

LANDMARKS
OF WORLD LITERATURE

FLAUBERT

**MADAME
BOVARY**

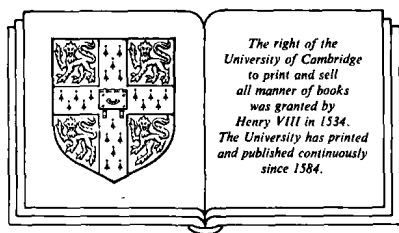
STEPHEN HEATH

GUSTAVE FLAUBERT

Madame Bovary

STEPHEN HEATH

*Professor of the History of Consciousness, University of
California, Santa Cruz and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge*



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge

New York Port Chester

Melbourne Sydney

Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Victoria 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1992

First published 1992

Printed in Great Britain at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Heath, Stephen.

Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary* / Stephen Heath.

p. cm. — (Landmarks of world literature)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0 521 32805 5. — ISBN 0 521 31483 6 (paperback)

1. Flaubert, Gustave, 1821–1880. *Madame Bovary*. I. Title.
II. Series.

PQ2246. M3H38 1992 91–19758

843'.8 — dc20 CIP

ISBN 0 521 32805 5 hardback

ISBN 0 521 31483 6 paperback

Note on references

References to *Madame Bovary* are to part and chapter numbers and are given in brackets after quotations (e.g. II,7). The text used is that of the Classiques Garnier edition by Claudine Gothot-Mersch, Paris, Garnier, 1971. Translations are largely my own, though the available English versions have been consulted and their renderings used where appropriate; details of these versions can be found in the Guide to further reading.

Quotations from other works by Flaubert, as from the speeches and judgement at the trial of *Madame Bovary*, are from *Oeuvres complètes*, 2 volumes, Collection l'Intégrale, Paris, Seuil, 1964, abbreviated *OC* with references given to volume and page numbers (e.g. *OC* I, 302). Exceptions are quotations from (i) *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*, references to which are to the Folio edition of *Bouvard et Pécuchet* by Claudine Gothot-Mersch, Paris, Gallimard, 1979 (the most complete and methodical edition available, including a number of 'idées' not in *OC*), abbreviated *BP* and accompanied by the page number (e.g. *BP*, 341); (ii) the notebook kept by Flaubert from c.1838–41 entitled (by his niece) *Souvenirs, notes et pensées intimes*, where references are to the edition by J. P. Germain, Paris, A.-G. Nizet, 1987, abbreviated *SNPI* with the page number following (e.g. *SNPI*, 26); (iii) the draft material for *Madame Bovary* published, with initial plans, scenarios and sketches, as *Madame Bovary, nouvelle version précédée des scénarios inédits*, edited by Jean Pommier and Gabrielle Leleu, Paris, José Corti, 1949, references being given to the page number after the abbreviation *NV* (e.g. *NV*, 103).

References to Flaubert's letters are made by date and correspondent, using initials for the latter as follows: C – Louise Colet; B – Louis Bouilhet (these two are the recipients of the majority of the letters quoted here); EC – Ernest Chevalier; MDC – Maxime Du Camp; JD – Jules Duplan; EF – Ernest Feydeau; ALP – Alfred Le Poittevin; LdC – Marie-Sophie Leroyer de Chantepie; RdG – Edma Roger des Genettes; GS – George Sand (thus '23 December 1853, C' means a letter of that date to Louise Colet; 'April 1857 EF', a letter to Ernest Feydeau of that month and year, day unknown; and so on); other correspondents are indicated by name on the one or two occasions each occurs; in cases where the context already clearly identifies the correspondent no initial or name is given. The source for most of the quotations is the edition of the *Correspondance* by Jean Bruneau, the three volumes of which so far published cover the years 1830–68, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Paris, Gallimard, 1973, 1980 and 1991; for later letters the edition used is *Œuvres complètes de Gustave Flaubert*, Paris, Club de l'Honnête Homme, 1971–5, volumes XII–XVI. Wherever possible translations are based on the small selection of the letters translated by Francis Steegmuller, *The Letters of Gustave Flaubert*, 2 volumes, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, and London, Faber, 1980 and 1982.

Information regarding other works mentioned in the text is given, where appropriate, in the Guide to further reading.

Chronology

Flaubert's life and works

1821 12 December: born in the Hôtel-Dieu, Rouen, where his father is surgeon-in-chief; there is an elder brother, Achille aged eight

1822

1823

1824 Birth of sister, Caroline

1826

1827

Literary events

Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*

Hugo, *Odes et poésies diverses*

Stendhal, *Racine et Shakespeare*
Scott, *Quentin Durward*

Death of Byron at Missolonghi

Vigny, *Poèmes antiques et modernes; Cinq-Mars*
Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*

Hugo, *Cromwell*

Historical events

Death of Napoleon

Death of Louis XVIII, succeeded by Charles X; power of the clerical party ('ultras'), refusal of political reform

1829

Balzac, *Le Dernier Chouan*,
Physiologie du mariage
Hugo, *Les Orientales*

Stephenson's *Rocket*

1830

Hugo, *Hernani*
Lamartine, *Harmonies*
poétiques et religieuses
Stendhal, *Le Rouge et le Noir*

Capture of Algiers, start of
French colonial presence in
Algeria
July Revolution against
reactionary and authoritarian
regime; abdication of Charles,
succeeded by Louis-Philippe,
'the bourgeois king'; power of
the constitutional party, industry
and finance

1830–48

July Monarchy

1831

Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris*

1832 Begins school in Rouen at the
Collège Royal

First Reform Act (England)

Balzac, *Louis Lambert*
Vigny, *Stello*
Beginning of the satirical paper
Le Charivari; Daumier
imprisoned for caricature of
Louis-Philippe
Goethe, *Faust II*

1833

Balzac, *Le Médecin de*
campagne; *Eugénie Grandet*
Sand, *Lélia*

Flaubert's life and works

1834 Start of friendship with Louis
Bouilhet; beginning of period
of intense early literary activity

1835

Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient*
Vigny, *Chatterton*
Büchner, *Danton's Death*

1836 On holiday at Trouville, falls
in love with Elisa Foucault,
twenty-five, companion and
soon wife of Maurice
Schlesinger: the 'only true
passion' of his life, image of the
loved but inaccessible woman

1837 Publication of two stories in
local literary journal; writes
Passion et vertu, a premonition
of *Madame Bovary*

1837-1901

1838 *Mémoires d'un fou*, an auto-
biographical narrative dedicated
to his friend Alfred Le Poittevin

Literary events

Balzac, *Le Père Goriot*
Musset, *Lorenzaccio*
Sainte-Beuve, *Volupté*

Repression of worker
insurrections in Lyon and Paris
Poor Law Reform Act (England)

Gautier, *Mademoiselle de
Maupin*
Musset, *La Confession d'un
enfant du siècle*
Dickens, *Pickwick Papers*

Balzac, *Illusions perdues* (Part I)
Carlyle, *The French Revolution*
Dickens, *Oliver Twist*

Reign of Queen Victoria

Beginnings of Chartist
movement in England
First daguerrotypes

Historical events

Attempt by Fieschi on Louis-
Philippe's life; increasingly
repressive laws against right of
association and freedom of
Press

1839	<i>Smarrh</i> , an 'old mystery', prefiguring <i>La Tentation de saint Antoine</i>	Stendhal, <i>La Chartreuse de Parme</i>	Insurrection in Paris, Barbès and Blanqui arrested
1840	Passes <i>baccalauréat</i> examination; travels in Corsica	Proudhon, <i>Qu'est-ce que la propriété?</i>	
1841		Michelet, <i>Jeanne d'Arc</i> Feuerbach, <i>The Essence of Christianity</i>	
1842	<i>Novembre</i> , another autobiographical narrative; lives in Paris and passes first law examination	Balzac, 'Avant-Propos' to <i>La Comédie humaine</i> Sue, <i>Les Mystères de Paris</i> Gogol, <i>Dead Souls</i>	
1843	Begins first version of <i>L'Éducation sentimentale</i> ; meets Maxime Du Camp; fails second law examination	Balzac, completion of <i>Illusions perdues</i> Hugo, <i>Les Burgraves</i> Ruskin, <i>Modern Painters</i> (first volume)	Opening of Paris-Rouen railway
1844	Has first seizure while driving a carriage at night with his brother near Pont-l'Évêque; abandons his studies and retires to the house bought by his father at Croisset, near Rouen	Dumas, <i>Les Trois Mousquetaires</i> ; <i>Le Comte de Monte-Cristo</i>	

Flaubert's life and works

1845 Finishes first version of *L'Education sentimentale*; with the Flaubert family accompanies his sister on her honeymoon in Italy

1846 Death of father and sister; Flaubert now lives at Croisset with his mother and his sister's baby daughter, Caroline, whom he will bring up; meets Louise Colet in Paris, who becomes his mistress

1847 Travels with Maxime Du Camp in Brittany; they record their impressions in *Par les champs et par les grèves*

1848 With Bouilhet and Du Camp witnesses February uprising in Paris; death of Alfred Le Poittevin; begins *La Tentation de saint Antoine*; breaks with Louise Colet

Literary events

Mérimée, *Carmen*
Engels, *Condition of the Working-Class in England*
Poe, *The Raven and Other Poems*

Balzac, *La Cousine Bette*
Proudhon, *La Philosophie de la Misère*
Michelet, *Le Peuple*

Sand, *François le Champi*
E. Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*
C. Brontë, *Jane Eyre*
Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*

Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*
Dumas fils, *La Dame aux camélias*
Marx–Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*
Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood founded

Historical events

Economic crisis, opposition campaign of reform banquets

Year of revolutions in Europe
February: overthrow of July Monarchy, institution of Second Republic;
May–June: failure of 'National Workshops', Paris workers revolt crushed by troops; triumph of 'the party of order' Louis-Napoleon elected President

1848-52		Second Republic	
1849	Reads <i>La Tentation</i> to Bouilhet and Du Camp who pronounce against it; leaves for tour of Middle East with Du Camp (Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Rhodes, Asia Minor, returning through Greece and Italy)	Sainte-Beuve, first 'Lundi' Sand, <i>La Petite Fadette</i> Dickens, <i>David Copperfield</i>	Elections: defeat of moderate republicans; workers' demonstrations, new heightening of repression
1850		Marx, <i>The Class Struggle in France: 1848-1850</i> Hawthorne, <i>The Scarlet Letter</i> Tennyson, <i>In Memoriam</i>	Law restricting suffrage Death of Louis-Philippe
1851	Returns to Croisset; starts new affair with Louise Colet; 19 September: begins writing <i>Madame Bovary</i> ; witnesses December <i>coup d'état</i> in Paris	Goncourt brothers begin <i>Journal</i> Nerval, <i>Voyage en Orient</i> Beecher Stowe, <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> Melville, <i>Moby Dick</i> Hugo in exile (1851-70)	Louis-Napoleon proposes revision of Constitution to allow his re-election, refused by parliament December: <i>coup d'état</i> extends presidential authority Great Exhibition in London
1852		Gautier, <i>Emaux et camées</i> Monnier, <i>Grandeur et décadence de Monsieur Joseph Prudhomme</i> Marx, <i>The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte</i>	New Constitution; Louis-Napoleon becomes emperor as Napoleon III Creation of large financial institutions (<i>Crédit Foncier</i>)

Flaubert's life and works

Literary events

Historical events

1852-70

Second Empire

1853

Hugo, *Les Châtiments*
Michelet, completion of
Histoire de la Révolution
française

Beginning of Haussmann's
reconstruction of Paris

1854 Breaks definitively with Louise
Colet

Barbey d'Aurevilly, *L'Enfermée*
Champfleury, *Les Bourgeois de*
Molinchart

Crimean War (1854-6).
Pius IX proclaims dogma of the
Immaculate Conception

1855

Nerval, *Aurélia*
R. Browning, *Men and Women*
Trollope, *The Warden*
Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*
Courbet, 'Du réalisme'
exhibition of refused paintings

Exposition universelle in Paris

1856 Publication of *Madame Bovary*
in the *Revue de Paris*; second
version of *La Tentation de saint*
Antoine, fragments published in
L'Artiste

Duranty ed., *Le Réalisme*
Hugo, *Les Contemplations*

Birth of the Prince Imperial,
height of the Empire and the
Imperial Court

1857 Trial of *Madame Bovary*, Flaubert
and the *Revue de Paris*
acquitted; publication and
success of *Madame Bovary* in
book form; begins *Salammô*

Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*
(and trial, condemned)
Champfleury, *Le Réalisme*
E. B. Browning, *Aurora Leigh*

Anglo-French interventions in
China

- 1858 Visits Tunisia to gather material for *Salammbô*
E. Feydeau, *Fanny*
Michelet, *L'Amour*
Attempt by Orsini on
Napoleon III's life; *loi de sûreté générale*
- 1859
Hugo, *La Légende des siècles*
(first series)
Michelet, *La Femme*
Darwin, *The Origin of Species*
Mill, *On Liberty*
Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*
Beginning of construction of
Suez Canal (1859–69)
Franco-Austrian War (1859–60)
- 1860
Baudelaire, *Les Paradis artificiels*
Dickens, *Great Expectations*
Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss*
American Civil War (1861–5)
- 1861
Fromentin, *Dominique*
Hugo, *Les Misérables*
Leconte de Lisle, *Poèmes barbares*
First 'Magny' dinner
Turgenev, *Fathers and Sons*
Bismarck appointed chief
minister of Prussia
- 1862 Publication of *Salammbô*, great
success; Flaubert now a literary
personality, often in Paris
- 1863 Beginning of friendship with
George Sand
Taine, *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*

<i>Flaubert's life and works</i>	<i>Literary events</i>	<i>Historical events</i>
1864 Begins second <i>Education sentimentale</i> ; frequents the Princess Mathilde's Paris salon, received by the emperor at Compiègne	E. de Goncourt, <i>René Maupérin</i> Dickens, <i>Our Mutual Friend</i>	Foundation in London of International Working Men's Association (First International)
1866 Awarded <i>Légion d'honneur</i>	Verlaine, <i>Poèmes saturniens</i> Dostoevsky, <i>Crime and Punishment</i>	Foundation of <i>Société pour la Revendication des Droits de la Femme</i> , first French feminist organisation
1867	Zola, <i>Thérèse Raquin</i> Ibsen, <i>Peer Gynt</i> Marx, <i>Capital</i> (first volume)	Exposition universelle in Paris Troops sent to defend Rome against Garibaldi Second Reform Act (England)
1869 Publication of <i>L'Education sentimentale</i> ; death of Bouilhet	Lautréamont, <i>Les Chants de Maldoror</i> Mallarmé, <i>Hérodiade</i> Mill, <i>The Subjection of Women</i> Tolstoy, completion of <i>War and Peace</i>	Elections, growth of liberal and republican oppositions Creation of <i>Ligue du Droit des Femmes</i>
1870 Begins third version of <i>La Tentation de saint Antoine</i> ; Prussians billeted at Croisset		Franco-Prussian War; battle of Sedan, fall of the Empire; proclamation of Third Republic; siege of Paris

1870–1940

- | | | | |
|------|---|--|---|
| 1871 | Flaubert renounces <i>Légion d'honneur</i> in response to armistice | Rimbaud writes <i>Le Bateau ivre</i>
Darwin, <i>The Descent of Man</i>
Eliot, <i>Middlemarch</i>
Marx, <i>The Civil War in France</i> | Third Republic |
| 1872 | Death of mother; completes <i>La Tentation</i> ; begins to plan <i>Bouvard et Pécuchet</i> | Nietzsche, <i>The Birth of Tragedy</i> | Armistice and capitulation of Paris; Paris Commune |
| 1873 | Growing friendship with Maupassant; writes <i>Le Candidat</i> (play) | Rimbaud writes <i>Une Saison en enfer</i>
Verne, <i>Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours</i>
Pater, <i>Studies in the History of the Renaissance</i> | Law against First International |
| 1874 | <i>Le Candidat</i> fails after four performances in Paris; publication of <i>La Tentation</i> ; begins writing <i>Bouvard et Pécuchet</i> | Barbey d'Aureville, <i>Les Diaboliques</i>
Hardy, <i>Far from the Madding Crowd</i>
Trollope, <i>The Way We Live Now</i>
First Impressionist Exhibition | Death of Napoleon III
Withdrawal of Prussian troops from France
Mac-Mahon President of the Republic, elected by predominantly Royalist parliament |
| 1875 | Financial difficulties as result of help given to his niece and her husband; begins <i>La Légende de saint Julien l'Hospitalier</i> | James, <i>Roderick Hudson</i> | Constitutional laws for the Republic |

<i>Flaubert's life and works</i>	<i>Literary events</i>	<i>Historical events</i>
1876 Completes <i>Saint Julien</i> ; death of Louise Colet and George Sand; writes <i>Un Cœur simple</i> ; begins <i>Hérodias</i>	Mallarmé, <i>L'Après-Midi d'un faune</i> Twain, <i>The Adventures of Tom Sawyer</i>	Elections, republican majority Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India Bell's telephone
1877 Completes <i>Hérodias</i> ; the three stories are published together in a volume as <i>Trois Contes</i> ; returns to <i>Bouvard et Pécuchet</i>	Zola, <i>L'Assommoir</i> Tolstoy, completion of <i>Anna Karenina</i>	Edison's phonograph
1879 Appointed <i>bibliothécaire hors cadre</i> , a sinecure position with a pension of 3,000 francs a year	Zola, <i>Nana</i> Dostoevsky, <i>The Brothers Karamazov</i> Ibsen, <i>A Doll's House</i>	Grévy elected President of the Republic, moderate republican government Reinstatement of the <i>Marseillaise</i> as national anthem
1880 8 May: death of Flaubert at Croisset	Zola, <i>Le Roman expérimental</i> <i>Les Soirées de Médan</i> (including Maupassant's <i>Boule-de-Suif</i>) Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, <i>L'Eve future</i> ('livre premier')	Amnesty for Communards 14 July becomes national holiday
1881 Publication of <i>Bouvard et Pécuchet</i> (unfinished); sale and demolition of the Croisset house		

- 1884 Beginning of publication of Flaubert's letters
- 1910-54 Publication of *Oeuvres complètes* (Conard edition), including early works (first *Education sentimentale*, etc.) and thirteen volumes of *Correspondance*