

This book opens crucial new perspectives on the vexed question of chronology in Flaubert's work. Critics have struggled long and hard with the apparent inconsistencies in his writing, but Claire Addison's study reveals that the situation is far more subtle, complex and intriguing than hitherto supposed. She argues that Flaubert's manipulation of dates is deliberate, and that what have previously been dismissed as inadvertent errors are in fact evidence of the strong presence of Flaubert's personal mythology in his work, creating links between his family life, events in historical Europe, and events in the life of his literary characters. This altogether original reading goes far beyond what traditional methods of literary history allow us to perceive of the link between the life and work of the author.



CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN FRENCH 48

WHERE FLAUBERT LIES



CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN FRENCH

GENERAL EDITOR: Malcolm Bowie (All Souls College, Oxford)

EDITORIAL BOARD: R. Howard Bloch (University of California, Berkeley),

Terence Cave (St John's College, Oxford), Ross Chambers (University of Michigan), Antoine Compagnon (Columbia University), Peter France (University of Edinburgh), Christie McDonald (Harvard University),

Toril Moi (Duke University), Naomi Schor (Harvard University),

Michael Sheringham (University of London)

Recent titles in this series include

44 JAMESH. REID

Narration and Description in the French Realist Novel: The Temporality of Lying and Forgetting

45 EUGENE W. HOLLAND

Baudelaire and Schizoanalysis: The Sociopoetics of Modernism

46 HUGH M. DAVIDSON

Pascal and the Arts of the Mind

47 DAVID J. DENBY

Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France, 1760–1820: A Politics of Tears

48 CLAIRE ADDISON

Where Flaubert Lies: Chronology, Mythology and History

49 JOHN CLAIBORNE ISBELL

The Birth of European Romanticism: Staël's De L'Allemagne

50 MICHAEL SPRINKER

History and Ideology of Proust: A la recherche du temps perdu and the Third French Republic

51 DEEREYNOLDS

Symbolist Aesthetics and Early Abstract Art: Sites of Imaginary Space

52 DAVID B. ALLISON, MARK S. ROBERTS and ALLEN S. WEISS Sade and the Narrative of Transgression

53 SIMON GAUNT

Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature

54 JEFFREY MEHLMAN

Genealogies of the Text: Literature, Psychoanalysis, and Politics in Modern France

A complete list of books in the series is given at the end of the volume.



WHERE FLAUBERT LIES

Chronology, mythology and history

CLAIRE ADDISON

University of Queensland





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521420167

© Cambridge University Press 1996

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1996
This digitally printed first paperback version 2006

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

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Addison, Claire.

Where Flaubert lies: chronology, mythology and history / Claire Addison.
p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in French: 48)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0 521 42016 4 (hardback)

 $1.\ Flaubert,\ Gustave,\ 1821-1880-Criticism\ and\ interpretation.$

2. Time in literature.
I. Title. II. Series.
PQ2250.A33 1996

843'.8-dc20 95-32383 CIP

ISBN-13 978-0-521-42016-7 hardback ISBN-10 0-521-42016-4 hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-03107-3 paperback ISBN-10 0-521-03107-9 paperback



With affection and gratitude, to Blanche Yvonne and Thomas Joseph Addison



Contents

Publisher's note	page x
Acknowledgements	xi
Abbreviations and conventions	xii
Introduction	I
Introduction	•
1. The Flaubert dates	II
2. The colours of time in the first Education sentimental	e 22
3. Conception, birth, death in Madame Bovary	48
4. Heads and tails in Salammbô	88
5. Two-timing in L'Education sentimentale	130
6. The Hundred Days of Bouvard et Pécuchet	187
7. Petit dictionnaire de Flaubert	216
Adolphe Schlésinger	216
Alfred/Frédéric	225
Auguste/Gustave	231
Bonaparte/Beauharnais	239
Emma/Emilie	² 53
Flaubert/Sophocle(s)	263
Rose/Hortense	269
Conclusion	282
Diachronic and synchronic charts	284
Bibliography	375
Index	383



Publisher's note

The author of this book died just after the manuscript was delivered for press, and a number of people have been instrumental in carrying out certain tasks which would ordinarily have been performed by the author herself. Particular gratitude is due to Professor P. M. Cryle and his colleagues at the Department of Romance Languages, University of Queensland, Dr Adrianne Tooke of Somerville College, Oxford, and Professor Malcolm Bowie of All Souls' College, Oxford, for their help in seeing the book through to publication.



Acknowledgements

I should like to thank Professor Peter Cryle and the Romance Languages Department of the University of Queensland for support including a research grant for the compilation of the index of this work, a task performed by Jason Aldworth of Union College. I should also like to thank Dr Harley Bradbury and the members of Union College, especially Anthony Murdoch and Gavin Putland, who have given a great deal of help with computer education. Professor Paul Crook of the History Department has also provided intellectual support over a long period.



Abbreviations and conventions

For convenience of access, I have used the Seuil edition of Flaubert's *Oeuvres complètes* in two volumes established and annotated by Bernard Masson. Textual references to these volumes follow the convention of Roman numerals for the volume and Arabic for the page numbers. The same convention has been followed for other multi-volume works such as Sartre's *L'Idiot de la famille (IF)*.

Since I have taken issue with the assertion that the first Education sentimentale was completed on 7 January 1845, and since comparisons have been made between the two novels bearing that title, I have used ES1 and ES11 as a form of shorthand in reference to these. Similarly, the nouvelle version of Madame Bovary (MB) established by Pommier and Leleu has been rendered NV and the definitive version DV. Bouvard et Pécuchet, La Tentation de saint Antoine and La Légende de saint Julien l'Hospitalier appear as BeP, TSA and SJH respectively. Corr has been used for the Conard edition of Flaubert's correspondence, C for the Bruneau edition.

The sixteen-volume Club Française du Livre edition of Victor Hugo's *Oeuvres complètes*, with its detailed chronology at the end of each volume, has been most useful. It is quoted by initials, volume number and page number, e.g. VH, VII, 1304. *Fasti* refers to Frazer's one-volume edition of Ovid's calendar; 'Frazer' to the one-volume edition of *The Golden Bough*. Where 'Frazer' appears followed by Roman numerals, the reference is to the four-volume edition of the *Fasti*, with commentary.

Most other works have been referred to by author's name and page number only (with volume number where relevant), if



Abbreviations and conventions

xiii

only one work by that author appears in the Bibliography. E.g. 'Bopp, 56' means L. Bopp, Commentaire sur Madame Bovary, p. 56. If there is more than one work, each one is referred to by the author's name plus an abbreviated date, e.g. Dauzat63 is Dauzat, Les noms de lieu; Dauzat56 is Dauzat, Les noms de personnes.

Some works, which are cited with particular frequency, appear in a more abbreviated form. A full list of these is given below.

BCIOW.	
A_{79}	Agulhon, Marianne au combat
A83	Agulhon, 1848 ou l'apprentissage de la République
\mathbf{AF}	A. Frewin, A Book of Days
AL	A. Lognon, Les Noms de lieu de la France
B-G	Baring-Gould, Curious Myths of the Middle Ages
Clé71	Clébert, Bestiaire fabuleux
Clé86	Clébert, Louise Colet ou la Muse
Con65	Connelly, Napoleon's Satellite Kingdoms
Con68	Connelly, The Gentle Bonaparte
$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{Y}$	C. Yonge, History of Christian Names
D_{33}	Dumesnil, Guy de Maupassant
D_{45}	Dumesnil, Le Grand Amour de Flaubert
D_{47}	Dumesnil, Gustave Flaubert. L'Homme et l'oeuvre
DD	D. Duff, Eugenie and Napoleon III
D&G	Dunkling and Gosling, Dictionary of First Names
D&R	Dauzat and Rostaing, Dictionnaire étymologique des
	noms de lieu
ECS	E. C. Smith, American Surnames
F&C	Fay and Coleman, Sources and Structures of Flaubert's
	$Salammb\^o$
\mathbf{G}	Ginzel, Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen
	Chronologie
GB	Georges Bachelard, La Poétique de l'espace
G-G	Gérard-Gailly, Le Grand Amour de Flaubert
G-M	Gothot-Mersch, 'Aspects de la temporalité dans les
	romans de Flaubert'
J&T	Jardin and Tudesq, La France des Notables
ЈЈВ	J. J. Bond, Handy-Book of Rules and Tables
JR	J. Richardson, Victor Hugo



xiv	Abbreviations and conventions	
MW	M. Warner, Alone of All Her Sex	
NY	N. Young, The Growth of Napoleon	
NW69	N. Williams, Chronology of the Expanding World	
NW ₇₅	N. Williams, Chronology of the Modern World	
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary	
OED	Oxford English Dictionary	
PY	P. Young, Napoleon's Marshals	
RBS	R. B. Smith, Carthage and the Carthaginians	
RC	Robert Chambers, A Book of Days	
RLW	R. L. Williams, The Horror of Life	
RMW	R. M. Wikson, The Empress Josephine	
RP	R. Pflaum, The Emperor's Talisman	
WCHS	W. C. H. Smith, Napoleon III	
SZ	S. Zweig, Joseph Fouché	
The use	of the Derridean stroke (/) is meant to signal	

Ine use of the Derridean stroke (/) is meant to signal the area of play between the 'either-or' of binary oppositions and the 'both-and' of postmodernism.

A list of the changeover dates from Julian to Gregorian calendars provided by Ginzel (III, 266-75) and Bond (Handy-Book of Rules, p. 96) is given below in order to avoid the necessity of acknowledging the sources of such temporal coincidences on each occasion in the text.

Calendar changes: Julian to Gregorian	
10 / 20 December 1582	France and Lorraine
22 December / 1 January 1583	Netherlands
6 / 16 October 1583	Tyrol
15 / 25 December 1583	Karinthia and Styria
7 / 17 January 1584	Bohemia, Moravia, Lausatia
13 / 23 January 1584	Silesia
11 / 21 February 1583	Diocese of Liège
14 / 24 February 1583	Augsburg
5 / 15 October 1583	Trier
6 / 16 October 1583	the Bavarian dioceses
3 / 13 November 1583	Jülich
4 / 14 November 1583	Archbishopric of Cologne
	(with Aix-la-Chapelle)



Abbreviations and conventions

χv

5 / 15 November 1583 Würzburg 12 / 22 November 1583 Mainz 17 / 27 November 1583 Strasburg, Baden 25 September / 5 October 1583 Görlitz 2 / 12 January 1584 Bautzen 10 / 20 January 1584 Zittau 12 / 22 November 1583 Friedland / Reichenberg 4 / 14 / 8 / 18 January 1584 Breslau 2 / 12 July 1584 Dukedom of Westphalia 17 / 27 June 1585 Diocese of Paderborn 22 October / 1 November 1587 Presburg 15 / 25 December 1590 Transylvania 23 August / 2 September 1610 Dukedom of Prussia 14 / 24 December 1615/1617/1624 Pfalz/Kurland/Osnabrück 16 / 26 March 1631 Hildesheim 6 / 16 February 1682 Strasburg 12 / 22 January 1584 Catholic cantons Switzerland 1 / 12 January 1701 Further Swiss cantons 1 / 12 July 1700 Netherlands provinces 1 / 12 December 1701 Friesland, Gröningen 1 / 11 March 1583 (temporarily) Gröningen (Bond, 96)

Synchronic and diachronic charts for each of the novels studied are given in the appendices. The reader is referred to the synchronic charts for page references to the novels involved.

Denmark

England

19 February / 1 March 1700

3 / 14 September 1752