

Gabriel de Foigny and the Hermaphroditic New World

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History presents us with few heroic hermaphrodites. In 1676, in a work entitled *La Terre Australe Connue*, a defrocked Franciscan monk by the name of Gabriel de Foigny told the tale of one such hero, Nicolas Sadeur, whose wild adventures led him to the coast of Australia where he discovered a New World inhabited by hermaphrodites. The creative former member of the cloistered order drew upon classical precedent — *Hermaphroditos* in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Aristophanes' *Androgynoi* in Plato's *Symposium* — and probably heterodox Jewish Midrashim, to humanise the figure of the hermaphrodite, previously either a transcendent other-worldly figure or an actual monstrous embodiment. At the same time, Foigny challenged many of the intellectual and cultural preconceptions underpinning Western society, particularly attitudes to religion and sexuality, in what is surely one of early modern Europe's more bizarre literary encounters with the New World. Foigny's story is one of utopian satire, in the tradition of Thomas More and Cyrano de Bergerac, drawing upon historical accounts of discovery and utilising unorthodox biblical exegesis. Sadeur, and the land of hermaphroditic Australians, was a work not of anthropological observation but fabulous fiction, an exploration of the mind rather than the globe. The name Nicholas Sadeur does not feature in any historical accounts of the discovery and exploration of lands in the southern hemisphere, although he is afforded the honour of an ironic entry in Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique*.¹

Gabriel de Foigny was born into a Catholic family, probably in the Picardy region of France, around 1630. He entered a strict Observant Franciscan Order but was expelled in 1666 for conduct unbecoming. In light of his subsequent troubles, his transgressions were probably of a sexual nature. Undaunted, Foigny headed for Geneva, the utopian city of the Calvinist faith where ardent reformers had set about creating the New Jerusalem. Here he converted, and after performing the expected renunciation of Catholicism before the Consistory — the council of pastors and elders — initially received a warm welcome from the city's Venerable Company — the non-political clerical body consisting of all the city's pastors responsible for ecclesiastical affairs. However, it was not long before his behaviour came under intense scrutiny, this time for demonstrably sexual offences, including the broken promise of marriage to a widow, Lea Ducrest, of suspect character.²

Script & Print: Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia & New Zealand
29 (2005): 130-143

Foigny chose to exercise discretion, and moved to Lausanne where he married the widow of dubious repute. He repeatedly failed to receive permission to publish a theological work, *Les Attraits au service divin* ("The Vocation to divine service") due to his lack of status within the religious community and passages within it of a suspect, papist nature. He eventually published it without authorisation, drawing down the ire of the religious authorities upon his head once more. He held a teaching post at the College of Morges for several years, becoming first regent in 1671, but the Consistory, after failing to demonstrate charges of religious heterodoxy, accused him of indecent and immoral behaviour in the form of vomiting whilst drunk on the communion table and practising usury. Only the vehement defence of his orthodox character by friends enabled him to return to Geneva with his wife and children. Here he published, anonymously, *La Terre Australe Connue* in 1676.³

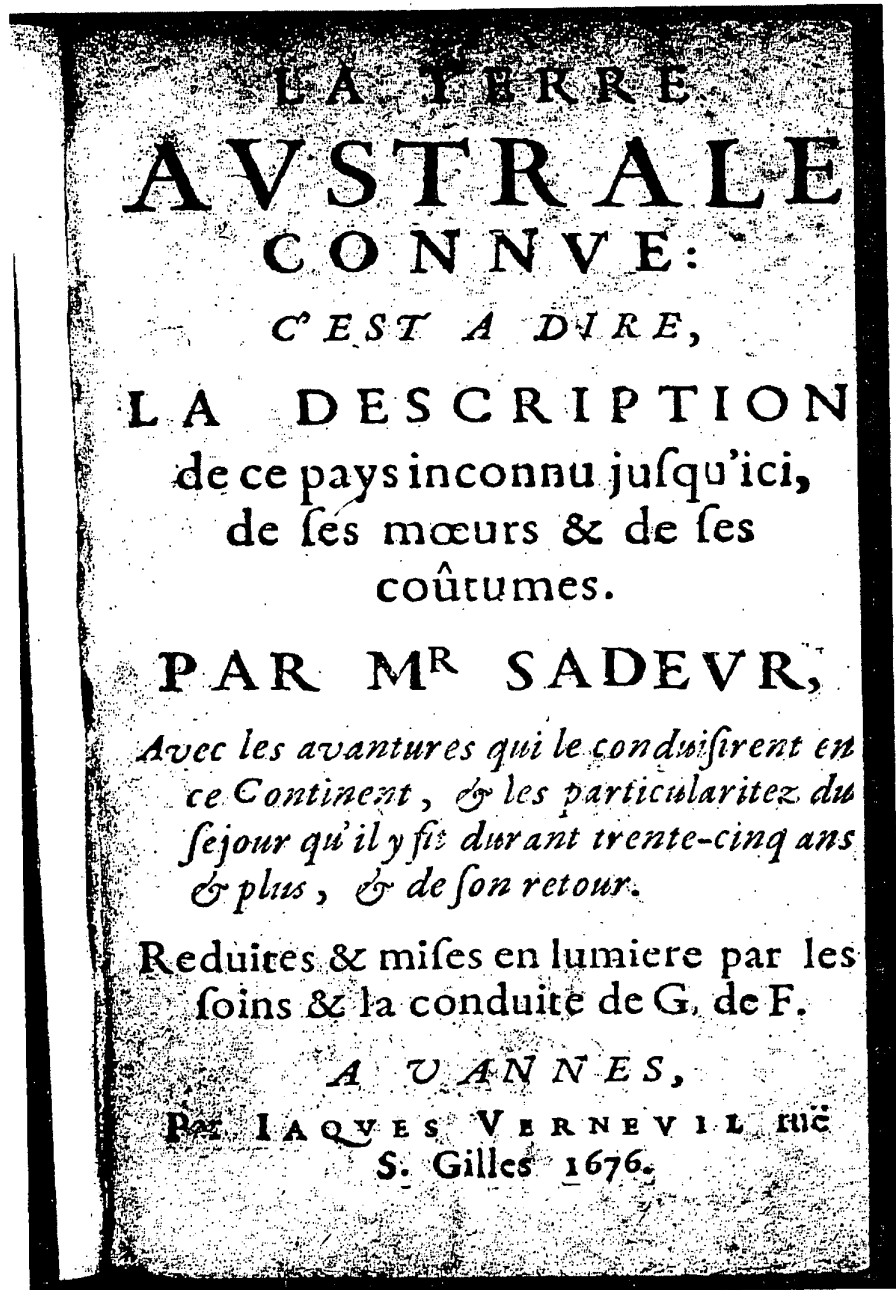
Foigny's only substantial literary production tapped into a rich vein of speculation and excitement about a vast southern continent in the seventeenth century in a novel manner. Rumours of a *terra australis incognita* had existed for many centuries. The notion had been introduced by Aristotle, and expanded by Ptolemy, the famous Greek cartographer rediscovered by Renaissance humanists. Foigny referred in his introduction to suggestions regarding an unknown southern continent going back to the late twelfth century. These notions were fuelled in the early modern era by voyages of exploration, with the often secretive attempts by Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch explorers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to plot the geography of the southern hemisphere. In 1568 a Spanish vessel came across the Solomon Islands, and part of Francis Drake's brief when he set sail in 1577 was to find this land of imagined treasure. In 1642-3, Abel Tasman, under instruction from Antonio van Diemen, the governor of the Dutch East Indies, managed to discover New Zealand, believing it to be part of *Terra Australis*. These expeditions of discovery served to inspire literary speculations up to and beyond the time of Cook's voyages.⁴

Foigny was evidently familiar with the claims of discovery made by various explorers in the previous two centuries, but he paid particular reference to the travels of Fernandez Quirós. The *Relation of Ferdinand de Quiros to the King of Spain*, published in Latin in 1612-13 and in French in 1617 by a Portuguese-born pilot who served most of his life in Spanish service told of a rich fertile land inhabited by tall unclothed natives drinking a liquor more pleasant than wine. Enthused with a fervent missionary spirit from a young age, Quirós believed that he could serve as God's instrument for the incorporation of *Terra Australis* into the Spanish dominion and its inhabitants into the mother Church. Despite the personal blessing of Pope Clement VIII, Quirós' endeavours to reach the people of the south-

ern seas before the Protestants were ultimately unsuccessful. Several thousand miles off course, he got no further than an island in the New Hebrides, where he attempted to found a settlement boldly named New Jerusalem, but he was defeated by a combination of hostile locals, malaria and his own eccentric leadership.⁵ Of a more literary nature, Foigny may also have read Henry Neville's *The Isle of Pines*, a libertine fantasy published in England in 1668 and translated into several European languages including French. The text told the story of an Elizabethan adventurer, George Pine, shipwrecked off an island of *Terra Australis* with four young women whom he proceeded to successively impregnate by rotation on a continuous basis producing, after forty years, 565 offspring.⁶

It was certainly the case that the literary device of an imaginary voyage was particularly potent during an era of geographical discovery and excitement at the transformative potential of the New World. This device enabled Foigny to pose merely as an editor, blending the line between fact and fiction. Foigny happened fortuitously to be at the docks in Livorno in 1661 as Sadeur returned from his adventures. As the exhausted trans-continental traveller disembarked, he slipped off the gangplank into the water and would have drowned had Foigny not rescued him from a watery grave and his memoirs from historical oblivion. Presenting the curious yet deserving text to the public, Foigny was able to reflect upon the political, social and religious mores of early modern European society.⁷

Foigny, and his Genevan printer La Pierre, were in no doubt regarding the likely reception of these reflections, and they engaged in weaving a web of deceit and camouflage to cover their tracks. Foigny told La Pierre, one suspects without fooling the publisher for a moment, that he had acquired the manuscript from a bookseller in Clermont and that it had received approval for publication from a syndic, Jean Lullin, who just happened to have recently passed away. La Pierre, playing along, sought to create a false publication trail by affixing to the title-page the imprint of an imaginary French printer, but the Genevan authorities were wise to this commonplace subterfuge of the publishing fraternity.⁸ The cloak of anonymity proved an inadequate disguise for Foigny, and he faced protracted interrogation by the Venerable Company. Despite Foigny's determined stalling tactics, an unfavourable judgement was inevitable, and his work of hermaphroditic discovery was condemned as irreligious, immoral and blasphemous. In 1684, Foigny fell foul of disciplinary authority once more. Now widowed, he was accused of getting his maidservant Jeanne Berlie pregnant. When she compounded the offence by baptising the child a Catholic, Foigny also reconverted, prompting the Genevan authorities to take his other children into their care. Eventually, Foigny was allowed to return to France with some of his children, where he was re-embraced by the mother Church — a recovered if rather blackened sheep — and ended his days in a convent in Savoy, where he died in 1692.⁹



Title page, Geneva edition (1676)

Title page, Geneva edition (1676)

A
New Discovery
O F
Terra Incognita Australis,
O R T H E
Southern World.
B Y
James Sadeur a French-man.
W H O
Being Cast there by a 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* pe-
culiar to that Place : with several other Ra-
rities.

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, by Publick Authority.

April 8. 1693. Imprimatur, *Charles Hen.*
London, Printed for *John Dunton,* at the *Raven*
in the *Poultry.* 1693.

Title page, English language edition (1693)

Texts, though, do not die with their authors, and Foigny's literary creation was reborn after his passing. The work was republished in a revised, more overtly deistic pro-Enlightenment edition. The revised version may have been put together by Foigny himself before his death, but it seems more likely that it was the work of its purported editor Abbé Francois Ragueneau. Ragueneau, a student of ecclesiastical law with a doctorate from the Sorbonne and a passion for Italian opera, published several other works including a life of Oliver Cromwell. The bowdlerized French version appeared in five further editions by 1732, eclipsing the original work. It was this text that formed the basis for the English translation in 1693, produced by the maverick Irish printer and bookseller John Dunton, whose eclectic interests encompassed travel literature as well as political works, devotional texts, chapbooks, periodicals and pornography. In 1691 Dunton had written and published *Voyage Round the World*, a fictional tale of the rambling adventures of one Don Kainophilus, and he was always attracted to unorthodox ideas if they were presented in a commercially attractive format.¹⁰

Foigny's work certainly fulfilled Dunton's criteria. His hermaphroditic hero, Nicolas Sadeur, experienced a journey to the southern continent, via the Congo, that was extraordinary, an incredible succession of shipwrecks and having to cling to flotsam in turbulent waters, being carried on a floating island that turned out to be a gigantic whale, and finding himself transported through the skies gripped in the talons of a huge winged creature. Historians have often noted that this was a dangerous time to travel by sea!¹¹ Upon his arrival, the inhabitants, usually hostile to outsiders were so impressed by the tenacity of this intrepid traveller that they took him to their *Heb*, or House of Education, and provided him with lodgings and provisions with a "thoroughness and decency surpassing any in Europe." It would not be only in the area of hospitality that the Australians would have something to teach the Europeans.¹²

Within a few months, Sadeur had learnt enough of the Australians' language to discourse with his hosts. Preferring to communicate through signs, their language was simple by European standards — their words were all monosyllabic, they had only one conjugation, one past and future tense, and no declensions or articles. In writing, they used points to express vowels, identifiable by their positioning much like Hebrew. Their words, written or pronounced, conveyed not only the name but also the nature of the subject, so their word for apple conveyed that it was a sweet and delicious fruit. Thus when the children learnt to read they simultaneously learned the properties of all manner of beings. In stressing that language was itself a key to knowledge Foigny demonstrated a familiarity with current European scholarship regarding universal language building, and showed a desire to create a language that was knowledge itself, bridging the gap that separated word and object.¹³

Foigny was deeply impressed by what he saw and heard. His initial observations on the environment and people make an interesting comparison with a non-fictional account provided by the first Englishman to set foot on Australian soil, the Somerset-born buccaneer and explorer William Dampier who came ashore the northern coast of Western Australia on 5 January 1688.¹⁴ Dampier described a land of "dry sandy soil, destitute of Water, except you make Wells," with "no Trees that bore Fruit or Berries." The inhabitants were the "miserablest People in the World," having "no one graceful feature in their faces."¹⁵ Sadeur found the Southern Land to be temperate, fertile and with a population of just under one hundred million people, who lived on a vegetarian diet consisting primarily of fruit, and whose robust constitution was unaffected by illness.¹⁶

Dampier observed that the people possessed "no sort of Cloaths," only part of the "rind of a Tree ty'd like a Girdle about their wastes, and a handful of long Grass, or 3 or 4 small green Boughs, full of Leaves, thrust under their Girdle, to cover their nakedness."¹⁷ Sadeur spoke of how for the Australians, eight-foot tall fully-grown, total nudity came so naturally to them that even the suggestion of covering the body was considered "hostile to nature and an insult to reason."¹⁸ Sadeur, indeed, found himself somewhat disconcerted by his hosts' comfortable nudity. He initially spoke of it to them with some disapproval. He admitted desiring "to arouse them to what we call pleasure," and confessed that the brothers' ardent caresses caused him "to experience a certain physical effect" which deeply scandalised the Australians.¹⁹

Sadeur initially caused offence amongst his new hosts with his unrestrained expression of his opinions and impertinent questions, but he learned to moderate his discourse under the guidance of one of the elders, Suains. Suains played the role of wise interlocutor on matters political, religious, social and philosophical, a motif common to many utopias, like Swift's wise Houyhnhnm in *Gulliver's travels*. Sadeur accepted Suains' invitation to treat him as his "confessor," establishing a relationship with overtly religious connotations.²⁰ The dialogic form was a convenient literary device for airing differing opinions, affording the author a degree of camouflage to advance heterodox notions and question some of the commonplace assumptions of his society. Like Robinson Crusoe attempting to explain Christianity to a wiser-than-first-appeared Friday, Sadeur discovered during his debates with Suains that not all his European certainties were so certain after all.

This was certainly the case with regard to sexual identity and gender. "Each Australian," Sadeur discovered, "has both sexes," and "if a child happens to be born with only one, they kill it as a monster."²¹ Sadeur confessed to his mentor that hermaphroditism was considered an affront to nature in his society. The belief that monstrous children were signs of divine disfavour can be traced back to classical

antiquity, when hermaphrodite children were left to die. According to the third-century Roman statute *Lex Repetundarum*, upon which early modern European civil and canon law drew, hermaphrodites were to be "assigned" a gender according to which sex predominated in the individual.²² Suains responded that humans must be whole and free to reason, and to "make a whole man requires both sexes." Sadeur found the elder's arguments about hermaphroditic perfection difficult to refute, although he ultimately rejected the ideal of hermaphroditic individuality as the essence of humanity. He was, however, stirred to reflect upon early modern gender relations in European society, and upon the "severe treatment of the sex that nature owes so much to." In an unusually explicit observation on contemporary patriarchy, he confessed that "the great empire that the male has usurped over the female was rather a form of tyranny than a just cause."²³

By making monosexual children the monstrous births, Foigny was creating a sexually upside-down world and inviting his readers to consider what other values of their world could be inverted. He may also have been making an oblique theological comment on creation. The Huguenot philosopher Pierre Bayle, in Voltaire's opinion the greatest master of the art of reasoning that ever wrote, thought this was Foigny's subversive project. Bayle observed that there had been many false and uncertain claims made regarding the origination and propagation of mankind, including the "altogether false" proposition that Adam "was created of both Sexes." Bayle, familiar with Midrashim, noted that this "gross mistake of the words of Scripture" derived from the belief of some Jewish exegetes that Adam's body was originally double-sexed, male on one side and female on the other, joined at the shoulders with two heads looking in opposite directions Janus-like, divided into two to create Eve.²⁴

Bayle linked Foigny's work to the revelations of the seventeenth-century Flemish quietist mystic Antoinette Bourignon, the vocal critic of all contemporary forms of religious organisation, quoting extensively her belief that the pre-lapsarian Adam contained the principles of both sexes and the ability to reproduce his own likeness, and the necessity of sexual union between the sexes for procreation was a consequence of the Fall.²⁵ He described the romantic narrations of Sadeur as "a supplement to the chimerical fancies of Antoinette Bourignon," viewing the Flemish mystic and the Australian philosopher as being, apart from their understanding of the consequences of sin, "as like one another as two drops of water."²⁶

Hermaphroditically complete like the pre-lapsarian Adam, Foigny's Australians had no need of sexual intercourse in order to procreate. There was in his account none of the scientific enquiry laced with sexual titillation that was a common feature of sixteenth and seventeenth century scholarly treatments of hermaphroditism, or the blatant pornography of literary treatments like Antonio

Beccadelli's fifteenth-century Latin poem *Hermaphroditus*.²⁷ Indeed, Sadeur found that the Australians were so innocent of sex that they were unaware of the means by which they procreated. This line of thinking coincidentally bears some correspondence to Australian aboriginal beliefs about procreation, though it was Edenic notions of blissful sexual ignorance that influenced Foigny's depiction.²⁸

Bayle suggested that, in attributing paradisiacal elements to the Australians' existence — ignorance of sexual relationships, shamelessness regarding nudity, painless procreation, and lack of unchaste inclinations — Foigny was not only recreating an Edenic utopia, he was suggesting that the Australians were not descended from Adam. The notion of descent from an androgynous original, one who never fell from a state of innocence, would, Bayle surmised, be one way for an author to subtly insinuate a "pre-adamitical system" without arousing the suspicion of censors. The most notorious seventeenth-century advocate of pre-Adamism was the French Calvinist Isaac La Peyrère, whose *Prac-Adamitae* of 1655 attracted a storm of controversy. If only, Bayle observed, he had employed Foigny's literary camouflage he "would have avoided a great deal of trouble."²⁹

If some aspects of the Australians' sexual identity and practice were hard to determine, Sadeur found that there was no subject more sensitive and hidden among them than that of religion — it was a "heinous crime to speak of it, whether for or against."³⁰ Sadeur welcomed the opportunity to discourse about God with Suains, initially believing that maybe God had led him to this land "to serve him by enlightening this people." It was a fleeting moment of missionary zeal, dispelled as he learnt that the Australians were in no need of European enlightenment. He was told that a first understanding of the *Haab*, or Incomprehensible, was instilled in the Australians at a very young age. They grew up to believe in an omnipresent being, deserving all imaginable veneration, but such veneration was to be in thought, not deed, and the incomprehensible being was never to be spoken of. They had no need of priests, and the people assembled to meditate, not to pray. Their great religion was never to speak of religion — they worshipped without ceremonies a God they never mentioned.³¹

When Sadeur asked the reason for this, he was given the utilitarian response that silence, rather than heated interpretations and conjectures about the incomprehensible, served to prevent discord and bloody wars. When Suains asked the question of Sadeur, as the representative of the Europeans, "are you all of like mind as to the identity of this Incomprehensible Being," the European had to admit that divisions on this issue had caused hatred and interminable wars in his world.³² For the Australians, unburdened by concepts of Original Sin for they believed that Adam was bi-sexed, untroubled by notions of a Chosen People for they believed that it was nonsensical for God to favour some of his creatures over

others, and unconcerned with ridiculous beliefs in the immortality of the soul, religion was a matter of calm rationality. This calm, rational Australian religion bore more than a passing resemblance to the increasingly prevalent anti-clerical deism spreading across late-seventeenth century Europe, although in the Australian model its materialist model incorporated an element of metempsychosis.³³

Nor were the Australians, with their belief in reincarnation, preoccupied with concerns about the afterlife. They agreed that life was but "an agitation, a trouble, and a torment," and that in death was found the greatest happiness. Life was an estate of misery, a temporary union between a spiritual soul and a material body whose inclinations were perfectly opposing, but the Australians were assured that they were "by nature noble, perfect, and worthy of eternal life." When Sadeur told the elder of all the afflictions and diseases that affected Europeans, he was at a loss to comprehend how they could be so anxious to prolong their present lives.³⁴ In his society, those seeking the rest of death, normally over one hundred years of age, must provide a relative or other suitable lieutenant to take their place, and were then free to consume a special fruit which induced a bout of extreme gaiety before the individual slipped into an eternal sleep. When Suains retired from his life, he named Sadeur as his lieutenant.³⁵ A life lived well and a good death, or *euthanasia*, was a notion common to classical Greek thought, whether the individual's end was voluntary or non-voluntary. Suicide, as Foigny depicted the Australians embracing the end of their present life, was, though, judged deeply inimical by Christian orthodoxy.³⁶

Their life lived well was an educative as well as contemplative one. Theirs was a rationality developed from a young age. From the age of three they were taught basic knowledge and how to read; from the age of six they started learning to write — a more advanced version of the standard European model, except that their learning continued until the age of thirty, by which time they had perfected their knowledge in all branches of science, including philosophy and the study of the stars, without any observable difference amongst them in terms of capacity, genius or learning.³⁷

Only with regard to the study of their own history, conducted between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-eight, did Sadeur find the Australians subject to the same weakness as other races in their fondness for exaggerated chronologies and fabulous tales about supposed ancestors. The Australians' creation story bore more than a passing resemblance to that related in the Old Testament, to the point of being a parody of Jewish, and hence by implication Christian, revealed religion. The Australians believed that they originated from the *Haab* or divinity, which breathed out three beings from which they were all descended, much as God breathed life into Adam. Like the Jews, the Australians possessed parchments

recording the annals of their past held to be some eight thousand years old that were revered as sacred objects whose authors, "incapable of deception," set down an objective account of events in their times.³⁸ Nothing, Sadeur found however, was more ridiculous than the history they applied to the Europeans, believing them to be the creation of a union between an enormous amphibious serpent and a sleeping man that produced two malicious and brutal offspring who coupled and multiplied. Here, Foigny may have been drawing upon the unorthodox rabbinical exegetical notion that the serpent in the Garden of Eden offered Eve more than just an apple.³⁹

Peaceful by nature, the Australians nevertheless found themselves obliged to defend their paradisiacal land by force against various foes, including sea-monsters (Europeans), great birds and a warlike race called the *Fondins* still ruled by their passions, both sexual and violent. It was within this context that Sadeur's relationship with his Australian hosts irretrievably broke down. Their wars with the *Fondins*, of which Sadeur participated in two, were bloody, and the Australian warriors showed themselves to be courageous, imaginative and utterly ruthless, putting the enemy women and children to the sword with the men.⁴⁰ It was during the second of these engagements that Sadeur fell prey to his European lusts. Encountering two young Fondin women (in the company of their mother), he kissed them both, before seizing one of them. Two Australian soldiers caught him *in flagrante* and massacred the women in front of him. He was sentenced to death for his heinous crime, equated by his hosts to the offence of bestiality in Europe.⁴¹ Sadeur obtained a stay of execution and then managed to tame one of the great birds that had helped bring him to the southern continent so many years before, and flew the coop. Eventually reaching sanctuary in Madagascar he returned circuitously to Europe, only to die exhausted shortly after placing his memoirs into the hands of Foigny.⁴²

Foigny's imaginative recreation of alternative models of life, in which his opinions and agenda are cloaked in a blend of history, allegory and fantasy, always surprises the reader. He collapsed and rebuilt the dichotomies of European society — primitive vs. civilised, nature vs. culture, freedom vs. government, and threw in a dose of gender relations for good measure. Irreligious yet moral, visionary yet cautious, Foigny, frustrated by the shackles placed upon him particularly by religious authorities, was a discombobulated figure in the transforming ideological landscape of the Old World who used the New World to excoriate the failings of European society. His unique combination of sexual inversion and critique of revealed religion posed fundamental questions of the early modern European social and religious order. He created a flawed Eden, one without government or practised religion, without sexual distinction or repression, seemingly protected

from the darker aspects of human nature, in which the people lived blissful lives and blissful deaths, but yet somehow it remained an unsatisfying Paradise in which individuality was subsumed by collective uniformity. The reader is ultimately invited to applaud Sadeur, initially the European whose enlightenment proved illusory, as he flees the Australian society that initially appeared so enlightened. In the end it turned out that the utopia was a dystopia, and the New World was not the Promised Land after all.

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Endnotes

¹ [Gabriel de Foigny] *La Terre Australe Connue*, (Geneva, 1676); Mark P. O. Morford and Richard J. Lenardon, *Classical Mythology*, (New York: OUP, 1995), 214-217; Robin Hard, *The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology*, (London: Routledge, 2004), 164; Günter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996); Patrick C. Westmore, *British utopias throughout history*, (Albuquerque N.M., 1985); Erica Harth, *Cyrano de Bergerac and the polemics of modernity*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Pierre Ronzeaud, *L'Utopie Hermaphrodite: La Terre Australe Connue de Gabriel de Foigny 1676*, (Marseille: Soudage & Applicat., 1982), 13-14.

² David Fausett (trans. and ed.), *Gabriel de Foigny: The Southern Land, Known*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1993), xviii-xxix, (hereafter Foigny).

³ Foigny, xxix-xx.

⁴ Foigny, xii-xiii, 1. On the discovery of Australia, see Charles M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia I From the Earliest Times to the Age of Macquarie*, (Sydney: Melbourne University Publishing, 1963). Australia was a popular destination for fictional writers but not the farthest-flung - by the earliest seventeenth-century the moon took that distinction; Marie L. Berneri, *Journey through Utopia*, (London, 1950), 174-5; Gregory Clacys (ed.), *Utopias of the British Enlightenment*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), xi. The first voyage to the moon was penned by the 2nd century Syrian Lucian of Samosata, but works encompassing notions of inter-planetary travel, like Johannes Kepler's *Somnium* (1634) and Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moone* (1638), multiplied after the Copernican Revolution and the invention of the telescope in the early seventeenth-century. Foigny would undoubtedly have been familiar with Cyrano de Bergerac's *Voyage dans la Lune* (1657).

⁵ Berneri, *Journey through Utopia*, 190; Foigny, 3-4. Exactly what de Quiros did, and did not, discover, remained a matter of confusion for many years. See also Clark, *A History of Australia I*, 14-19; Clements Markham (ed.), *The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, 1595-1606*, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1904).

⁶ Henry Neville, *The Isle of Pines, or, A late Discovery of a fourth Island in Terra Australis, Incognita* (London, 1668); A. Owen Aldridge, 'Polygamy in Early Fiction: Henry Neville and Denis Veiras,' *PMLA*, vol. 65, no. 4, (June, 1950), 464-472; Worthington C. Ford, *The Isle of Pines, 1668, An Essay in Bibliography* (Boston, 1920); *New Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Neville, Henry (1620-1694).

⁷ Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), 98, 112, 144-45.

⁸ Berneri, 186; Foigny, xx-xxi.

⁹ Glenn Negley and John Max Patrick, *The Quest for Utopia: An Anthology of Imaginary Societies*, (Maryland: Henry Schumann, 1971), 400.

¹⁰ [Gabriel de Foigny], *A New Discovery of Terra Incognita Australis, or the Southern World*. By James Sadeur a French-man, (London, 1693); Berneri, 187-9. For some reason the revised French edition altered Sadeur's forename to Jacques, hence the different name in the English translation. All quotations in this essay are taken from David Fausett's translation of the original French unless otherwise indicated. On Duntton, see Stephen Parks, *John Duntton and the English Book Trade*, (NY, 1976).

¹¹ Foigny, 8-35; Friederich, *Australia in Western Imaginative Prose Writings*, 17.

¹² Foigny, 37.

¹³ Foigny, 92-95; James Knowlson, *Universal Language Schemes in England and France 1600-1800*, (Toronto, 1975), 130-5.

¹⁴ William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, (London, 1697); New Dictionary of National Biography, 'William Dampier (1651-1715)'. Dampier's *Voyage* went through multiple English editions and was translated into French, Dutch and German.

¹⁵ Dampier, 463, 464.

¹⁶ Foigny, 36-46.

¹⁷ Dampier, 464-5.

¹⁸ Foigny, 47.

¹⁹ Foigny, 48, 77.

²⁰ Foigny, 49; Adams, *Travellers and Travel Liars*, 200.

²¹ Foigny, 47.

²² Marie Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity* (trans. Jennifer Nicholson, London 1961), 43; Ruth Gilbert, *Early Modern Hermaphrodites: Sex and other Stories*, (Hampshire, 2002), 42.

²³ Foigny, 55; Adams, 211.

²⁴ Pierre Bayle, *The dictionary historical and critical of Mr Peter Bayle/Pierre Bayle; introduction by Burton Feldman* (New York, 1984), i. 101-102.

²⁵ Bayle, i. 102-3; Antoinette Bourignon, *Toutes les œuvres de Mlle. A. Bourignon*, (Amsterdam, 1686); Marthe van der Does, *Antoinette Bourignon 1616-1680: la vie et l'œuvre d'une mystique chrétienne*, (Amsterdam, 1974).

²⁶ Bayle, v. 4-7, (quotation 4).

²⁷ Gilbert, *Early Modern Hermaphrodites*, 142-3. To employ Grace Tiffany's categorisation, Foigny's depiction was one of 'mythic androgyny (or hermaphroditism)' rather than 'satirical androgyny (or hermaphroditism)', where the former is an idealised state and the latter a socially disturbing embodiment of sexual indeterminacy. See Grace Tiffany, *Erotic Beasts and Social Monsters: Shakespeare, Jonson, and Comic Androgyny*, (London, 1995); Gilbert, *Early Modern Hermaphrodites*, 11.

²⁸ Foigny, 48; Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), 536; Ashley Montagu, *Coming into being among the Australian Aborigines: The Procreative Beliefs of the Australian Aborigines* (London, 1937). Montagu observes (200) that, allowing for regional and tribal variations, orthodox belief amongst most aborigines held that 'intercourse serves to prepare the woman for the entry of a spirit child into her but that this preparation is not in itself the cause of the pregnancy or of the entry of the child into the woman ... a certain relationship is recognized to exist between intercourse and the entry of a spirit child into a woman, but this relationship is not of a causal nature.' I owe the parallel to aboriginal procreative beliefs to Dr Michele Grossman.

²⁹ Bayle, v. 5. Isaac la Peyrère's work constituted a highly original and deeply heterodox reinterpretation of the biblical creation story, arguing that Adam and Eve were the progenitors only of the Jewish race and that the rest of mankind descended from an earlier creation; I. La Peyrère, *Præadamitæ, sive exercitatio super versibus duodecimo, decimotertio, & decimoquarto, capitis quinti Epistolæ D. Pauli ad Romanos, quibus inducuntur primi homines ante Adamum conditi*, (n.p., 1655). The work

appeared in an English translation, *Men before Adam: or A Discourse upon the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth Verses of the Fifth Chapter of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Romans, by which are proved, that the first Men were created before Adam*, (London, 1656); see Richard H. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère (1596-1676): His Life, Work and Influence*, (New York, 1987).

³⁰ Foigny, 64.

³¹ Foigny, 65.

³² Foigny, 67.

³³ Foigny, 75, n.7.

³⁴ Foigny, 79, 81, 82.

³⁵ Foigny, 124-5.

³⁶ Foigny, 82-85; James C. Davis, *Utopia and the ideal society: A study of English utopian writing 1516-1700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 22-23. Although the early Church had been ambivalent regarding suicide, with members of sects such as the Donatists and Circumcellions jumping off cliffs in large numbers, by the sixth century, largely under Augustine's influence, the Church had adopted a condemnatory position consigning those who committed suicide to hell.

³⁷ Foigny, 95.

³⁸ Foigny, 95.

³⁹ Foigny, 95-97.

⁴⁰ Foigny, 110-123; Friederich, *Australia in Western Imaginative Prose Writings*, 19.

⁴¹ Foigny, 116-7, 125.

⁴² Foigny, 124-139.