a magical world where men can be changed into beasts and the mythical river of liquid gold can cure all wounds.

Although the aerial voyage lacks originality (there is a brief mention of a flight by the help of fowls¹; the dew-phials are no more than a traditional means of flight and probably come from Cyrano's novel), the initiatory aspect of the journey and of the adventures of Lamékis, with its wealth of technical details, was not yet found in fiction. Obviously impressed with Egyptian monuments and rites, and insisting on a vaguely spiritualistic and stoic moral philosophy, Mouhy wrote a novel which may have been inspired

1) Voyages imaginaires..., XXI, p. 123.

by the beginnings of free-masonry, and by the cults of illuminist sects, although not widespread at that time. It appears from an article by Paul d'Estrée : "Un journaliste policier, le chevalier de Mouhy" ¹ , that Mouhy, then an informer, reported on March 31st, 1744 on the activities of the free-masons in the manuscript gazette he addressed regularly to the police. The rites of free-masonry were sometimes derived from Egyptian cults ; thus Cagliostro founded in Lyons the so-called "Egyptian Lodge". There already was an empty and tiresome moral aspect in Gongam , but the vogue of "contes moraux" was yet to come. However, a model for the choice of décor as well as the device (although well-known) of frequent footnotes , may have been the "moral" novel (by J.Terrasson) Sethos , Histoire ou vie tirée des monumens et anecdotes de l'Ancienne

1) in Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France ,
4, 1897.

Egypte Traduite d'un Manuscrit Grec (Paris, 1731).

Mouhy may besides have derived some information from Rollin's famous Histoire Ancienne (1730)¹ and from L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures by Bernard de Montfaucon (Paris, 1719)².

It is difficult to determine what is invented and what has been borrowed from contemporary studies in Mouhy's lengthy and elaborate description of temples, priests, and the habit of using bas-reliefs, "as writing was not yet invented". Apropos of the description of one of these temples, he alludes, in a footnote³, to descriptions by Scaliger, Heinsius, d'Aubignac, Strabo and De Thou, but this is on the other hand quite a frequently used device, and there are other instances where it is plain that Mouhy uses it facetiously, as in the notes on pp. 286-87, about a meteor described by Aristotle "dans un supplément qu'il avoit fait pour joindre à sa dioptrique, qu'il oubliâ dans sa poche le jour fatal qu'il se précipita dans l'Europe". On the other hand, there is a lot of

1) See, for instance, tome 2, on Semiramis, p. 26 ff.

2) See, for instance, on the religion of Egyptians and on Serapis tome 2, 2^e partie, p. 294 ff.

3) p. 217.

genuine erudition; Mouhy cites Grégoire de Tours on sylphs¹, Gassendi on stars², Tavernier about the possibility of floating islands³, not counting the information about ancient Egypt.

It has been said that Lamékis and Sinouïs undergo in the Island of Sylphs an initiation, the principle of which is expressed as follows⁴: "La félicité ne s'acquiert qu'en tyrannisant les désirs". A series of tests will enable the hero, if he successfully withstands them, to speak to the "suprême Scéalgalis"⁵. A philosopher, "l'admirable et téméraire Debaal, philosophe d'une si grande constance, et si rempli du désir d'être au nombre des habitants de dette île, qu'il a mérité par sa fermeté (...) de conserver dans cet empire le droit de l'opacité qui n'a jamais été accordé qu'à lui seul..." has already undergone this initiation. After the temptations to which Lamékis has already been exposed, he had to be devoured by a gigantic bee in order to be disembodied like the sylphs.

1) p. 330
 2) p. 283.
 3) p. 284.
 4) p. 118.

This is described fairly realistically, and nothing is more unexpected than this "garden of tortures" in the middle of a rather insipid work¹. A "privilège d'initiation" is then engraved on the flayed skin of the hero, who is afterwards indoctrinated in a kind of school.

It has been seen that Déhaal had been entitled to the right of "opacity"; for the sylphs are diaphanous. Since he is disembodied, one may well assume that this right is in fact the traditional occultist belief that by education and culture man may escape the general fate of souls which is to disappear after death into the general soul. There is a conspicuous example of this in Cyrano's L'Autre Monde, and traces of the same belief are found in Goethe's Faust.

There are in Lemékis a few inevitable "histoires galantes", about which Mouhy alleges that he has considerably softened the story that he is supposed to edit, for "l'on est aujourd'hui si peu indulgent que l'on ne sauroit être trop réservé: le pompeux

1) p. 313 ff.

galimatias de faux-sentiments règne et est de mode; il faut s'y conformer".¹ He followed this prescription to the letter, but ^{might} have enjoyed more, considering his taste for mystery and even cruelty, the later fashion of "gothic" novels.

Le Monde de Mercure (1750)

La Relation du Monde de Mercure² begins with the encounter the hero makes of a strange little man who offers him a "microscope philosophique". This instrument is clearly allegorical, for it enables one to see not only objects from far and near but also "les peuples élémentaires, les atomes d'Epicure, et jusqu'aux mouvements de l'âme et aux intentions des hommes".³ This announces to some extent the content of the work: notions of physics, astronomy and philosophy, as well as a novel of manners, with a liberal sprinkling of occultist themes, where the latter clearly show their literary appeal even when they are, as is the case here, treated ironically. Whenever authors want to poke fun at alchemists, astrologers and other dabblers

1) p. 280.

2) Genève, Barillot, 1750. Published anonymously,

3) p. 167 of Voyages imaginaires, vol. 16.

in secret lore, they usually choose Cardano as the butt of their jests. Here, however, it is Nicolas Flamel (and his wife), the hero of the only story of a successful, rich and happy alchemist.

The owner of the "microscoppe philosophique" is an important member of the Rosicrucian group, he speaks in Arabic, "la langue des sages", and holds on the immortality of souls ideas somewhat Pythagorean^e. The scientific ideas the author holds come chiefly, he acknowledges, from Descartes and from Fontenelle's Entretiens, but whereas Fontenelle thought that Mercury was "les petites-maisons de l'univers" (Quatrième Soir), Béthune prefers to consider such vivacity of mind as a definite advantage. In doing so, he reminds one very often of Cyrano's L'Autre Monde, especially the second part, where fairly well known philosophical themes borrowed chiefly from Italian Renaissance philosophers were for the first time used dramatically, with great literary and philosophical effect. The fact that Béthune was able so easily to combine these themes with the newer and more fashionable

aspect of occultism (such as the elemental spirits) demonstrates a posteriori what Cyrano's sources were.

The faculties of the Mercurians are essentially those of Cyrano's philosophers and Selenites:

"Les peuples de Mercure sont absolument maîtres de tous les mouvements qui se font dans leur corps. Ils règlent la circulation de leur sang, selon ce qu'ils ont dessein d'en faire; ils entretiennent leur estomac par l'usage de certains élixirs délicieux dont l'effet est inmanquable; ils sont tout aussi sûr d'avoir une digestion parfaite que nous le sommes d'avoir les mains nettes après les avoir bien lavées..."¹ But, and this is original; "Il n'y a que les mouvements de l'âme, et ce que nous appelons les sentiments qu'ils ne peuvent régler à leur choix. Aussi sont-ils la source de toutes leurs maladies, et quelquefois de leur mort."

Thus, although superior to man, they have the defects inherent in the status of a creature.

The Mercurians are governed by reason and set great store by education from which boys and girls alike benefit; algebra is an important part of it. The formation of the mind more than the accumulation of knowledge is sought. Motels without rational justification, they despise, and "ils traitent avec un pareil mépris la métaphysique, qui ne nous a encore présenté que des idées très imparfaites de la divinité."

1) pp. 183-4.

Ils corrigent cette science, et c'est à l'aide de la bonne physique, qu'ils apprennent à connaître Dieu, et la partie intelligente qui nous anime"¹. In the same way "la religion n'est fondée dans Mercure que sur les seules lumières de la raison". But to this, which had become frequent in the latter part of the seventeenth century is added a new, typical eighteenth century note: "la raison lumineuse et la douce humanité"²; for in spite of, for instance, an indictment of war in the works of Cyrano, La Bruyère, Foigny, Fénelon and others, such criticism was applied more to the folly of man than to his lack of feeling.³

When they are tired of their long life, like Foigny's Australians, the Mercurians "sont tentés à la fin de se réunir au grand principe; c'est à dire d'aller peupler le soleil; car la connaissance certaine qu'ils ont de leur état après la mort, fondée sur la parole

1) p. 337.

2) p. 278.

3) One can see here how the theological idea of the goodness of God as a cause for Creation became transformed into a purely anthropomorphic humanitarian ideal: "cette unique vue de suivre la raison et de faire du bien à toutes les intelligences du second ordre est la cause de la formation de l'univers, de son étendue immense et de la prodigieuse variété qui l'embellit"(p. 281).

indubitable de l'Empereur, fait qu'ils n'ont aucune crainte"¹. They crumble into a golden powder, but their soul, having lost all memory of its past life, undertakes "le grand pèlerinage", that is to say a cycle of metempsychoses ^{on} a different planet (for all are peopled), starting with the lowest existents, and lasting a thousand years, after which the soul enters again the body of a man². Yet it has acquired new knowledge, which is not lost when finally it merges itself into God, when all past memories are regained. There is at the beginning a scene of metempsychosis in which the author's soul is made to inhabit a myrtle. It is difficult to see in the few mentions there are of God anything else than lip-service, for there is otherwise little to distinguish the system here expounded from a totally heterodox belief in the Soul of the World. The part normally played by God is played here by the "Emperor" who is an inhabitant of the Sun, that is to say an Intelligence, or spiritual being, nor by the Sun itself.

1) p. 188.

2) p. 272.

There is no intimation that the status quo will ever come to an end, as orthodoxy teaches; the two principles, matter and spirit, will eternally co-exist. The inherent rationality of the universe allows well-endowed creatures to comprehend it; they know at birth a universal language which is called "la langue des animaux"¹ and only acquire human languages afterwards (the Cabalistic idea of intellect as a limitation of a previous intuitive state).

There is besides, in Le Monde de Mercure, a satire of manners in the shape of the excesses to which the quicksilver nature of the Mercurians makes them prone, some picturesque details about the services rendered by animals who understand men, and a lot of humour. What is chiefly to be noticed, however, is the possibility of expressing such unorthodox ideas without any difficulty. Perhaps only the fact that the author attributed such ideas to imaginary Mercurians, and not to inhabitants of the earth alone enabled him to escape censorship. One is reminded of the text of Foigny's "privilège" for La Terre Australe connue: "A considérer cet ouvrage comme

1) p. 196.

249.

un pur Roman, l'impression peut, ^{en} être permise"! ¹

Giphantie (1760)

(and other works by Tiphaigne de la Roche)

The various works written by Tiphaigne de la Roche (1729-1774), a doctor², are undoubtedly fantastic (the peculiar quality of the fantastic element will be seen later); some of them can be termed voyages although the travel itself is never the most important aspect.

The preface of one of his works, Amilec, ou la graine d'homme qui sert à peupler les planètes (1753), affords an interesting insight into the psychology of some writers of fantastic works: "Autrefois je lisois, je réfléchissois, je combinois, je mettois mon esprit à une torture qui en fatiguait les ressorts, et je n'apprenois rien. Aujourd'hui je me tranquillise, je dors, je rêve, et je deviens savant." Thus Amilec is supposed to be a dream; but Giphantie³

1) Quoted in Lachèvre, op. cit., p. 166.

2) From Montpellier says Grimm (op. cit., 1^{er} Novembre 1753); from Normandy says the Biographie Universelle.

3) "A Babylone", 1760, à la Haye, chez Daniel Mounier", 1761.

which resembles it in so many ways, is presented as a realistic journey into the Sahara which the author-hero undertakes while equipped with a glass mask to protect his face from sandstorms, and tablets of processed food and drink. The main purpose of *Tiphaigne* is to expound the results of his new method of learning by musing and following his intuition, (this eulogy having its counterpart in attacks on various philosophical and scientific sects, both ancient and modern, for instance, Descartes, Leibniz, Newton), and also to satirise contemporary society. One can feel the bitterness of a man who according to his own testimony, was keen to know the ultimate reality, was disappointed by books and fell back on a disillusioned scepticism and rejection of ambition (there are several disquisitions on the nil admirari attitude, in Giphantie, in chapter XVI for instance). The hypotheses of philosophers seem to him absolutely gratuitous; this is why he has no scruple in stepping in in his turn: "Je regarde la Physique comme un terroir où chaque particulier a droit..." he writes in L'Amour dévoilé

ou le système des sympathistes¹. This is the typical attitude which we have already encountered so many times, by which the writer of fantastic voyages, having previously made fun of systems, in order to avoid all responsibility, nevertheless hopes that he might strike a fruitful vein. He further seeks to disarm criticism by preaching, like La Folle, good manners in the intellectual field. The "sympathistes" - who believe that all bodies emit a kind of fluid which accounts for their moods - are modest philosophers² who welcome discussion and courteous criticism.

Like most men possessed of the desire to get to the heart of all things, Tiphaigne puts forward a general explanation of the universe; since he is more impressed by physiological phenomena than by physical ones (owing, probably, to his profession), his theories often have a distinctive occultist flavour. The reproductive processes are those which strike him most; not human reproduction as in Restif, but vegetable reproduction, germination and grafting

1) s.l., 1749, p. 120.

2) Amour dévoilé, p. 122.

mainly. This seems to include panpsychism.¹
 One finds in his work, as one did in Cyrano's, an imaginary country which is the demesne of superhuman beings; it is Giphantie, the fertile country in the centre of the Sahara, "de tous les pays du monde(....) le seul où la nature conserve encore son énergie primitive."² They are elemental spirits, to whom this part of the world was given one day before the garden of Eden was given to man.

What fascinates Tiphaigne mainly is the sight of human variety; hence the description and satire of manners which is always found in his books. This is done in a vaguely moralising way; thus Grimm writes about Amilec: "le rêve tourne du côté de la morale, et de la morale la plus commune et la plus triviale." Paludan thinks Amilec and Zamar are plagiarisms of the satire of manners in Copenhagen in Niels Klim³. Such a model was not needed, for the satire of manners was already well established in France at that time.

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- 1) Giphantie, p. 6.
 2) p. 13.
 3) op. cit., pp. 326 ff.

As always the main point of the satire of manners is the frivolous and corrupt life of Parisians. This frivolity extends even to intellectual matters, as the debauch of hypotheses show. Books like "le grand Dictionnaire universel où l'on apprend à parler de tout et à ne raisonner sur rien" - a common criticism of the Encyclopédie - "ouvrage très utile aux fainéants et dont aucun demi-savant ne peut se passer" are partially responsible.

L'Empire des Zaziris sur les Humains, ou la Zazirote. A Pékin chez DSMGTLFPQXZ, 1761, dedicated "to the inhabitants of the Planets" tells how Zaziris imaginary elemental spirits use man as their toy, and determine his moods and his actions. The ironical attitude of the writer towards his own work shows that this "hypothesis" is only a form of a generalised sceptic scepticism.

The tone is more serious in L'Amour dévoilé, as has been seen. There, moods and volitions are explained by the emanation of a fluid to which other people react with sympathy or antipathy.

In Amilec the hero flies rapidly through the air

with the Genius of Generation, towards the granary where all human seed is stored, and where, therefore, as in Giphantie, human individuals and societies are in their nascent state. The subsequent organisation seems to be conceived by Tiphaigne in Cartesian terms, that is to say according to the vortex theory. But there is an ingenious political application of this dramatized theory; the geni throw in the air a handful of common seeds for one seed of king. Thus, for instance, the French "tourbillon" appears¹:

"Les germes des Princes se sont arrangés, comme tu le vois, à la file les uns des autres sur l'axe du tourbillon; les germes des ministres se sont réunis vers l'un des pôles; ceux des sénateurs se sont réunis vers l'autre pôle; ceux des guerriers se sont portés à la surface de la sphère; la graine de peuple circule intérieurement au milieu. Heureuse distribution qui enchaîne les graines entre elles, tempère leur influence réciproque, maintient l'ordre dans la circulation, et affermit inébranlablement le germe Royal au centre du tourbillon."

there is also a galaxy:

"Voici un genre de mouvement tout différent. Vois-tu cette multitude de petites sphères qui tournent toutes avec lenteur sur un centre commun? C'est le tourbillon de l'Empire. Les grains qui le composent ont comme tu le remarques deux mouvements, un particulier qui les emporte autour du centre de chaque petite sphère, l'autre général qui emporte les petites sphères

1) p. 160.

autour du centre commun. Ces deux mouvements s'affaiblissent réciproquement, de là vient la lenteur de circulation générale. Sans cela ce vaste tourbillon seroit à craindre, mais loin de rien envahir sur les autres, à peine se soutient-il lui même."

This shows the device most used by Tiphaigne: a materialisation and dramatisation of theories and abstractions. This was also Daniel's favourite device. In a passage of Giphantie, the hero, visiting all the wonderful installations which allow the spirits to know human affairs, imagines a thermometer which could be used to determine the particular abilities of each given person by means of their temperature; thus no one would be miscast. This is again reminiscent of occultist theories in which the degree of heat gives a clue to the proportion of matter and spirit in various beings.

Some of the wonders the hero sees in Giphantie are allegorical, the tree of philosophy, for instance. Others are borrowed from former writers, especially Lucian, the eternal fountainhead of fantastic stories. Thus the famous episode of Icaromenippus in which Jupiter listens to the contradictory wishes of men reappears in Giphantie; it is even perfected for the

spirits can see as well as hear those who beseech them. But the most remarkable feature of such descriptions is their mechanistic bias, a sign of the times. Thus a system of amplifiers is hinted at in connection with the audible wishes, and the laws of refraction are called upon to explain this kind of television. An even more striking instance is the episode in which the narrator finds himself in a room through the windows of which can be seen a raging sea. However, the latter turns out to be only what we may call a photograph. For "les esprits élémentaires (...)ne sont pas si habiles peintres qu'adroits physiciens". Several articles have, therefore, been written by nineteenth century enthusiasts to demonstrate that Tiphaigne had invented photography (just as Cyrano had invented the gramophone) or at any rate would have done so had he not died at forty-five; and that such an episode undoubtedly indicates that he made experiments to that effect.¹ It has been seen

1) See, for instance, "Tiphaigne de la Roche et l'idée de la photographie en 1760" in Bulletin du Bibliophile, juillet-août 1895 (Paris), in which are summarized various communications made on that subject in provincial academies.

that Liphaigne did not even grasp in what way a hypothesis can be fruitful, and was, therefore, unlikely to put forward any useful ones; but there is another proof that there is no serious thinking here: the "photographs" are made by smearing canvas with a viscous substance on which are caught the simulacra of objects! As these simulacra come in an incessant flux, the canvas has to be withdrawn smartly before the picture is blurred. This reminds one of the ex-marrow end of the fire of enthusiasm, by far the most efficient means of flight in Cyrano's work!

However, the rational and "scientific" spirit appears again when the spirits show the hero how to feed on a basic food which is tasteless, but to which are added salts which give it flavour. Yet this may again be an occultist idea, that of the unity of matter on which subsequent variety is superimposed.

In brief, such ideas may be the source of fruitful experiments; most inventions were in that sense foreseen in ancient times, and many were started because of false assumptions and misleading analogies. But very rarely does the same man make these experiments

and write a fantastic tale superficially modernized with mechanical details. Kepler was in this undoubtedly an exception, but Tiphaigne was not.

Milord Céton (1765)

Les voyages de Milord Céton dans les sept Planettes ou le Nouveau Mentor, by Anne-Marie de Roumier Robert (1705-1771), is a rather dull combination of astrology and astronomy à la Fontenelle. The manuscript has supposedly been obtained from a salamander. The author had previously published another novel based on Rosicrucian spirits: Les Ondins, as well as other works in which a servile use of fashionable themes replaced talent.

For some obscure reason, the story is set in the 1640's and in England. The two heroes flee from the Revolution and are taken on the wings of a genie to visit all the planets and the sun; this choice of English heroes may be an indirect reference to the English origins of free-masonry which began to be fashionable in France from 1750 onwards. Casanova also chose English protagonists in his Icosameron.

Flammarion has shown that there are whole sentences lifted from Cyrano's L'Autre Monde in Milord Céton; unfortunately, there is little of his verve and depth. The planets are individualised on astrological lines, although the author knows the scientific approach to their description also. Venus is, of course, the land of love, and also a kind of earthly paradise (copied from Cyrano) which reminds one of Lucretius's more serious idea of the goddess. Mars is devastated by war, Mercury is rotten to the core through the worship of finance, and Jupiter through the absurd respect of blood aristocracy. Saturn offers the sight of the Golden Age, enchanting because of the charm of nature, but rather dreary because of its utopian features (equalitarian ideas and geometrical cities).

The description of the sun shows that an admixture of philosophical ideas had become a necessity since Cyrano. There is a temple of Apollo in the magnificent countryside, and all ancient philosophers and modern scientists are to be found there. Their bodies are diaphanous and their thoughts

accordingly visible: there is nothing original in this, as has been seen.

The only positive thing to be said about this book is that it shows evidence of a certain power of description, and that on the other hand it confirms facts about contemporary fiction such as have already been inferred. Also, perhaps, that the indictment of aristocracy, to which is attributed the neglected state of the land in Jupiter, was rather bold at that date.

La Découverte Australe (1781)Les Posthumes (1802)

In La Découverte Australe par un Homme-volant ou le Dédale françois; Nouvelle très-philosophique: Suivie de la Lettre d'un Singe.....Imprimé à Leipsick et se trouve à Paris(1781), published anonymously Nicolas-Edme Restif de la Bretonne (1734-1806) tried a new type of utopia. He tried his hand before and after this in didactic works, Le Pornographe, La Mimographe, L'Eduographe, Les Gynographes, Le Glossographe, L'Andrographe, Le Thesmographe, but, with the exception of some parts of Les Posthumes, this work is unique because of its mixture of satire of bourgeois manners, of would-be scientific disquisitions, of social philosophy and of cosmological fantasies: it is a microcosm of Restif's literary output. We have already seen it from the point of view of aeronautics.

The account given by the Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans (novembre 1784) contains this appropriate sentence: "Cette incroyable histoire n'est guère susceptible d'abréviation"; several critics beside the

editors of the B.U.R. have, however, undertaken this task, among them M. Nicolson, G. Chinard, and C. Flammarion, and the latter not hiding his amazement at what he found, in spite of his experience of everything ever dreamt about the plurality of inhabited worlds. We have seen that a young man, Victorin, finds a means to fly and thus elope with the young woman of quality Christine, whom he loves. They first live on a "Mont Inaccessible" where they establish a kind of phalanstère with servants, then emigrate to the Austral hemisphere where they find strange beings half-man and half-beast. By marrying into these tribes, they lay the foundations of a new race which will be characterized by the practice of innumerable virtues. The story is followed by Cosmogénies, where the philosophical basis of La Découverte Australe is didactically expounded, and by a biting Lettre d'un Singe, which is a satire of humanity by an animal. In the story of his works Restif gives in Monsieur Nicolas, he says that many of the diatribes intended for his Nuits went into the Découverte Australe.

The opinions of the author about his work, as well

as his ambitions in writing it are found in a Préface nécessaire appended to the book, and also in the story of his literary production in Monsieur Nicolas.¹ It is said in the latter book that La Découverte is "un roman physique, à l'exception de l'Histoire de Victorin, destinée à présenter des vérités salutaires(....). La Base du système physique est qu'originellement il n'y eut qu'un seul animal; que si toutes les parties du globe terrestre avaient eu le même sol et la même température, cet être unique n'eût jamais formé qu'une seule espèce; mais tous les points du sol terrestre étant un peu différents, et le globe produisant des êtres animés et végétaux de tous les points de sa surface, il s'en est ensuivi que tous les êtres animés ont été infiniment variés, tant au physique qu'au moral, mais d'une manière presque insensible, de proche en proche." Thus were united old ideas like that of the scale of beings, the universal analogy and the "circularité universelle", and modern ones like that of Montesquieu's theory

1) tom. 14 of the 1883 ed., pp. 150-52.

of climates, and especially that of evolution and transformism. Unashamedly blowing his own trumpet, the author writes: "Toutes ces idées physiques sont pr
présentées avec art dans l'Homme-volant, comme de
nouvelles découvertes". Yet the book was not warmly
received¹; only a few perpicacious minds, Restif says,
understood his aim and the scope of his work. And yet
there were other reasons which might have ensured
success for the book, as is shown by Métra's
disillusioned comment in his Correspondance secrète:
"cette rapsodie dont le titre et les estampes assureront
le débit autant que sa bizarrerie..." (26 fev. 1782). The
commentaries and explanations were not missing in the
first edition either, as has been said. They were
combined with a half-hearted attempt to authenticate
the text (the latter being the customary manuscript
bequeathed by a friend). The anonymous author is
alleged to have thought, while reading the first two
volumes, that the book was "une débauche d'imagination".

1) See Grimm, op. cit., avril 1781, and J. Rives
Child, Restif de la Bretonne. Témoignages et
jugements. Bibliographie, Paris, 1949.

Then he reads the third volume: "j'ai vu alors que tout ce que j'avais regardé comme un Roman futile étaient (sic) les fondements adroitement jetés d'un livre^{de} morale physique, d'une philosophie saine, de recherches profondes et de vues très étendues..."

These are summarized as follows: "Quant à ce qu'a prétendu l'Historien de l'Île Christine, dans les récits qu'il vient de faire, ce n'a été que pour établir cette importante vérité: Tous les Hommes doués de raison, n'en sont pas moins frères, fussent-ils Hommes-singes, -ours, -chiens, -serpents, -éléphants, -oiseaux, etc. Ainsi l'on voit qu'il n'attaque aucune des opinions consacrées par la religion"(!)¹ What he writes at the end shows that Restif's idea of social reform was not the catastrophic or revolutionary one: "j'y ai vu la morale de la Nature(....) Rapprochons-nous en, sans violer nos institutions sociales; ou plutôt, fessons-en peu à peu la base de ces institutions" ... according to the decrees of "le saint Législateur du Christianisme" - the latter sentence not agreeing with the Deistic ideas expressed elsewhere by Restif.

1) p. 624.

There is another effort to authenticate the story: ²⁶⁶

"je suis sûr que cette Histoire passera pour une fable: et tant mieux. C'est ce qui fait que je la publie: on la regardera comme un Roman, et Personne ne s'avisera d'aller troubler ni les Christiniens ni les géants de la Victorique: si je n'avais cette persuasion, je brûlerais mon manuscrit."

There is also a warning about the reality of the things described, mainly the Hommes-brutes so complacently described and sketched; they are not allegorical: "je déteste les allégories," the author states emphatically, "c'est un genre d'ouvrages et de lecture capable de me donner des vapeurs." What might convince the reader in fact, in this case, is not the unoriginal attempts at authentication which we have mentioned but rather the erudition of the author, who accumulates texts and references like a Montaigne or a Bayle, and his earnestness in defending his point of view. Restif, who printed his own books, had no difficulty in publishing long explanations such as here the Dissertation sur les Hommes-brutes and the Cosmogénies in which he analyses eighteen systems, his own coming last to cap all others.¹

1) vol. IV.

The philosophical aspect also owes much to ancient philosophy, witness the historical part Cosmogénies. Restif's opinion that the whole universe is one huge animal inhabited by planets and stars, that the latter in their turn bear inhabitants such as men, on whom parasites crawl in like fashion, is very ancient and has found champions at all periods. But Restif added to it an evolutionary notion which, although new, was no more original. His two main sources are Buffon's works, chiefly Epoques de la Nature (1778), and Maillet's posthumous work Telliamed (1748); he mentions these two authors quite freely but nevertheless entertained the illusion that he was producing something original, although he had neither the experimental spirit nor (except where human affairs are concerned) the spirit of observation of either Buffon or Maillet. The two main ideas he derived from Telliamed are that of the general conflagration which will eventually destroy all life on the earth (it is well worth noticing, however, that this idea was already found in Cyrano's L'Autre Monde, Cyrano having borrowed it from philosophers like Bruno, and that Maillet dedicated his

book to Cyrano), and that of the evolution and transformation of living creatures according to their condition of life¹. From Buffon and the Jesuit Robinet's De la Nature (1763) he took justification for a pantheism which, as has been rightly noted by A. Bégue², is intellectual and not sentimental.

Restif also knew many accounts of real voyages, both of his century and of the previous one; he mentions Tavernier, but also Vincent Le Blanc, about whom Atkinson's strictures should be borne in mind, for they explain in part, perhaps, why Restif should have seen no reason for restraining his imagination even in its wildest flights!

Finally, literary sources must not be forgotten. Peter Wilkins has already been mentioned, but most other famous cosmic voyages were doubtless known to Restif. The presence of a country of giants (as well as of brutes) also has numerous ancestors, although the realistic detail which accom^mpanies their description recalls chiefly Swift. But whereas the size of the

1) On this debt to Maillet see Découverte Australe IV p. 265, I, p. 20 et passim.

2) Etat présent des études sur Restif de la Bretonne, Paris, 1948, p. 197.

Brobdingnagians in Gulliver had a philosophical, and chiefly moral, importance, it seems to have none in the Découverte Australe, except perhaps that it makes a young giantess more attractive to her human fiancé. Some details unmistakably point to the literary origin of such a novel, for instance, the familiar one of the reversal of customs, which, for many a secondary author, was considered as a sufficiently substantial framework on which to build an entire fantastic voyage. There is a particularly naïve and tiresome example in La Découverte Australe: the giants wear on their heads an ornament in the shape of a human shoe, and on their feet another ornament in the shape of a human hat. This amazing singularity is so striking as to require a picture.

Apart from being a philosophical tale, a novel of manners and an adventure story, La Découverte Australe is a utopia. This aspect has been studied in detail by A. Lichtenberger¹. As is well known, the true inventor of utopias leaves nothing to chance and legislates on the most trivial things. Restif is no

1) Le Socialisme au XVIII^e siècle, Alcan, 1895, pp. 213-15, and on Restif generally pp. 206-20.

exception to this rule. Victorin is a dictator whose authority is unquestioned, and to whom everyone gladly submits. Yet it is curious to see that Restif's realistic sense made him suspect that things are not so simple; this is what can be surmised from one of his plays, L'An 2000, in which one finds this character, rarely pictured by a utopian writer: a man who is not happy and who openly questions the whole utopian structure in the name of human passions. There is, however, no such character in La Découverte Australe.

Many of the ideas expressed in La Découverte Australe are found again in the Posthumes, ou Lettres du Tombeau, in which a considerate husband slowly prepares his wife for the news of his own death, by demonstrating to her the immortality of the soul. This is why this work is mentioned here, although it appeared only in 1802. Restif pretended that it was written by Cazotte whom he knew well, and who was prevented by his execution from publishing it himself. The ideas put forward are, therefore, those of illuminism. They are concerned chiefly, as the editor (Restif) tells in an Avis, with the fate of souls after death (see

for instance, Letter L on transmigration) and some notions of physics: "Tout ce qui est en nous, la Terre ou le Globe l'a plus en grand; le Soleil l'a aussi plus parfait et plus épuré; tout ce qui est dans les Soleils est presque parfait; et infini dans le Soleil-des-Soleils, dans le Centre universel, en Dieux. Or le fluide intellectuel, par lequel tout pense et raisonne, est le fluide électrique de Dieu; lequel fluide imboit les Etres de l'Univers; non directement, immédiatement, mais par les intermédiaires naturels" that is to say the sun, then the "Cométoplanète", "Cométoplanètes", then men and animals in the sun, then men and animals on the planets. But these ideas are substantially those of La Philosophie de Monsieur Nicolas¹. Restif at the end of his life inclined more and more towards a cabalistic conceptions, which makes Viatte call him a "restaurateur du paganisme"² Viatte also denounces "cette haine de l'ascétisme qui détermine Restif à se forger de nouvelles croyances". This accusation, also levelled against men like Cyrano and Foigny, is superficial inasmuch as it fails to take into account the links of such an attitude with

1) Paris, An V (1796).

2) op. cit., I, p. 258. See on Restif I, p. 171, 227n; 251 ff.

the general naturalistic outlook of the writers.

Among other tales, the husband in Posthumes tells his wife about a Multipliandre who has mastered all ways of flying; his adventures are told chiefly from Letter XC onwards. He flies to the moon thanks to "ailes factices" at first; but soon lacking air he finds it more convenient to "decorporate his soul", which, still for convenience's sake, he reintroduces inside the body of a bird once he is on the moon. This is a further demonstration of the relative independence of the fantastic voyage from the current progress of science. There are fantastic descriptions of the "Rondins" or inhabitants of the moon, the usual madly logical imaginary languages, but the most interesting aspect is that of the interplanetary voyages of the hero, who visits the solar system, some fixed stars and even a nebula. He thus verifies Restif's contention that the planets move towards the sun, when they gradually become covered with "parasites" whose spirituality increase^s until they finally merge into the sun, and reach the highest point of development.

It will be remembered that this story makes no pretence of being true, since it is contained within the letters exchanged by husband and wife. But it is doubtful whether readers would have felt any inherent difference with many other fantastic stories.

7- The Applications of the Fantastic Voyage

1- Literary Criticism

The fantastic voyage, as well as several other literary types akin to it, such as the parody, the fairy tale, the allegory, or the dialogue of the dead, could readily be used for purposes other than philosophical polemics. One of such uses is the criticism of some aspects of contemporary literature.

Fan Férédin (1735)

The most ingenious satire of the romances which were so popular in the seventeenth century, and to some extent, of eighteenth century novels, is Le Voyage Merveilleux du Prince Fan-Férédin dans la Romancie, contenant Plusieurs Observations Historiques, Géographiques, Physiques, Critiques et Morales (1735)¹ by Guillaume-Hyacinthe Bougeant (1690-1743), a Jesuit and a professor of literature at Louis-Le-Grand.²

1) A Paris, chez P.G. Le Mercier, MDCXXXV. See about this work Mémoires de Trévoux, 1735, pp. 720-25, and Journal des Savants, 1735, pp. 378-91. We quote from Voyages Imaginaires, vol. XXVI.

2) See O. de Gourcuff, "Deux voyages imaginaires écrits par des Bretons" in Revue de Bretagne, 1891.

Garnier chose it to supply the transition between two sections of his collection, as being "un ouvrage qui est en même temps voyage merveilleux et voyage allégorique....Nous l'attribuons néanmoins à (la section) des allégories à laquelle il appartient particulièrement." Actually, allegory in it is no more than a device among others.

This work, published anonymously, but whose authorship was widely rumoured, was Bougeant's answer to Lenglet du Fresnoy's De l'Usage des Romans (1734). He intended to show the fundamental difference between literature and life, as well as the increasing success of realism in novels. What could be better than the framework of the fantastic voyage, with all its implications, in order to fulfil that purpose? A reference to Cyrano¹ shows how the idea of organising his numerous mythological and literary recollections on a pattern of discovery came to Bougeant. The hero has read novels with gusto, but has always been puzzled by the discrepancy between things as he reads about them, and things as he sees them in actual life;

1) p. 23.

he therefore supposes that there must be a "Romancie", a country which corresponds to the descriptions and the analyses of novels. He wanders fruitlessly like Don Quixote in search of adventure, and at last, having fallen over a precipice, finds himself in utterly unknown surroundings. A sort of charnel-house of mythical creatures such as hippogri~~phs~~^{ps} and dragons which he finds on his way, confirms him in the suspicion that he is approaching the term of his journey, and sure enough, a centaur appears, the first living inhabitant of the fabulous country ahead. Following him into an underground cavern, Fan-Férédin emerges into something comparable to the Platonic world of Ideas: "c'étoit ^{en} à la vérité des bois, des rivières, des fontaines; je distinguois des prairies, des collines, des vergers, mais toutes ces choses sont si différentes de tout ce que dans ce pays-ci nous appelons du même nom qu'on peut dire avec vérité que nous n'en avons que le nom et l'ombre." He then for the first time is able to see and experience literally what he had heretofore only seen described in novels, and adapts himself readily to the ways of

this "other world" because of his extensive readings. We shall not follow him in all his discoveries, for they are rather referable to literary criticism as such. They show Bougeant's acuteness and culture as a literary critic, and his skill and ingenuity in using allegory and dramatization while preserving a concreteness which is the cause of the freshness of the tale, and of the interest it can still evoke. This application of the fantastic voyage to purposes of literary criticism is all the more interesting to us because it was written at a time of transition between literary fashions, and, indeed, from the old to the new outlook in fiction. For the country Fan-Feredin visits, is divided into two rival regions, the "Haute" and the "Basse-Romancie", the latter, which stands for the new realistic trend noticeable in men like Prévost, being of greater and greater importance. To this trend are opposed the "merveilleux", the "fantastique" and the "romancien". This marvellous journey itself proves to have been only a dream, and the hero, on waking up, finds again his identity and his prosaic name: thus the plot itself follows the

outline of the development of literary history^{278.} such as
it has been traced in the satire.

L'Isle Imaginaire (1658)

One finds the Relation de l'Isle Imaginaire described in Atkinson's Extraordinary Voyage before 1700 as a satire of utopias because it contains a description of an ideal monarchy of dogs. But this is a mistake about the meaning of this little tale which Atkinson, after Garnier, attributed to Segrais because it was reprinted in Segraisiana. This meaning can be deduced from a kind of foreword by the real author, the Grande Mademoiselle: she had been both amused and irritated by the vanity of one Boussillet, a "Conseiller au Parlement de Dombes". Having told him in fun that she had bought an island and meant to make him its governor, he took this seriously and kept asking for details about it. Whereupon Mademoiselle in a few hours dashed down the Relation, a feat which demonstrated the versatility of her talents. A work thus written cannot but rely heavily on traditional elements, and can therefore be taken as an indirect commentary on the state of the genre at the time. It contains both the pattern of the adventure story, with shipwreck and capture by the Turks, and that of the fantastic voyage with its description of a strange island made of gems and precious metals, and inhabited solely by strangely coloured animals and mythological creatures. But the work, with its

mixture of realism and fantasy does, on the other hand, tend to detract from the credibility of further utopian or extraordinary voyages, a point which does not seem to have been enough emphasized by G. Atkinson in his brief discussion of the book.¹

Royaume de Candavia (1731)

A satirical intention may also have been in part what drove an anonymous author to write Relations du royaume de Candavia, envoyées à Mme la Comtesse D***, nouvelle édition (1731, Paris), an exceedingly curious work. No trace can be found of the alleged first edition or of the author; the work is not even listed in Barbier. It is original because it is a cross between the modern genre of the adventure story and the medieval genre of the fatrasie. Fun derived purely from dazzling play on words had been obsolete for some thirty years or so². It is here justified partly by the convention that imaginary languages have a large place in voyages, partly by the explanation, at the end, that all was a dream due to

1) The Extraordinary Voyage...before 1700, p. 34.

2) See R. Garapon, *op. cit.*

a fever. There are traces of other conventions such as that of the reversal of all earthly customs¹. Perhaps this little book is a satire of some boring contemporary accounts of real or imaginary voyages, or a purely amusing work such as are still written nowadays².

The genre of the dialogue of the dead was extensively used for the purpose of literary criticism. There is, in such works, little or no voyage element, in spite of titles like : Voyage en l'Autre Monde, ou Nouvelles Littéraires de celui-cy, published anonymously by the Abbé de la Porte (à Londres et se trouve à Paris, 1752 ; *previously published* ~~already appeared~~ at La Haye in 1749 under the title: Voyage au séjour des ombres). Among other remarks, it contains this one, which is of interest here: "...certains voyages d'Anières, de Saint-Cloud, de Rogliano, de Cithérie, de la Lune, du Monde de Mercure et de l'Isle Frivole, dont les auteurs auroient tout aussi bien fait de rester chez eux, et les Lecteurs de ne pas les suivre". It is remarkable that in spite of the critic's severity about the value of these books, he is as eclectic as later Garnier in classifying them.

1) p. 7.

2) See for instance by Roger Nimier, "Les Indes Galandes", a tale, N.W.R.F., 1er avril 1953.

This is a proof that anything entitled "voyage" had a chance of success, and that contemporaries felt that the literary market was saturated in that ^{respect} regard.

Brief mention may be made of another form taken by literary criticism: the fairy-tale, used, for instance, by the farmer-general Claude Godard d'Aucour in his anonymous criticism of Voltaire, La naissance de Clinquant et de sa fille Mérope conte allégorique et critique (s.l., 1744). The fairies Bel Esprit, Réminiscence, Intrigante, Cabale, Rapsodie and others lavish gifts on Clinquant, a newborn babe who has neither body nor heart; there follows a 'voyage dans les espaces imaginaires', that is to say, to the classical haunts of writers, the Temples of Thalia and Melpomene, and the Parnassus from which Homer, Virgil and Racine laugh at Clinquant.

2. Criticism of manners and moral preaching:

There are a great number of works in which the criticism of manners and morals is expressed by an imaginary traveller. Works like Le Voyageur philosophe dans un pays inconnu aux habitans de la Terre, Par

M. de Listonai (Amsterdam, 1761) are written on the model of the Lettres Persanes; sometimes they become a mere allegory, as in the Voyage de la Raison en Europe (by L.A. Caraccioli, 1772) or L'Isle taciturne et l'Isle enjouée, ou voyage du génie Alaciel dans ces deux isles (Amsterdam, 1759, by N. Bricaire de la Dixmerie), on England and France. But sometimes a fantastic element is added to them. The most famous is Lesage's Diabre Boiteux, for which the inspiration came from Spain. But, as the sources of Daniel's Monde de Descartes have shown previously, writers who wanted precedents for this type of fiction suffered from an 'embarras de richesses', since they could draw from ancient mythology, from mediaeval witches' stories as well as from Oriental sources, even without using more modern and scientific machines. Thus Laurent Bordelon, for his Gongam (1711) chose to go back to Herodotus for his inspiration. His hero is transported thanks to an arrow similar to Aberis's, a means of travel which the author likens to the journeys sorcerers make on their broomsticks. The fantastic

element is much reduced, and quite perfunctory: the hero is said to have dived into the Red Sea, then dried himself in Etna ; but he is obviously far more interested in leading in Paris a picaresque life, which the properties of his wonderful arrow make even more eventful.

Le Retour de mon pauvre oncle, ou relation de son voyage dans la lune, écrite par lui-même et mise au jour par son cher neveu. A Ballemopolis et se trouve à Paris (1784) is a little novel published anonymously by Jacques-Antoine Dulaure, and is to be found in the British Museum in a collection entitled: Révolution Française, Pamphlets politiques et satiriques, I, 1784-1790. It certainly is satirical, (the objects of the satire beings the society of England and France), but no fiercer than many other novels of manners. The political career of the author confirms that he was not a radical ¹: a journalist, he became a follower of the Girondins and was accordingly persecuted.

¹) See on J.-A. Dulaure (1755-1835) La Littérature Française Contemporaine and M. Boudet, Les Conventionnels d'Auvergne, Dulaure, Paris, Clermont Ferrand, 1874. After the Dix-Huit Brumaire, Dulaure concentrated on his interest in local history and became a member of the Société des Antiquaires de France.

The 9th. Thermidor saved him, and he became a member of the Conseil des Cinq-Cents. The Littérature Française Contemporaine adequately describes him in the following terms: "Il doit être remarqué comme l'un des champions les plus résolus et les plus persévérants de la lutte du bon sens contre le fanatisme, les superstitions et les jongleries du moyen-âge". This Retour is a satire written with verve, and at times a Voltairean vigour and alacrity. The main object of the satire is, as is suggested by the fanciful printing place, the "ballomania" of the Parisians, and the vainglorious attitude of the first aeronauts: "Oh! que j'aime bien mieux -the author exclaims - la vertueuse ardeur du Citoyen, qui se précipite au péril de sa vie parmi les flots agités pour sauver celle de ses semblables!"¹, and the hero, with his tongue in his cheek, enlightens an inhabitant of the moon: "Je lui parlai ensuite des miracles qu'opérait l'air inflammable, comme quoi il élevoit des Physiciens et leur fortunes; comme quoi il changeoit le papier en or et l'or en fumée..."²

1) pp. 54-55

2) p. 31.

Other aspects of society are also satirized; there is an unmistakable portrayal of English eighteenth century society, under the guise of the description of a province of the moon; among the things criticised is the growing taste for "pièces d'épouvante", and there is a scathing review of Macbeth. Perhaps it describes the spreading from France to England of the balloon craze, for the "Uncle" has imitators there. The satirist often uses the device of the imaginary voyage to convey his ideas and feelings, for instance the device of the footnote, as on page 48: "Afin d'être plus laconique, j'ai traduit des mots de l'idiome de la Lune par des éléments de la langue française; par exemple (...) un Prêtre qui ne remplit d'autre fonctions que celle de transporter chez toutes les Prêtresses du plaisir sa coquetterie et ses faveurs, j'ai appelé cet être-là un Abbé, etc..."

But more than anything else, it is the genre itself that is satirised by means of an successful pastiche. First, comes, of course, the satire of the means of travel: it is a clystère of air inflammable administered by mistake which causes the unfortunate uncle to ascend

to the moon through his open window. In the Preface, it is said that "l'Europe entière" knows about this fact and a footnote adds: "Plusieurs gravures, une comédie toute entière sur ce sujet attestent l'enthousiasme des Parisiens pour les événements de cette importance". This may suggest that the source of this work is the play Arlequin dans la Lune (1648) in which ^aclystère also plays a prominent part.

The well-known impassibility of the traveller is true to type but expressed in terms which remind one of the period and of the accounts of genuine ascents which the author evidently knows well: the hero is not afraid: "Les Physiciens, comme on sait, n'ont jamais peur", and the pure and calm air inspires a peaceful feeling in him: "Il faut monter bien haut pour le trouver ce bonheur (...) depuis que les cabales et le mal anti-social l'ont banni de la terre (...) il ^{ne} faut pas moins qu'un clystère d'air inflammable pour pouvoir en jouir"¹. But this feeling is also accounted for in terms of a certain gas breathed in the high atmosphere, an idea of Charles in a letter written after his ascent in the Tuileries. Other details are borrowed from

1) p. 6.

Blanchard's account of his impressions ¹. This late XVIIIth. century hero is also seen pouring "un torrent de larmes" when the circumstances call for this demonstration of feeling. ²

Finally, the device of the spurious authentication is also found: "Mon oncle a vu; on ne peut rien répliquer à cela" ³ recalls Micromégas and other works of Voltaire, who is mentioned as well as Swift. Dulaure is not here, in spite of the limited scope of his work, unworthy of these two great predecessors.

3. Drama:

It is interesting to notice that the adaptations of fantastic voyages to the stage were, on the whole, not numerous; for, what with the serious purpose which underlies most of them and what with the conditions obtaining then in the opera, there might have been a kind of 'total drama' of the Wagnerian type.

Beaumarchais' Tarare shows that this might have happened. The seriousness inherent in the genre was probably the

1) p. 56 and passim.
 2) p. 27.
 3) p. 18.

factor which led to the neglect of such a source for librettos and plots¹.

For the marvellous was the field of the opera; atmospheric phenomena or metamorphoses were among the most frequent of the effective sights offered to the spectators. Thus can Fontenelle take stage-properties as an example to make palpable for his Marquise the differences between the rival philosophies. But only novels of the "romanesque" type were adapted, or tragedies under the influence of the Philosophes and of Glück after 1750, or finally bourgeois dramas.

On the other hand, there was an attempt to apply the machinery and the conventions of the opera to comic subjects, an example being Panurge dans l'Isle des Lanternes by Morel de Chédeville and the Count of Provence himself, with music by Grétry. It was represented on January 25th. 1785, is rather a parody

1) See R. Guiet, "L'évolution d'un genre; le livret d'opéra en France de Glück à la Révolution (1774-1794)", in Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, XVIII, 1-4, 1936-37, and C.D. Brenner, Dramatization of French short stories in the eighteenth century, with special reference to the Contes of La Fontaine Marmontel and Voltaire. Berkeley, V. of Calif. Press 1947.

and hardly recalls Rabelais at all. The same absence of serious content is also noticeable in works like Haydn's Mondo della Luna or his Isola disabitata.

Philosophical tales were sometimes made into comic-operas or vaudevilles; for instance, Brenner lists six made from Candide (as well as others from other tales by Voltaire), four of which were represented. La Princesse de Babylone was dramatized by M.J.D. Martin; it was an opera in four acts and free verse. It was read to the Académie Royale on August 16th. 1788, but was not received¹. Grimm (Août, 1783) speaks of a "comédie en un acte et en vaudevilles", Cassandre mécanicien, ou le Bateau Volant, represented by the Théâtre Italien on August 1st. of the same year. It was inspired by Blanchard's exploits, and it seems, full of "esprit, folie, gaieté". Le Ballon ou la physicomanie, comédie en un acte et en vers, représentée pour la première fois à Paris, sur le Théâtre des Variétés Amusantes, 13 XI 1783, is again an imitation of Tartuffe (as was, in prose fiction, Bordelon's M. Oufle). Religion is replaced by

1) Quoted in A. Montglond's La France révolutionnaire et impériale, Grenoble, 1930-33, II, p. 391., Quérard op. cit., V, p. 577., Brenner, op. cit.

obsession with physics, and chiefly with balloons. The clystère idea is given a passing, jocular mention, and this is perhaps where Dulaure took it from.

Arlequin roi dans la lune, comédie en trois actes et en prose, représentée pour la première fois à Paris, sur le Théâtre des Variétés Amusantes, au Palais-Royal, 17 Xll 1785, by N.M.F. Bodard de Tézay (printed at Paris 1791), as the preface states, "n'a rien de commun que le titre avec celle de l'ancien Théâtre Italien (printed in Gherardi's Théâtre, acted in 1684, and apparently still remembered). There is nothing original in this picture of the moon, except perhaps the dénouement when Arlequin, by cutting the ropes which hold the balloon to the ground, gets rid of a tyrant who oppressed the inhabitants.

But the most interesting of all these attempts to extend fantastic voyages to the stage is Beaumarchais' opera Tarare, represented on June 8th. 1787, after tumultuous rehearsals. Beaumarchais had gathered some information on occultist theories before writing the libretto¹. In the avant-propos dedicating the work

1) See Viatte, op. cit., I, pp. 186 and 323.

"Aux abonnés de l'Opéra qui voudraient aimer l'opéra",
 the author exclaims: "Ah! si l'on pouvait couronner
 l'ouvrage d'une grande idée philosophique!" This
 idea is expressed at the end:

Mortel, qui que tu sois, Prince, Brahme ou Soldat,
 Homme! ta grandeur sur la terre
 N'appartient point à ton état;
 Elle est toute à ton caractère."

When Nature, together with the Genius of Fire, undertakes
 to create men out of the scattered elements of all past
 races (as in Tiphaigné's Amflec), the lyrics are unusually
 serious and scientific:

"Froids humains, non encore vivants,
 Atomes perdus dans l'espace,
 Que chacun de vos éléments
 Se rapprochent et prennent sa place
 Suivant l'ordre, la pesanteur
 Et toutes les lois immuables
 Que l'éternel dispensateur
 Impose aux êtres, vos semblables..."

Unfortunately, Beaumarchais had failed to make his
 philosophical idea really part of the drama. It
 seemed to be reduced to the principle of the equality
 of men, and even this was demonstrated only ineffectively.
 On the other hand, Nature and the Genius of Fire appeared
 only in the Prologue and the Epilogue, and seemed to
 symbolise in an involuntary manner that the author's

equalitarianism could only be "demonstrated" thanks to a deus ex machina. Envious contemporaries were not slow in pointing out all this; a number of pamphlets criticising Tarare are to be found in the British Museum under the shelf-mark F 505 . Some of them, the parody Errata ,for instance, are very amusing.

4 -- Revolutionary propaganda :

It has been said that the fantastic voyage of the religious type is one of the oldest; it is used in a pastiche for anti-religious and revolutionary propaganda in two little pamphlets : Relation véritable et remarquable du grand voyage du pape en paradis and Relation véritable et remarquable du grand voyage du pape en enfer (s.l.,1789), published anonymously by Joseph Fiévée. They are both included in a collection of revolutionary tracts, Bibliothèque historique de la Révolution , being off-prints of La Chronique de Paris printed by Fiévée. They were besides
 1
 reprinted by people who appreciated those " petits voyages satyriques, chefs d'oeuvre d'esprit, de logique, de bon-sens, et de concision", for they

1) From the Introduction it is clear that this reprint was made no earlier than 1863.

had become very rare.

As is often the case with revolutionary writers, the tone is very free, different both from the insipid decorum of a Molière and the libidinous refinement of a Crébillon fils. Little is said of the voyage itself, which is accomplished, as in similar works, thanks to a supernatural companion; the greater part of the two pamphlets consists in amusing dialogues of the dead, first with the elect, then with the damned. The main interest, from the point of view of this study, is the use made by the author of the device of the bewildered traveller to give point to his criticism; for the pope cannot get used to the idea that his traditional weapon of excommunication is of no avail in the face of the resolute National Assembly. Thus the imaginary voyage is once more used to make the end of an era tangible to the reader; for it is again the situation of, for instance, the Aristotelian traveller in Cyrano's work, when he faces the atheistic and epicurean Selenites.

Nicodème dans la Lune (1791)

The imaginary voyage is again used for revolutionary propaganda by Louis-Abel Beffroy de Reigny, dit le Cousin Jacques (1757-1811)¹. His little operetta, Nicodème dans la Lune, which sometimes reminds one of Rousseau's Devin de Village, and was a

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- 1) See C. Westervamp, Beffroy de Reigny, dit le Cousin Jacques, 1757-1811. Sa vie et ses oeuvres, Laon, 1930. Grimm (Correspondance, août 1785) says, rightly, that his titles are more original than his works, and that his wit and talent make his lack of imagination felt all the more. Les Nouvelles Lunes, which started to appear in 1791 are signed Louis-Abel Beffroy de Reigny, a sign of the times! His biographer writes: "Cet écrivain, doublé d'un compositeur de talent, dont certains oeuvres sont demeurées utiles, fut le créateur du journal périodique et du véritable vaudeville et auteur d'une extraordinaire fécondité, acquit à Paris et dans toute la France, une réputation et une vogue qui n'ont pas connus au cours de leur vie, les plus illustres de nos auteurs." He seems to have been fascinated by astronomy, for he entitled Les Lunes du Cousin Jacques, a monthly which appeared for the first time on June 1st. 1786, and was a great success because of its "burlesque et fantasmagorique" character. It disappeared after a year, however, but reappeared in January 1788 as Courrier des Planètes ou Correspondance du Cousin Jacques avec le Firmament, a weekly, then a fortnightly; which was even more successful.

great success¹, derives its strength from the equation of the moon to the earth, as in Le Retour de mon Pauvre Oncle.

The scene is on the moon, in the country. The peasants assemble around a hermit who knows astronomy and sings the following arietta:

J'avais dit que la terre
Est un globe habité,
Et j'avais dit la vérité.
Je vois dans l'atmosphère
Quelqu'un là-bas, là-bas,
Qui s'avance à grands pas...
Flottant sur un nuage
Dans un petit vaisseau
D'un genre tout-à-fait nouveau...
Chez nous il fait voyage...
Il va descendre en bas...
Ne le voyez-vous pas?

The "petit vaisseau" is a balloon, which by then was by no means new on the earth. The astronaut is "un jeune paysan brusque et philosophe", Nicodème, who speaks in the usual stage jargon. The Revolution has decided him to leave France, but when he lands on

1) It was acted more than four hundred times (an unprecedented event) and inspired imitations in 1791 and 1792, such as (inevitably) Nicodème dans le Soleil and Le Retour de Nicodème dans la Lune, and (the following by Reigny himself) Les Deux Nicodèmes ou les Français dans la Planète de Jupiter, Les Trois Nicodèmes, and Nicodème aux Enfers.

the moon, he finds a state of things identical with that which started the Revolution: the peasants are treated very harshly by the local squire, but they still trust the emperor who, they think, is prevented by a fringe of courtiers from knowing things as they really are. This reflects Reigny's trust in constitutional monarchy. The curé sides with the peasants and is universally respected, unlike the prelate who figures in the emperor's retinue. Seeing all this, Nicodème tells them about the earth, but deliberately falsifies his account; he declares that the Revolution has been pacific in France. The inhabitants of the moon imitate this, and a bloodless revolution is accomplished.

There follows in the same volume a didactic "Constitution de la Lune" in which Reigny's ideas are embodied.

Conclusion

Form and Content in the Fantastic Voyage

Many of the devices most frequently used in fantastic voyages have already been mentioned during the course of this study.

The method of authentication is of primary interest in helping to determine the author's attitude to his work. Generally speaking, the author's attitude is one of connivance with the reader's disbelief. This is felt either because of the perfunctory way in which all necessary information is given, or because of a pervasive irony, or a humorous way of using footnotes. The most ^{used} generally method is the citation of alleged witnesses. Sometimes, the beginning is realistic, and the fantastic part of the story begins, as it were, inadvertently. The chief device used in connection with details of the story is the blunt denial of the accounts given by former or authentic travellers; as if the authority of the hero were sufficient to counterbalance the facts of

real life. Although it is sometimes difficult not to think that the author wished to fool naïve readers, this device is mostly used for satiric purposes. Finally, in some works, such as those by Tiphaigne, there is no pretence made about the story's truth, but rather a claim that intuition and fantasy may be better guides than reason and philosophical systems.

These devices are still those of modern science-fiction, as is shown in Bailey's Pilgrims of Space and Time, for instance.¹ It is amusing to find so many in a modern "philosophical tale" like Saint-Exupéry's Le Petit Prince.

Considerations relating to the décor given to the story depend on the type chosen by the writer. In one case, the fantastic traveller finds a more or less utopian country already established, or, more rarely, helps in founding one (for instance, in Icosaméron and La Découverte Australe); in the other case, he finds only the equivalent of the earth, and often, only of his own country, which can be satirized: it is, as it were, the device of the Lettres Persanes in reverse. As is natural, more space is devoted

to description in the first case; yet, apart from some works like the Voyage du Pole Arctique... and Le Philosophe sans Prétention, there is as yet nothing like the purple patches of the Romantics. Sometimes - and it is often then not a voyage to a definite part of the universe but a kind of odyssey - the creatures encountered are wholly fantastic. This happens, for instance, in Desfontaines' Nouveau Gulliver in d'Ablancourt's continuation of the True History, the second part of Restif's Découverte Australe. Finally this odyssey is sometimes more of an allegory, and description is an essential part of it: this is found in Milord Céton.

Allegory, however, is used sparingly. We had, of course, excluded purely allegorical works from the first, and this is justified a posteriori by the observation that even as a device, it is not frequently used. As has been said in the course of this study, it is because its aim and scope are not those of the fantastic voyage. Allegory is the illustration of truths which are already accepted, and is hardly compatible with the ambition to reveal new things,

whether real or imaginary.

The dialogue of the dead is extensively used, on the other hand, doubtless because of all the richness of overtones which it allows, but quite possibly because in *Cyrano de Bergerac's* work, which was so decisive in fixing the pattern of the genre, philosophical discussion and revelation were indissolubly linked to the conception of the genre, since the voyage was undertaken in order to achieve them. This practice had the additional advantage of allowing the writer to settle accounts with his adversaries. The dialogue proper, on the other hand, is not so frequently used, unless one wishes to include under that name the numerous instances when the two typical characters, the traveller and the venerable old man, discuss together, one stating his opinions (like Gulliver or Jacques Sadeur), and the other correcting them. Such episodes do show all the features of the philosophical dialogue since dialectics and rhetoric play a prominent part in them.

The most interesting literary device is at the same time that which is characteristic of the genre: it

is the dramatization of philosophical tenets. It is, perhaps, interesting chiefly because only the writers who felt strongly about what they sought to express and had, therefore, the learning and ingenuity which can alone make this device successful, attempted to handle it.

The language used by these writers is rarely picturesque, and their vocabulary is often very limited. When prolixity occurs in such conditions, a work becomes very insipid. Fortunately, a reasonable number of these authors had sufficient imagination to give their work a lively pace, and could handle satire, both subtle and broad, successfully. The majority, however, are all too often ponderous and pedestrian, and this is probably due to the moral and philosophical teaching they want to impart. It has been seen that they sometimes deplored the literary and moral conventions of their period, which checked attempts at realistic writing.

Although all writers do not actually append, as did La Fontaine, the epigraph Docent ludendo to their novels, it has been seen that they all implicitly conform to the dictum "plaire et instruire". The teaching they impart has a negative or satirical side, and a positive side, which can have very different aspects according to each individual.

The satire of manners is found fairly frequently in fantastic voyages; but, probably because the writers are conscious of the philosophical origins of the genre, it is often felt to be mere padding rather than the essential purpose of the work. This is why the satire is more often that of morals than that of manners, and this is perfectly compatible with a utopian side. There is still, however, a fairly complete picture of the eighteenth century to be obtained from such works. Among the things criticised are: anglomania, "ballomania", as Dulaure says, and more generally the growing importance of "projectors", even more numerous after 1783, than when Swift satirized them in the third book of Gulliver's Travels. The infatuation of "beaux esprits" first with Descartes, then with Newton,

as well as with aerostatics or occultism is also the subject of some novels and plays. There are passing attacks on the fashion for "digests" and encyclopaedias, on return to nature à la Rousseau, and also more serious ones on the pernicious effects of the worship of finance or the exclusive cult of blood aristocracy. On the evidence of these novels, there seems to be a widespread bad conscience arising from a realization of the increasing frivolity of the nation as a whole. Several books bear the fictitious printing place "à Babylone", and the French seem to feel distinctly Babylonian. Sébastien Mercier, who might have written a work of fiction on these lines, was content with writing on the one hand descriptions and on the other hand utopias.

Of greater philosophical import is the criticism of man's tendency to consider himself unique and "the measure of all things". The origins of the idea of relativity are to be found on the one hand in speculation about the existence of antipodes, and the discovery of the sphericity of the earth, and on the other hand in the growing success of the heliocentric

hypothesis. Once the earth was jolted out of its customary position at the centre of the universe, and once other celestial bodies were shown to be of the same nature, the reflections of the writers were endless. The obsession with the idea of relativity is epitomized in the success of the phrase "l'autre monde", or "mundus alter idem", as Joseph Hall said. It is used indistinctly to mean: an imaginary country which is an allegory of human societies (Hall), another planet, and the moon particularly (Cyrano de Bergerac, Fontenelle), the kingdom of the dead, whose reflections on human nature are illuminating (Abbé de la Porte, etc.) It is a notion as real and yet as vague as that of "voyage" itself. This was felt by Royer de Prades, and used in a pun as a hint of his fears about the possible reception of Cyrano's book:

"...permets qu'aujourd'hui j'évite ton abord
 Car autant qu'une affreuse mort
 Je crains les Gens de l'autre monde."

After Robinson Crusoe had, in its turn, defined human nature by putting a man in an unusual position, an imitator, the Abbé Chiari, used the title in yet another acception: L'Uomo d'un Altro Mondo

(1768); and in Candide, the phrase means ~~the~~ Candide and Cacambo as opposed to the inhabitants of the Eldorado. When the possibilities of a planetary "other world" seemed exhausted, an "other world" inside the earth was imagined and significantly conceived as another planetary system. The lesson of relativity that is inseparable from the notion of fantastic voyage had already been expressed with great vigour by Cyrano de Bergerac, who had drawn the natural implications of religious tolerance and philosophical trust in reason. It was again the subject of Swift's famous book, whose pessimism contrasted with the optimism of the earlier writer. Voltaire's Micromégas came as a conclusion, both artistically, since for the first time it put together three beings of widely different possibilities, and philosophically, since, although mindful of the scientific achievements of men, it extolled a moderate empiricism. The idea of education, associated with that of relativity, is also firmly established in voyages as a genre, and it has been seen that it is the link which holds Garnier's collection together. Thus it could well be satirized, in the same collection,

in a little work like the Voyage de Paris à St-Cloud par mer et par terre (by Louis-Balthazar Néel): such a small journey being important for the hero's education.

As has been said, the change undergone by the hero often has an initiatory character; there always is a crisis before he can reach the country where he will be taught something, and this can take all forms, from the most realistic to the most flamboyantly mystical. It is often a "bouleversement" due to the passage from one sphere of attraction to another, a storm at sea, after which the travellers are regularly lost unless they are lifted to heaven by a waterspout, a sandstorm when the magical country is in a desert, a spectacular voyage inside the earth from one pole to another, a trance, a fever, a magical metamorphosis, or finally, death itself. Thibaudet seems to us to confuse the issues when, in his otherwise very perceptive article "Le Roman de l'Aventure"¹, he defines voyages such as those of More, Cyrano and Swift as types of adventure story. Remarking on the fact that

1) N.R.F., XIII, 1919.

"la mer d'eau ou la mer de soleil et de sables, le fluide, le mystérieux, l'illimité, voilà le milieu, la matière passive ou la matrice de l'aventure", and dividing adventure stories into "active", "romanesque" and "intellectual", he fails to account for the special position of the latter. For "philosophic voyages", as Eddy named them, are not an application of the adventure-story; the idea of adventure is consubstantial to the notion.

We have already seen that the lesson taught in such novels often takes the form of a utopia, that is to say the description of an ideal community. But its excellence is rarely of the social and political sort, and more often due to an enlightened use of "natural magic". This, as well as the description of the imaginary means of transport which rich patrons enable the hero to build, allows the author to show his knowledge of physics, chemistry, aeronautics and ballistics. The description of the journey is the pretext for a display of geography, geogony, geology, and sometimes, when the action is set in the past, of history and archaeology. The description

of the ideal society calls for some reflections of a sociological nature, and there is an uncommon interest in linguistics and philology¹. Some writers quote a few foreign-looking imaginary words in the same way as they describe a few strange animals: just to show that they are writing an imaginary voyage. But others take great pains to create a language a priori, and this, a typical feature of the utopian mind, is not as remote from life as one might think, if one remembers the scientific leanings of these authors. For an a priori language was in fact invented on logical lines at the end of our period; that of chemistry. The ambition at the root of such efforts is best described by Descartes in a letter to Mersenne²: "une invention, tant pour composer les mots primitifs de cette langue, que pour leurs caractères, en sorte qu'elle pouvoit être enseignée en fort peu de temps (and based on) la vrai philosophie; car il est impossible autrement de dénombrer toutes les pensées des hommes et de les mettre par ordre...".

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- 1) There is a systematic study of many imaginary languages in E. Seeber, "Ideal languages in the French and English Imaginary Voyage", P.M.L.A., 60, 1945.
 2) Nov. 20th. 1629, quoted by Seeber.

Thus Cyrano de Bergerac speaking about the traditional "langue matrice" out of which all the human and animal languages developed, could say that "elle déclaroit l'essence de chaque chose". The link between the ideal language and the true nature of things is typical of imaginary voyages; it is not convenience that is sought, but truth¹.

Finally, one must mention the place taken by "parascientific" knowledge, of an occultist nature, which, although in the main useless, requires considerable erudition on the part of writers.

From all that precedes, it can readily be deduced that characterization is only rudimentary in a fantastic voyage. Since there is a pattern according to which knowledge is sought and achieved, there are for all intents and purposes only two interesting characters: the one who teaches and the one who is taught.

The hero-narrator is usually, at least in modern times, and perhaps owing to the success of the picaresque,

1) One of the most elaborately described ideal languages is found in Foigny's Terre Australe Connue. Foigny had also written a treatise on the comparative merits of Latin and French, see chapter IX, p. 129 in Lachèvre, op. cit.

only moderately wealthy; we have seen that he depends on patrons to supply him with the money necessary for his contraptions. He is interested in the applications of science and keen to understand natural phenomena. Sometimes, but by no means always, it is a grudge against society which decides him to leave for more attractive countries. During the trip, the hero of fantastic voyages, unlike that of extraordinary voyages, is singularly unperturbed by the most frightening experiences; his philosophical curiosity as well as his resourcefulness never leave him, and this applies also to the works written after the invention of the balloon, since the latter is used in fiction not to make short possible journeys but long impossible ones, thus discouraging realism. Last but not least, this hero has to be very good at languages.

The character of the hero's Mentor is more interesting because of its modifications as the intellectual background changed. It has been seen that many fantastic voyages used the device of the journey being accomplished thanks to the association

of the hero with a god, genius or angel. Perfection of a moral, philosophical or religious kind, was to be expected from such guides. There is, however, another category of superior beings who can act as guides and pedagogues for the hero: they are the philosophers and wise men who have cultivated their mind during their stay on earth and thereby achieved the status of "hero" or semi-divine person. In Cyrano's novel, there is a scale of beings, in which philosophers are placed between men and the sun, the traditional object of worship of atheistic thinkers. This is found again in Moby's Lamékis, in Béthune's Monde de Mercure and other works. It combines easily with the Lucianic device of placing philosophers in the fantastic regions visited, but is also pregnant with a deeper significance. For, as astronomy progressed and showed some heavenly bodies to be similar to the earth, in the same way, their inhabitants came to be conceived not any longer as "intelligences" but as beings similar in kind to men and perhaps wiser and better. It is such an evolution in thought that makes credible the fictitious story told by the hero of La Follie's Philosophe sans

Prétention to his host: that he is an inhabitant of Mercury, and that on the latter planet, science is cultivated in a zealous and disinterested fashion. But after having brought his friend to this new way of thinking, he reveals himself to be - not like Mentor, a god, or even a deified philosopher, but merely a man who has drawn and is applying all the implications of modern thinking. This, of course, is not found in all fantastic voyages, but only in the works of men who think in a courageous, lucid, and progressive way. When a mood of scepticism prevails instead of such optimism, as in the works by Tiphaigne, man is shown as the sport of superhuman creatures, and as having his fate implied in his own nature.

The extension of this study to later periods would show the enormous growth of science-fiction, but would also demonstrate that most of its themes and of its devices had been elaborated by the end of the eighteenth century. The work of Jules Verne, is from this point of view typical, for the subjects are traditional (journeys under the sea, underground, to the moon, in a balloon) and renovated only by the application to them of up-to-date scientific knowledge.

The same can be said about the work of Edgar Allan Poe, in spite of his rather bombastic claims. As the applications of science became more and more frightening, the number of works in which optimism changed into gloom increased; yet, it has been seen that this was not unknown either two hundred years ago. The amazing career of science-fiction, when one might have thought its possibilities were exhausted, doubtless reflects the triumphant progress of science itself. They still stand in the same relationship, science-fiction sometimes slavishly following science and sometimes leading it by extending its discoveries to other fields of thought. This is why it is particularly interesting to examine it during the hundred years when, out of myth, philosophical satire and scientific speculation, it shaped itself and stood for the first time clearly defined, with its possibilities and its limitations.

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(Jacques DULAURE (1755-1835))

- Le Retour de mon pauvre Oncle, ou relation de son voyage dans la lune, écrite par lui-même et mise au jour par son cher neveu. A Ballomanipolis, et se trouve à Paris, Lejay....MDCCLXXXIV. 8°, 58p. BN., B.M.

(Joseph FIEVÉE (1767-1839))

- Relation véritable et remarquable du grand voyage du Pape en Paradis, s.l. n.d. (1791) 8°, 8p., bound with:
Relation véritable et remarquable du grand voyage du Pape en enfer, 8p. "de l'imprimerie de Fievée" mentioned at the back. BN., BM.

- Voyage du Pape en paradis ou la Grande relation véritable et remarquable du grand voyage du pape dans le royaume du ciel, départemen (sic) du paradis, extrait de la chronique évangélique seldu (sic) S. Noël et S. Milli. (Paris) Imprimerie de Henri IV. s.d. 8° , 7 p. BN.
- Fin des voyages du pape. s. l. n. d. , 8° , 7 p. BN.
- Relation véritable et remarquable du grand voyage du pape en paradis et en enfer, par l'abbé Feller, suivie de la translation du clergé aux enfers, par le cardinal de Montmorency, ou la Relation infernale. Paris, Fiévée, s. d., in-32 , 29 p. BN.
- Relation véritable et remarquable du grand voyage du Pape en Paradis et en Enfer, suivie de la Translation du clergé aux enfers, A Paris, chez Fiévée. This is a reprint made after 1843, 12°, 39 p. BM.

(Gabriel FOIGNY (c.1630-1692))

- La Terre australe connue, c'est-à-dire la description de ce pays inconnu jusqu'ici, de ses moeurs et de ses costumes, par Mr. Sadeur. Avec les aventures qui le conduisirent en ce Continent, et les particularitez du sejour qu'il y fit durant trente-cinq ans et plus, et de son retour. Réduites et mises en lumière par les soins et la conduite de G. de F. à Vannes (Geneva?) par Jacques Verneuil...1676. 8° , XVIII-267 p. BM. , BN.

- Les Aventures de Jacques Sadeur dans la découverte et le voyage de la Terre Austrak Contenant les Coûtumes et les Moeurs des Amstraliens, leur Religion, leurs Exercices, leurs Etudes, leurs Guerres, les Animaux particuliers à ce País, et toutes les Raretez curieuses qui s'y trouvent. A Paris chez Claude Barbin, MDCXCII, 12° , 341 p. BM., BN.
- id., Barbin, 1693. 12° , 177 p. BM.
- Nouveau voyage de la terre australe, contenant les coutumes et les moeurs, etc.....par Jacques Sadeur, Paris, C. Barbin, 1693 , 12° , XV-177p. BN.
- A new discovery of Terrâ Incognita Australis, or the Southern World, by Jacques Sadeur a Frenchman, who being cast there by Shipwrack, lived 35 years in that Country, and gives a particular Description of the Manners, Customs, Religion, Laws, Studies, and Wars, of those Southern People; and of some Animals peculiar to that Place: with several other Rarities. These Memoirs were thought so curious that they were kept Secret in the Closet of a late Great Minister of State, and never Published till now since his Death. Translated from the French Copy, Printed at Paris....London...John Duntou...1693. 12° , 186p. BM.
- Les Aventures, etc....Paris, chez Jean et Michel Guignard...MDCCV, 8°, 341p. BM.
- id., Paris, G. Cavelier 1705, 12° , XVI-344p. BN.
- id., Amsterdam, D. Morlier, 1732, 12° , XVI-343p. BN.

- Reprinted in Voyages imaginaires....., vol. XXIV.
- Reprinted in Lachèvre, Le Libertinage au dix-septième siècle, vol. 10, 1922; text of the first edition (1672) with the modifications in the second(1692).

(Jean Jacobé de FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT (1621-1696))

- Lucien, de la traduction de N. Perrot, Sr D'Ablancourt. Divisé en deux parties. A Paris, chez Augustin Courbé....MDCLIV. 2 vol. 4°. At the end of vol. 2, as a "Supplément": Histoire veritable, livre troisieme, p. p. 623. Histoire veritable, livre quatrieme, p. 651(-678). BM. BN.
- Lucien, etc...Seconde édition revue et corrigée. Paris, A. Courbé, MDCLV. 2vol. 4°. BM. BN.
- id., Troisième édition, 1660, 2 vol. 8° . BN.
- id., 1664, Paris, L. Jolly, 12°. BN.
- id., 1674, Paris, L. Bilaine, 2 vol. 8°. BN.
- id., 1674, Paris, Au Palais, Par la Société, 3 vol. 8°. BM.
- id., 1683, Paris, F. Trabouillet, 3 vol. 8°. BN.
- id., 1683, Lyon, Vve de F. Martin, 2 vol. 12°. BN.
- id., 1687-88, Paris, F. Trabouillet, 3 vol. 8°. BN.
- id., Avec des remarques sur sa Traduction Nouvelle Edition revue et corrigée, Paris, par la Compagnie des Libraires, 1707, 3 vol. 8°. BN.

- id., 1707, Paris, C. Osmont, 3 vol.
8°, BN.
- id., 1707, Paris, J.- G. Nion, 3 vol.
8°, BN.
- id., 1709, Amsterdam, chez Pierre Mortier
.....MDCCLXIX. 2 vol. 8°. BM.
- id., 1733, Paris, Prault, 3 vol. 8°, BN.
- Reprinted in Voyages imaginaires.....,
vol. XIII.

Dom GALEO, Portugais (? - ?)

- Les Nuits sevillanes ou les visions de
Quevedo Villegas, chevalier de l'Ordre
de S. Jacques. Traduites de Nouveau
du Portugais en François. Augmentées
de la Réformation des Enfers, et de la
Relation du Voyage de Calvin aux Champs
Elisiens et aux Enfers. Par Dom
Galeo, Chevalier de l'Ordre de Christ.
Nouvelle édition. A Bruxelles chez
Josse de Griek. 1700. 12°. (The
Voyage de Calvin: 52 p.) BM., BN.

This is an anonymous translation into French, made from a former translation into the Portuguese of Francisco Gomez Quevedo y Villegas' Sueños y Discursos (1628) by Dom Galeo; it claims to be much better than the translation made by Geneste in 1632 and very often reprinted. There is no trace of the previous edition, the existence of which can be deduced from the title.

- Relation du voyage de Calvin aux Champs Elisées, et aux enfers, par Dom Galeo, Portugais, chevalier de l'Ordre de Christ. A Bruxelles, chez Abraham Wollgenk.... MDCCLXXXIV. (Voyage de Calvin: 62 p.) 12°. BN. This is followed, and no longer preceded, by the translation from Quevedo.
- Les Nuits Sevillanes, ou les Visions de Dom Francisco de Quevedo Villegas. Paris, Vve Valleyre, 1737, 12°. BN.
- Relation du Voyage de Calvin aux Champs Elisées et aux Enfers par Dom Galeo, Portugais, 1737, 12°. Arsenal. Reprinted without the Nuits Sevillanes.

Quevedo's Sueños y Discursos are a kind of imaginary voyage; they were very popular and another translation (by Bérault-Bercastel) is reprinted in Voyages Imaginaires....., vol. XVI.

(Ludvig HOLBERG, baron (1684-1754))

- Nicolai Klimii Iter Subterraneum
Novam Telluris Theoriam Ac Historiam
Quintae Monarchiae Adhuc Nobis I
Incognitae Exhibens E Bibliotheca
B. Abelini. Hafniae et Lipsiae,
Sumptibus Iacobi Preussi. MDCCXLI.
8° , 380 p. BM., BN.
- Gove lists translations into German,
Dutch, Danish, English in 1741 and 1742.
- Voyage de Nicolas Klimius Dans le Monde
Souterrain, Contenant Une Nouvelle
Téorie De La Terre , Et L'Histoire D'Une
Cinquième Monarchie Inconnue Jusqu'A
Present. Ouvrage tiré de la
Bibliothèque de MR. B. Abelin; et traduit
du Latin par Mr de Mauvillon. A
Copenhague Chez Jacques Preuss, MDCCXLI.
8° , 388 p. BM., BN.
- Voyage de Nicolas Klimius, etc....
Edition seconde; augmentée avec
Privilège. Chez Frid. Chrétien Pelt.
A Copenhague et Lipsic. MDCCLIII.
8° , 388p. BM., BN.
- id., Edition troisieme, augmentée avec
Privilège. MDCCLXVI.
- Reprinted in Voyages imaginaires.....,
Vol. XIX.

(Guillaume de LA FOLLIE 1733-1780))

- Le Philosophe sans prétention ou
l'homme rare, ouvrage physique, chymique,
politique et moral; Dédié aux Savans.
Par M.D.L.F. A Paris, chez Clousier
....MDCCLXXV. 8°, 346 p. BM, and
BN. spelt La Folie.

(- de la ROUGIERE (? - ?)

- Le Génie Ombre et la Sala-Gno-Silph-Ondine Chimborago, Conte Physique, A Chimerie. 1746. 12° , II-110 p. BN., Arsenal.

- Reprinted in: Bibliothèque choisie et amusante. Tome Troisième. A Amsterdam. Aux dépens de la compagnie. MDCCXLVIII , 12° , pp. 149-187.

(Marc-Antoine LEGRAND (1673-1728), alleged author)

- Les aventures du voyageur aérien. Histoire espagnolle. Avec les Paniers, ou la vieille Précieuse. Comédie, Par M.+++ . A Paris, chez André Cerilleau, 1724. 12° , Arsenal, BN.

- Reprinted in Voyages imaginaires..., vol. XXIII.

This attribution is made by Barbier.

(Robert Martin LESUIRE (1737-1815))

- L'Aventurier français, ou Mémoires de Grégoire Merveil. Londres, et Paris, Quillau, 1782. 12°. BN.

- id., Londres et Paris, 1783. BN.

- Der Robinson des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts; oder Abenteuer und Wanderungen des Herrn Franz PelerinLeipzig, in der Weyandschen Buchhandlung (1783?). 2 vol. cited in Gove.

- Troisième Edition....A Londres, et se trouve à Paris, chez Quillau l'aîné ...La Veuve Duchesne...Belin..... Mérigot le jeune...De Senne... MDCCLXXXIV. BN.

About the 3rd edition of this book, Quérard (La France Littéraire) explains: "Ce roman, amas de folies incohérentes, fit les délices des lecteurs frivoles: il en fut fait une troisième édition en 1784. Ce succès détermina Lesuire à en donner une suite,....puis une Seconde Suite (about the son of Grégoire Merveil), 1785-86 ou 88, 4 vol. puis une Dernière Suite (about the daughter of Grégoire Merveil!), 88-89 2 vol...." He further exploited the success of his book by publishing a Courtisane amoureuse et vierge "pour servir de suite à l'Aventurier français", 1803, 2 vol.

- Der Französische ^dAventurer oder Denkwürdigkeiten Gregor Merveils. Gera, 1790 (-91). 4 vol. Alluded to by Gove.
- The French Adventurer; Or, Memoirs of Grégoire Merveil, Marquis d'Erbeuil. Translated from the French of M. Le Suire...London, John Bew...1791, 3 vol. 12°, 315+258+312 p. BM.

(Antoine François MOMORO (1752-1788))

- Histoire curieuse et amusante d'un nouveau voyage à la lune, fait par un aéromane. 1784, 8°. Arsenal.

- Histoire intéressante d'un nouveau voyage à la lune et de la descente à Paris d'une jolie dame de cette terre étrangère. A Whiteland et se trouve à Paris. 1784. 8°. Arsenal.

This attribution is made by Barbier.

(Anne-Marie-Louise-Henriette d'Orléans, duchesse de
MONTPENSIER, dite la Grande Mademoiselle

(1627-1693))

- La Relation de l'Isle imaginaire et l'Histoire de la princesse de Paphlagonie, s.l., 1659, 8°, 166p. , BN.
- id., avec clé manuscrite, BN, (2 copies).
- Segraisiana, ou Mélange d'histoire et de littérature, Recueilli (by A.Galland) des entretiens de Monsieur de Segrais. Paris, la Cie des libraires, 1721. 8°.BN.
This contains the Relation , about 40 p.
- id., La Haye, chez Pierre Gosse (Paris?), (with the two stories "imprimées en 1646 -??- par l'ordre de Mademoiselle"), 1722, BN,
- id. Amsterdam, Cie des libraires, BN. (BN.
- reprinted in Voyages imaginaires..., Vol. XXVI, where it is attributed to Segrais.

Charles des Fieux, Chevalier de MOUHY (1701-1784)

- Laméki, ou les Voyages d'un Egyptien dans la Terre Intérieure, par M. le Chevalier de Mouhy. Paris, L.Dupuis , 1735-38 , 8 parties en deux volumes 12° (la 3è et la 4è partie portent à l'adresse Paris, Piolly; les 5è, 6è, 7è, 8è, La Haye, Neaulme) . BN.
- reprinted in Voyages imaginaires...., Vol. XX and XXI, 422+246 p.

(Rudolf Erich RASPE (1737-1794))

- Baron Munchausen's Narrative Of His Marvellous Travels and Campaigns in Russia.....Oxford...and sold at Cambridge...and in London.... MDCCLXXXVI (postdated). BM.
- Gulliver Ressuscité, Ou les Voyages, Campagnes Et Aventures Extraordinaires Du Baron de Munikhouson. A Paris, chez Royez...MDCCLXXXVII. 12°, 379 p. BM.
- id., Londres et Paris, Royez, 1786-87. 2 vol. in-16. BN.

(Nicolas Edme RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE (1734-1806))

- A.
- Oeuvres Posthumes de N++++++. Oeuvre Sde , La Découverte australe ou les Antipodes: Avec une Estampe à chaque Fait principal. 1781.
Another title on the next page:
La Découverte australe Par un Homme-volant, ou le Dédale François, Nouvelle très-philosophique: Suivie de la Lettre d'un Singe, etc. Daedalus interea Creten, etc (au-long à la Pref.)
Imprimé à Leipsick et se trouve à Paris. (1781). 4 vol. 12°.
The page numbers follow from 1 to 566 throughout. Then 567-624 is Cosmogénies and a new pagination starts again with Lettre d'un Singe et Dissertation sur les Hommes-brutes: 1-324. BM.
 - id., Leipsick et Paris, Vve Duchesne, 4 tomes in 2 vol. 12°. BN.

- Der fliegende Mensch, ein
Halbroman, von dem Verfasser
der Zeitgenossinnen
(by Wilhelm C.S. Mylius)
Dresden und Leipzig...1784.
 - Avventure E Viaggi Di Un
Uomo Volante. Traduzione dal
francese. Milano, Presso
Pietro Agnelli....
1818, 2 vol.
- Quoted in
P.B. Gove,
op. cit.

- B.
- Les Posthumes, Lettres reçues après la
mort du mari par sa femme qui le croit
à Florence, par feu Cazotte....Paris,
Duchêne, 1802. 4 vol. 12°,
360+302 p. BM, BN.

(Marie-Anne de Roumier - ROBERT (1705-1771))

- Voyages de Milord Céton dans les sept
Planettes ou le Nouveau Mentor , La Haye,
Paris, chez tous les libraires, 1765-66,
4 vol. 8°. BN.
- Reprinted in Voyages imaginaires...., Vol.
XVII and XVIII, 544+349 p.

(Charles François TIPHAIGNE DE LA ROCHE (1729-1774))

- A.
- Amilec ou la graine d'hommes.
MDCCLIII. 12°, v-174p. BM.
 - Amilec, or the seeds of mankind,
Translated from the French, MDCCLIII.
London, Neddham...and Cooper....
12° , 111p. BM.

- Amilec, etc...Nouvelle édition.
Avec des Remarques amusantes. A
Somniopolis, chez Morphée. MDCCLIV .
12° , 156p. BM.
- B. - Giphantie, 1760. 8° . BM.
- id., A La Haye, chez Daniel Mounier,
MDCCLXI. 8° , 126 p. BM.
- Giphantia: or a view of what has
passed, what is now passing, and,
during the present Century, what will
pass in the World. Translated from
the original French with explanatory
notes. London, Robert Horsfield..., 1761.
8° , BM.

(Simon TYSSOT DE PATOT (1655 - ?)

- La Vie, les Aventures, et le Voyage
de Groenland du Révérend Père Cordelier
P. de Mesange. Avec une relation bien
circonstanciée de l'origine, de
l'histoire, des moeurs, et du Paradis
des habitants du Pole Arctique.
Amsterdam, 1720, 12° , 283 p. BM.

VOLTAIRE (François-Marie Arouet) (1694-1778)

Owing to the great number of editions, reprints and translations, and to the fact that no satisfactorily complete bibliography of Voltaire exists, the first edition of both Candide and Micromégas is alone mentioned.

- *Candide ou l'Optimisme*. Traduite de l'Allemand de M. le Docteur Ralph s.l. (Genève, Cramer), 1759, 12° , 299p.
- *Le Micromégas* de M. de Voltaire, Londres, s. d. (1752), 12° , 92 p. (See Bengesco, op. cit., vol. I, p. 440)

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(See especially: Introduction, and part III: "The Composition and Publication")

(Cornélie Pétronille Bénédicte WOUTERS, baronne de Vasse (1737-1802)

- *Le Char Volant, ou Voyage dans la Lune*. A Londres, et se trouve à Paris, chez la Veuve Duchesne...la Veuve Ballard et fil....Mérigot l'aîné...Mérigot le jeune...et Renault...1783. 12° . Arsenal.
- *Der Luftwagen oder Reise in den Mond*. Aus dem Franz. der Freifrau v. V+++ Ubersezt (by Th. Fr. Ehrmann). Straszburg....1784. (cited by Klinckowstroem, loc. cit., p. 264)

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