UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Humanities

Through Romanticism Darkly: German Romanticism in the Early Work of Flaubert

by

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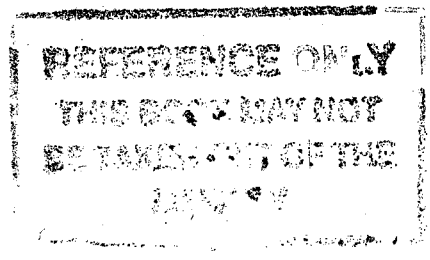

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ABSTRACT

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THROUGH ROMANTICISM DARKLY: GERMAN ROMANTICISM IN THE EARLY WORK OF FLAUBERT

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Although critics often note the esteem in which Flaubert holds German authors such as Goethe, few consider the wider impacts of German Romanticism in shaping Flaubert's literary output. With a focus on his early works (1835–42), this thesis contends that Flaubert adopts and adapts important aspects of German Romanticism in the development of his own aesthetic. Focusing on the 'dark' elements of Romanticism within this corpus promotes an understanding of Flaubert's creative imitation of major German Romantic authors, with whom he engaged through translations, reviews and contemporary treatises such as *De l'Allemagne*. Since this early section of his *œuvre* frequently falls outside the critical gaze, its significance to our understanding of the 'hermit of Croisset' is reasserted.

Using a methodology of close reading, rather than the genetic, correspondence-based or psychological approaches of existing studies, this thesis offers a fresh perspective not only on the early works, but also their relation to his later masterpieces and to wider debates in Flaubert Studies. Chapter 1 focuses on the Romantic context by which Flaubert's early work will be judged. While the German influence on the evolution of the Romantic movement in France is well known, the roles of the exotic, historical and aesthetic within this context are re-examined together with the characteristic qualities of the Romantic 'hero'. Flaubert's protagonists will appear to be characterised by mindsets manifesting a dark form of 'génie'. Chapter 2 then investigates the obsessions, excesses and, ultimately, the tendency towards suicide of such characters. Chapter 3 draws closer still to Flaubert's concept of the Romantic 'inner world', considering the role of '*Unheimlichkeit*' and the (im)possibility of an afterlife within an ostensibly Manichean world view. Chapter 4 then appraises Flaubert's adoption and adaptation of German Romantic genres, to conclude the analysis in this thesis of his passage 'through Romanticism darkly' and towards authorial maturity. The contention overall is that Germanic tendencies are essential to the prose of Flaubert the Romantic, in his early works as the important 'tremplin' to his later *œuvre*.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used to refer to the works of Flaubert:

EJ	Écrit(s) de jeunesse [as defined in the Introduction]
CNDS	Chronique normande du dixième siècle
DM	La Danse des morts
DMC	Deux mains sur une couronne
FdM	Les Funérailles du docteur Mathurin
IM	Ivre et mort
MdG	Mort du duc de Guise
MF	Mémoires d'un fou
PF	La Peste à Florence
PS	Un parfum à sentir
PV	Passion et vertu
QV	Quidquid volueris
RE	Rêve d'enfer
RI	Rage et impuissance

Introduction

Commenting on a new edition of Flaubert's early writings, Margaret Scanlan claims that 'the chief interest of this work is, of course, its connection to the great career that followed it'.[1] The readiness with which many scholars have neglected Flaubert's juvenilia, or referred simply in passing to correspondences between adolescent tales and later masterpieces, is conveyed succinctly by Scanlan's rather dismissive 'of course'. The briefest consideration of any bibliography of secondary material on Flaubert confirms that this is not a recent trend, although Jean Bruneau was the first of a small number of critics to identify these 'écrits de jeunesse' as a textual corpus worthy of consideration for a book-length study, in his respected and influential appraisal of Flaubert's literary beginnings.[2] Whereas Bruneau adopted a predominantly biographical approach, dealing chronologically with Flaubert's writings and their historical backdrop on both a national and personal level, the analysis of Flaubert as 'l'idiot de la famille' by Jean-Paul Sartre[3] used Flaubert's early works to form conclusions concerning the author's entire career, from a psychoanalytic viewpoint which would dominate Flaubert Studies during the 1970s and beyond. A more recent perspective on this section of Flaubert's *œuvre* is provided by Timothy Unwin,[4] whose consideration of pantheism within the corpus offers valuable insights into the mindset of the young author. While other studies of these texts have also been undertaken,[5] these invariably consider individual narratives either in isolation or in comparison with works by other authors, rather than considering Flaubert's juvenilia as a whole. Over fifteen years since Unwin's publication, and amid an enduring tendency in Flaubert Studies towards scholarship focused on individual texts and based on genetic criticism, deconstruction or gender,[6] Flaubert's early works are ripe for critical reappraisal.

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[1] Margaret Scanlan, 'Flaubert, Gustave – Early Writings', *International Fiction Review* (1992), 129–31 (p.130).
[2] Jean Bruneau, *Les Débuts littéraires de Gustave Flaubert, 1831–1845* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1962).
[3] Jean-Paul Sartre, *L'Idiot de la famille: Gustave Flaubert de 1821 à 1857*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1972).
[4] Timothy Unwin, *Art et infini: L'Œuvre de jeunesse de Gustave Flaubert* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991).
[5] These include, *inter alia*, Annette Clamor, '*Rêve d'enfer* (1837): Flauberts Märchen von der neuen Kunst(-produktion)', *Romanistische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, 28 (2004), 33–49; M.R. Blackman, 'Elitist Differentiation – Melancholia as Identity in Flaubert's *Novembre* and Huysman's *A Rebours*', *Journal of European Studies*, 33 (2003), 255–61 and S. Dord-Crousle, 'Gustave Flaubert: Les *Mémoires d'un fou*, *Novembre*, *Pyrenées-Corse*, *Voyage en Italie*', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 104 (2004), 224–5.
[6] In his appraisal of Flaubert Studies 1983–96, Tony Williams observes a 'dearth of works which offer some kind of overview', compared to more narrowly focused studies, echoing Alan Raitt's remarks that there are many 'new' angles on existing approaches to the French author's work, the exploration of which would make a useful contribution to scholarship. See *New Approaches in Flaubert Studies*, ed. by Tony Williams and Mary Orr (Lampeter: Edwin Mellin, 1999), p.3 and p.x respectively.

The latest critical edition of Flaubert's early works[7] contains many useful notes and observations on the texts, often made from a genetic perspective. Beyond their value to genetic studies, however, the unrevised nature of Flaubert's juvenilia, and their relative neglect by generations of critics, render these early pieces a valuable means by which to gain candid insights into the intellectual formation of the young author. They may be likened to the opening pages of an 'aesthetic diary', in which Flaubert's initial, experimental approaches to authorship are laid bare. The terms used to designate the corpus under consideration here are not unproblematic. While the notion of 'juvenilia' has obvious pejorative connotations, 'œuvres de jeunesse' could be seen to ascribe an unfair degree of immaturity to those works which are later 'superseded' by Flaubertian masterpieces. The French term 'écrits de jeunesse'[8] appears an attractive compromise for the purposes of the present study, for its acknowledgement of the works' shorter, less 'polished' nature, and allusion to their author's youth without excessively negative overtones. While the *EJ* may not possess the stylistic perfection, nor the complexities of character or plot, for which his later masterpieces are renowned, their aesthetic value lies principally in their fresh, unclouded revelations about the role and function of art for Flaubert. The widely-held, Sartrean, view that 'l'enfant contient déjà l'homme tout entier'[9] cements the significance of Flaubert's *EJ* within his *œuvre* for modern Flaubert scholars: there may be as much to be gained from these short works as from his later, more cerebral pieces. Aware of this potential contained in Flaubert's early writings, Bruneau asserts that 'il faut donc étudier dans le plus grand détail les lectures que le jeune Flaubert a faites, les influences qu'il a subies, les genres littéraires où il a choisi de s'exercer'.[10]

There can be little doubt that Flaubert held particular German authors in high esteem: references to 'père Goethe' in his correspondence,[11] as well as this German's notable absence from the *Dictionnaire des idées reçues* (in which less admired literary figures such as Lamartine feature as objects of ridicule), suggest that Goethe, among others, made an enduring and positive impression upon the young Flaubert. While critics have alluded to the German influences on Flaubert's *œuvre*, these allusions have never been explored

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[7] Gustave Flaubert, *Œuvres de jeunesse*, ed. by Claudine Gothot-Mersch and Guy Sagnes, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 2001). This is the edition to which all page numbers in this thesis refer, unless indicated otherwise.

[8] For ease of reference, this term will be abbreviated to '*EJ*' throughout the remainder of the present study.

[9] Germaine Marie Mason, *Les Écrits de jeunesse de Flaubert* (Paris: Nizet, 1961), p.5.

[10] Bruneau, p.6.

[11] See, for example, Gustave Flaubert, *Correspondance*, ed. by Jean Bruneau (Paris: Gallimard, 1973–), IV (1998), 922. All further references to this publication are abbreviated to *Correspondance*.

properly. Since Flaubert did not read German, the role played by translation in the intellectual interface between France and Germany is clearly a significant factor in the way in which German Romantic concepts 'translated' into his aesthetic. The present study therefore considers the effects of translation and the significance of the inflections on Flaubert's aesthetic that the translation process provides. As Hervey and Higgins are keen to emphasise, 'translating involves not just two languages, but a transfer from one whole culture to another',[12] therefore Flaubert's experience of German literary texts would always be 'framed' by the French cultural context into which they were translated. Some critics have alluded to this on a relatively superficial level: with regard to the first complete translation of Hoffmann's *Œuvres complètes*,[13] for example, Pierre Moreau observes that 'Loève-Veimers est un esprit de la race de Benjamin Constant; et, s'il traduit le berlinois Hoffmann, il prête à ces contes germaniques un air français'.[14] The contention of the present thesis, moreover, might be summarised using the similarly impressionistic assertion that 'Flaubert prête à ses contes français un air allemand'. However, through evaluation of his aesthetic borrowing and identifiable preference for the Germanic, my reading of his *EJ* will argue more definitely that translations of German works aided Flaubert's articulation of his perceptions of the (French) world around him. While the French values imposed (consciously or unconsciously) by translators on their work are not always immediately obvious, the significance and power of pieces providing a French perspective on the German (such as *De l'Allemagne*, discussed below), must also be remembered.[15] Rather than merely 'source hunting' in order to attribute Flaubertian motifs to named intertexts, therefore, this thesis explores Flaubert's exposure to German Romanticism as a source of aesthetic enrichment, or 'translation gain', for his early writings. Approaching the corpus from the perspective of translation studies is thus a new and timely way in which to address important aspects of Flaubert's creative development.

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[12] Sandór Hervey and Ian Higgins, *Thinking French Translation. A Course in Translation Method: French to English*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2002), p.31.

[13] E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Œuvres complètes de E.T.A. Hoffmann*, trans. by Adolphe Loève-Veimers, 19 vols (Paris: Renduel, 1830–32).

[14] Pierre Moreau, *Le Romantisme*, Histoire de la littérature de la France, ed. by J. Calvet, VIII (Paris: Gigord, 1932), p.106.

[15] For an interesting review of the significance of *De l'Allemagne* to French society, see John Claiborne Isbell, *The Birth of European Romanticism. Truth and Propaganda in Staël's 'De l'Allemagne', 1810–1813* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Flaubert and Germany

Perhaps because relatively few critics have access to both the French and the German, the role of the latter in shaping Flaubert's aesthetic and defining his literary context, as an adolescent in the 1830s, has been largely neglected until now. To date, there have been two major publications comparing Flaubert and Goethe, by Léon Degoumois[16] and, more recently, Dagmar Giersberg.[17] In the former, published over eighty years ago, Degoumois argues that Goethe set the course for Flaubert's literary career – 'c'est sur la route que Goethe lui avait tracée que Flaubert s'est engagée, dès sa jeunesse, et jamais il n'en a dévié'[18] – while the latter, more recent monograph adopts a similarly focused approach, seeking to demonstrate points of comparison by juxtaposing selected paragraphs by each author. Both studies, in common with a handful of journal articles,[19] are restricted by design to the assessment of Goethe's influence, and tend towards identifying only specific points of comparison between texts, as outlined above. It is clear, however, that Flaubert had access to a more diverse range of material originating in Germany. One piece of clear evidence for this is his subscription to *La Revue germanique*, of which thirteen volumes are listed in the inventory of his library compiled posthumously by Bidault.[20] This suggests more than a passing interest in literature and ideas originating in the German-speaking world. French translations of work by contemporary German authors also appeared throughout the early nineteenth century,[21] and many enjoyed significant popularity among the French public,[22] supported by the circulation of publications such as *La Revue germanique*. Simply considering the epigraphs used for many of his early works alone, it

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[16] Léon Degoumois, *Flaubert à l'école de Goethe* (Geneva: Imprimérie Sonore, 1925).

[17] Dagmar Giersberg, *'Je comprends les Werther': Goethes Briefroman im Werk Flauberts* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2003).

[18] Degoumois, p.34.

[19] These include, *inter alia*, Louis Buzzini, 'Flaubert et Goethe', *La Revue Bleue*, 67 (1930), 635–7; R. Lauret, 'L'Art classique d'après Goethe et Flaubert', *Les Marches de l'Est* (1911), 167–75; W. Martinson, 'Goethe und Flaubert', *Goethe Jahrbuch*, XXV (1904), 246–7; Henry A. Stavan, 'Les Premiers romans wertheriens français: imitations ou parodies?', *Neophilogus*, 52 (1968), 361–6; N.C. Wolf, 'Aesthetic Objectivity – Goethe's and Flaubert's Concepts of Style', *Poetica – Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, 34 (2002), 125–69.

[20] René Rouault de la Vigne, 'L'Inventaire après décès de la bibliothèque de Flaubert', *Revue des sociétés savantes de Haute Normandie*, 7 (1957), 73–84 (p.83).

[21] These include, *inter alia*, Ludwig Tieck, *L'Abbaye de Netley, histoire du moyen âge*, trans. by J.-F. Fontallard (Paris: Ledoux, 1801), E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Œuvres complètes de E.T.A. Hoffmann*, trans. by Adolphe Loève-Veimers, 19 vols (Paris: Renduel, 1830–32), and the following works by Goethe: *Wilhelm Meister* (1802), *Hermann et Dorothée* (1804), *Les Affinités électives* (1810), *Poésies* (1825), and *Faust* (1828).

[22] For example, Henry Stavan notes that eighteen French translations of Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* had appeared by the end of the eighteenth century. See Henry A. Stavan, 'Les Premiers romans wertheriens français: imitations ou parodies?', *Neophilogus*, 52 (1968), 361–6 (p.361).

is possible to envisage Flaubert's appetite for this sort of popular literature originating beyond the traditional school curriculum. Furthermore, discussions of German literature continued long after the controversial publication in France of Germaine de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1813), and such debates inevitably constituted part of the young Flaubert's literary diet. Flaubert's exposure to literature and ideas of German origin therefore extends far beyond the narrow notions of Goethean influence explored by previous studies.

This thesis therefore aims to give 'form' to Flaubert's 'Romantic formation' by considering an important element of the literary and intellectual climate in which he started writing, specifically in its analysis of the way in which Flaubert *uses* Germanic material, to offer a new insight into his aesthetic, both early and later. Beyond considering simply the role of German Romantic literature during Flaubert's formative years in the manner of previous studies, however, the work of German philosophers (and metaphysics as a fictional category), is clearly also significant. While studying independently prior to his baccalaureat, Flaubert relied heavily on Mallet's *Manuel de philosophie*,[23] in which Bruneau notes that 'renvois constants à Victor Cousin, qui se réfère lui-même à l'idéalisme allemand, devaient amener Flaubert à lire les premiers volumes du *Cours d'esthétique* de Hegel'.[24] Although consideration of the role within Flaubert's *EJ* of German philosophy *per se* is beyond the scope of this analysis, the place of translation in communicating Germanic (rather than French) approaches to subjects is significant. Departing from the sometimes one-sided, enumerative approaches of existing studies, therefore, the present thesis seeks to explore the holistic effect of 'German Romanticism' on Flaubert's aesthetic.

The Romantic Movement

While generations of critics have failed to reach a satisfactory definition of the term Romanticism,[25] a number of features are often understood, without further critical questioning, as intrinsic to Romantic literature in specific languages.[26] Extensive studies

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[23] Charles-Auguste Mallet, *Manuel de philosophie, à l'usage des élèves qui suivent des cours à l'université* (Paris: Maire-Nyons, 1835).

[24] Bruneau, p.273.

[25] In his widely-respected study, in which he attempts a list of Romantic writers, for example, Arther Lovejoy produces an eclectic range of names including Plato. See Arthur O. Lovejoy, 'On the Discrimination of Romanticisms', *Papers of the Modern Languages Association of America*, 34 (1924), 229–53.

[26] The detailed compendia in this field tend to further notions of isolation between national characteristics of Romanticism. For a recent overview of German Romanticism, for example, see *The Literature of German Romanticism*, ed. by Dennis Mahoney (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004); English Romanticism receives similarly thorough treatment in, *inter alia*, Anthony Hull, *English Romanticism* (London: Minerva, 2000).

of French Romanticism, such as that by Paul Bénichou,[27] identify distinct, apparently discrete evolutionary phases of the Romantic movement in France (Constant's 'Libéralisme' being followed neatly by the 'Néocatholicisme' of Chateaubriand and others, for example), and argue for the superiority of the Romantic as a 'médiateur entre le Réel et l'Idéal, et par là guide d'une humanité en progrès'.[28] While such well-worn generalisations concerning French Romanticism may constitute a useful starting point, they risk the exclusion of key, 'non-French' aspects of this far-reaching movement: Bénichou makes cursory mention of Madame de Staël as a member of the Coppet Circle, for example, rather than as the author of a text which was clearly so significant in France.[29] Moreover, if French Romanticism is characterised by patriotism and spiritual superiority of the artist, German Romanticism is frequently seen as being more theoretical, and associated with both university philosophy departments and collections of popular folklore.[30] In reality, such divisions between 'types' of Romanticism can never be so clear-cut: Flaubert, for example, rejects the somewhat isolated mentality of the French Romantics, preferring, like Staël, the apparent freedom he perceived in Germanic models. Of course, French readers in turn received a rather limited and arguably clichéd account of German Romanticism from figures such as Staël – as Claude Digeon observes, 'le public français, avant 1870, n'avait pas suffisamment appris l'Allemagne par les voies d'information normale, les récits de voyage, les enquêtes. De cette ignorance était né un mythe, celui du pays idéal'.[31] Despite obvious controversy surrounding the terms 'French Romanticism' and 'German Romanticism', however, *all* critics are able to agree that the Romantic movement in Germany precedes that in France, so such designations, on grounds of chronology at least, may be justified. Throughout the present study, however, I will be holding in tension the characteristics of French and German Romanticism, as viewed through Flaubert's *EJ.*

The growing popularity of the Romantic movement in France during the early nineteenth century is described by Paul Bénichou as culminating in '1830, qui a marqué la victoire définitive de la nouvelle société sur l'ancienne'.[32] Victor Hugo's *La Préface de*

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[27] Paul Bénichou, *Romantismes français*, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 2004).
[28] Ibid., I, 1081.
[29] Isbell notes, for example, that the first French edition of *De l'Allemagne*, with a print run of 1500 copies, sold out in just three days. See Isbell, p.12.
[30] For a useful introduction to the Germanic perspective on German Romanticism, see Gerhart Hoffmeister, *Deutsche und europäische Romantik* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1978).
[31] Claude Digeon, *La Crise allemande de la pensée française (1870–1914)* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1959), p.58.
[32] Bénichou, I, 391.

Cromwell (1830) adopts a revolutionary tone in its claim that 'une autre ère va commencer pour le monde et pour la poésie'.[33] The 'new generation' of French Romantics sought inspiration from European rather than Classical literature – in claiming that 'Shakespeare, c'est le drame',[34] Hugo demonstrates the challenge posed by Romantics to Racinean supremacy in French drama, for example – and adopted many of the tenets of English and German Romanticism, which were already established by this time, and embedded in the literary climate of Flaubert's formative years. In France, a combination of the emotionalism and concentration on the individual associated with Rousseau's *Confessions* (1770), and the mysticism of theophist sects claiming a direct knowledge of the Divine (such as the Martinists), set the conditions for the inception of French Romanticism, following the rationalism and materialism which had dominated French intellectual life during the eighteenth century. Christian Chelebourg, for example, argues that Chateaubriand's *Le Génie du christianisme* (1797) promoted many Romantic topoï (including a preference for moonlight, ruins and spiritual experience as a remedy for *mal du siècle*), 'invitant à un renouement spirituel et esthétique avec les origines religieuses de la culture française'.[35] The popularity of Chateaubriand's *René* (1802) and Constant's *Adolphe* (1816) confirmed the place of the spiritual and psychological within the French Romantic psyche. The success of these works was pre-empted, however, by the popularity of Goethe's *Werther*[36] which, thanks to Madame de Staël, was considered by many the epitome of German Romanticism.[37] Fernand Baldensperger observes that 'dans ce domaine purement sentimental [...] Werther semble définitif'.[38]

Following the popularity of *Werther*, it is often argued that French Romanticism was inherited from Germany and England,[39] and carried along by 'la grande vague sentimentale qui nous vient du fond du dix-huitième siècle anglais et allemand'.[40] While Hugo

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[33] Victor Hugo, *La Préface de Cromwell*, ed. by Maurice Souriau (Paris: Société française d'imprimérie et de librairie, [1897?]), p.183.
[34] Ibid., p.213.
[35] Christian Chelebourg, *Le Romantisme* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2005), p.10.
[36] See note 22 above.
[37] In *De l'Allemagne*, Staël devotes much attention to describing the work of Goethe and Schiller (both of whose *œuvres* are conventionally associated with an initial 'Sturm und Drang' phase before their reception as 'Klassiker', rather than being Romantics *per se*), arguably at the expense of more 'clear-cut' German Romantics such as Wackenroder or Novalis, whose respective novels *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (1797) and *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1802) are not mentioned.
[38] Fernand Baldensperger, *Goethe en France. Étude de Littérature Comparée* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 2000), p.84.
[39] See Geoffrey Brereton, *A Short History of French Literature* (London: Penguin, 1954), p.210.
[40] Paul Morand, *L'Art de mourir, suivi de 'Le Suicide en littérature'* (Paris: Éditions des cahiers libres, 1932), p.34.

emphasises the common desire among Romantics to return to literature's European sources, since 'c'est la même sève, répandue sur le sol, qui produit tous les arbres de la forêt',[41] the 'branches' of Romanticism in each country differ notably in their development. In France, Charles Nodier is credited with giving an initial direction to Romanticism, not only through his translations of Walter Scott, but also through his 'vampiric' short stories *Jean Sbogar* (1818) and *Thérèse Aubert* (1819),[42] although both these tales are suggestive of the English Gothic tradition, which had arrived in France twenty years earlier.[43] Perhaps, as John Isbell suggests, 'Romanticism outside Germany dates its *conscious* existence from *De l'Allemagne*' [emphasis added].[44] The Romantic movement in France may not have developed in the theory-laden environments of universities such as Jena like its German counterpart, but the publication of *De l'Allemagne* in France and England in 1813 provided a rallying cry to those French writers who were already tending towards many of the tenets which it extols. Equally, amid their historical context of Napoleonic France, many French readers may have felt a sense of companionship with the melancholia or *Weltschmerz* afflicting the German Romantics, for which Staël simply offered a name. An initial generation of conservative Romantics, including Chateaubriand, is characterised by Bénichou for an interest in reasserting the importance of national history and religion, while the later generation, including Hugo, are less restrained in their choice of subject matter: the two are 'united' by their 'rêve du passé et magnification du souvenir'.[45]

The role of Madame de Staël in providing a new, more liberal direction to French Romanticism is clearly significant, although her inspiration for promoting such 'artistic freedom' is not Germany alone. Isbell observes that the apparently 'German' Romanticism described to the French in *De l'Allemagne* is presented 'through an English filter':[46] Staël frequently emphasises similarities between German and English literature, for example in her claim that 'les Allemands, comme les Anglais, sont très féconds en romans qui peignent la vie domestique'.[47] The 'legitimising' effect of such claims encouraged French writers to adopt a broader approach to their subject matter, ranging from the nationalistic

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[41] Hugo, *La Préface de Cromwell*, p.256.
[42] See Paul D. Comeau, *Diehards and Innovators. The French Romantic Struggle, 1800–1830* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), p.7.
[43] Lewis's *The Monk* (1797) appears in French translation from 1799; Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1797) from 1798.
[44] Isbell, p.221.
[45] Bénichou, II, 1051.
[46] Isbell, p.109.
[47] Anne Louise Germaine de Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, ed. by Henry Weston Eve (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), p.148.

stance promoted by Hugo to the more domestic material of England and Germany. However, Staël was not alone in bringing established Romantic ideas to a French readership. The role of E.T.A. Hoffmann in the development of French Romanticism along specifically Germanic (rather than English) lines, is frequently underestimated: Pierre-Georges Castex argues that 'Hoffmann tend à supplanter Scott au moment précis où le romantisme se définit',[48] thanks, at least in part, to Hoffmann's close friend and translator Dr. Koreff moving to Paris in 1822. The role of translation in communicating Hoffmann's taste for the bizarre and supernatural to a French audience (compared to Walter Scott's promotion of the historical novel, for example), helped to direct certain precursors to Romanticism in France, especially regarding the development of the 'genre frénétique' by authors such as Nodier. The latter's *La Fée aux miettes* (1832) demonstrates the rising interest in mental abnormalities as a sign of Romantic 'génie' or spiritual superiority. Echoing the notion of the 'fou-sage', discussed in chapter 2 below, with regard to Nodier's work, Bénichou observes that 'les visions des fous peuvent, elles aussi, contenir la vérité d'un monde supérieur au nôtre'.[49] Supported by treatises extolling the virtue of the artist, such as those of Saint-Simonisme, French Romantics came to believe in the value of their essential 'génie', even when this was seemingly at odds with formal expectations. In his appeal for readers to value the intrinsic merits of a work rather than its adherence to formal conventions, Hugo asserts that 'il n'y a qu'un poids qui puisse faire pencher la balance de l'art, c'est le génie'.[50]

As an indicator of their 'génie', German and English Romantics had a sense of alienation from the world, be it akin to the artistic superiority felt by Wordsworth and Coleridge, or to the misanthropic sentiments expressed by protagonists such as Werther and Faust: such experiences were inherited by their French successors. Brombert argues that 'the link between enclosure and inner freedom is at the heart of the Romantic sensibility':[51] this sense of confinement is associated particularly with German Romanticism, since German Romantic protagonists are invariably constrained by their earthly existence. Werther, for example, wishes to transcend the confines of his being with sentimental experiences of love, while Faust sees omniscience as his means of 'escape'.

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[48] Pierre-Georges Castex, *Le Conte fantastique en France, de Nodier à Maupassant* (Paris: José Cortil, 1951), p.55.
[49] Bénichou, II, 1478.
[50] Hugo, *La Préface de Cromwell*, pp.285–6.
[51] Victor Brombert, *The Romantic Prison. The French Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p.4.

On a broader level, just as their German counterparts sought to escape the confines of Classical literature, the French Romantics came to seek a return to national culture.[52] Through their close alliance with universities, however, the Germans also developed a metaphysical tradition which gave voice to more abstract concepts such as spiritual longing. The role of aesthetic theoreticians, including Novalis and Tieck, who were introduced to the French by means of early translations of their fiction, lent German Romanticism a degree of literary prestige, although this might have been unattainable without the intermediary of Madame de Staël.[53] In addition to its immediate popularity in France, *De l'Allemagne* thus played a pivotal role in conveying the abstract ideas of German Romanticism to a French audience, and may have changed attitudes across the Rhine: Isbell notes that of the five words used in *De l'Allemagne* for 'German' (tudesque, teutonique, allemand, germanique, septentrional), the first (which corresponds to the German term, 'deutsch'), was defined by the *Académie française* in 1801 as 'manquant [...] de grâces, et approchant de la barbarie'.[54] The wider mission of Staël (and, of course, that of her associates, such as Constant), in bringing German ideas as well as enthusiasm for German literature to a French audience therefore complements the role of literary translators such as Adolphe Loève-Veimers.[55] While French Romanticism may have taken history as an initial focus, following the publication of *De l'Allemagne*, attention was increasingly turned towards the broader theme of the mindset of the nation, and in some respects, its superiority to that of the French.

Within French Romantic literature of the 1830s, it is possible to identify a number of 'dark' tropes, *inter alia*, insanity, nightmare, death and monstrosity. All are 'dark' aspects of the reality of the Romantic psyche, and indeed prefigure concern for such experiences in Realism. Rather than looking to the 'positive' elements of Medieval romances, with their quests and chivalrous heroes, the tendency to favour 'dark' themes in Romantic literature can, in fact, be considered a particularly German trait.[56] While the 'origins' of such motifs in the French canon may be attributed to earlier tendencies within French literary history,

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[52] 'Germany had spent the eighteenth century reestablishing a national culture. Later Romantic writers, in France and elsewhere, found in *De l'Allemagne* a model for doing so themselves'. Isbell, p.39. The link between Romanticism and nationalism is explored in chapter 1 of the present study.

[53] For example, the first translation of Tieck's work arrives in France in 1801: Ludwig Tieck, *L'Abbaye de Netley, histoire du moyen âge*, trans. by J.-F. Fontallard (Paris: Ledoux, 1801).

[54] *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (1811), cited by Isbell, p.16.

[55] For example, Constant hosted a Kantian propagandist, Huber, in 1794.

[56] For a comprehensive treatment of the 'dark' aspects of German Romanticism, see Glyn Tegai Hughes, *Romantic German Literature* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979).

such as vampirism or the 'genre frénétique', German Romantic interests may be linked in turn to these 'pre-Romantic' trends, as outlined above. Diamond asserts that, growing up during the 1830s, 'Flaubert sought above all in Romanticism [...] the aberrant and the grotesque'.[57] Consideration of his use of these 'dark' elements of Romanticism thus offers a means to 'isolate' with greater confidence the Germanic elements of his prose, and thus permit a more detailed insight into his early aesthetic than that achieved by more narrowly-focused studies such as that by Degoumois. Renowned for his scorn for cliché, it is easy to anticipate Flaubert's sympathy with Madame de Staël's assertion that 'la foule des romans d'amour publiés en Allemagne a fait tourner un peu en plaisanterie les clairs de lune, les harpes qui retentissent le soir dans la vallée, enfin tous les moyens de bercer doucement l'âme'.[58] While Flaubert's early works contain both 'light' and 'dark' aspects of Romanticism, the former invariably tend towards cliché: Diamond, for example, identifies such motifs in *Mémoires d'un fou* as 'the Romantic narrative voice [that] is not his own'.[59] Concentration on these elements might therefore risk a substantially less convincing argument about the role of the German in Flaubert's true aesthetic. Moreover, while his *œuvre* is considered by many to represent the interface between Romanticism and Realism,[60] Flaubert's *EJ* are also perhaps less clouded by the ambivalence created by this debate than his later masterpieces, hence the focused approach of the present study.

In summary, if Romanticism is seen broadly as an artistic movement whose principal focus is on various aspects of both the national and individual psyche, it seems reasonable to accept Doumic's assertion that 'ce n'est pas l'essence du romantisme, mais c'en est le décor, qui devait d'abord séduire l'imagination du jeune homme':[61] while Flaubert's famously impersonal narrative style contrasts sharply with the all-consuming individualism associated with *Werther*, for example, he clearly found that he could use the dark 'décor' (or motifs adopted by many German Romantics), in his own writing, despite his well-known adolescent enthusiasm for Rousseau's *Confessions*.[62] Sharing the Romantic desire

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[57] Marie J. Diamond, *Flaubert. The Problem of Aesthetic Discontinuity* (New York: National University Publications, 1975), p.18.
[58] *De l'Allemagne*, p.148.
[59] Diamond, p.20.
[60] Dumesnil concludes, for example, that 'il me semble plus juste de considérer son œuvre comme une transition entre deux époques'. René Dumesnil, 'Le Romantisme et le réalisme de Flaubert', *Marges* (February 1927), 151–5; (March 1927), 228–32 (p.232).
[61] René Doumic, 'Les Premiers écrits de Flaubert', *Revue des deux mondes*, 51 (15 May 1909), 446–57 (p.448).
[62] On more than one occasion, he describes this work as 'la vraie école de style'. See, for example, *Correspondance*, I, 29–30.

to 'épater le bourgeois',[63] this stage in his aesthetic development may thus be designated as a passage 'through Romanticism darkly'. Flaubert's adolescence is characterised by an obvious affinity to the 'dark' décor associated with (German) Romanticism, and concentration the 'dark' aspects of the Romantic psyche, both on an individual and a national level, which would in turn emerge to inform his later aesthetic. It must not be forgotten that Flaubert's interest in artistic output from Germany was by no means restricted to literature,[64] although it is clear, however, that he did not adopt fully the tenets of the Romantic work which he encountered. Moreover, the Romantic movement was, of course, not the only literary tradition to which he was exposed.[65] The approach adopted by the present study must, therefore, seek to identify the specifically German Romantic elements of Flaubert's aesthetic among other 'dark' aspects of his 'literary palimpsest'.[66]

Methodology

While isolating 'the Romantic' within Flaubert's early aesthetic might be possible if the terms could be defined adequately, this thesis does not adopt the methodology of an influence study in the manner of existing works, which attempt simply to identify and enumerate parallels between Flaubert's work and that of other (German) authors. Instead, by extending Bruneau's assertion that 'les essais de jeunesse exprimaient un romantisme sincère et profond, mais d'imitation',[67] it will consider creative imitation as intrinsic to Flaubert's intertextual usage in the *EJ* of German Romanticism.[68] In her exposition of the notion of imitation, Mary Orr states that 'rather than being tantamount to a stifling precursor or dull copy, imitation's positive and creative implications emerge'.[69] Translation is, of course, often considered a type of imitation, with the potential for 'translation gain', or the creation of new ideas in the transfer between two languages. In preference to the 'source hunting' approach of an influence study, therefore, with its associated Bloomian implications of hierarchy and 'anxiety of influence',[70] this thesis

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[63] Lilian R. Furst, *Romanticism in Perspective. A Comparative Study of Aspects of the Romantic Movement in England, France and Germany* (London: Macmillan, 1969), p.23.
[64] For example, he encouraged Caroline to play the work of Spohr and Beethoven (see *Correspondance*, I, 135), and he was acquainted with Sigismund Thalberg (*Correspondance*, I, 101).
[65] Flaubert's enthusiasm for the 'dark' side of mankind promoted by Marquis de Sade, is noted by the Goncourts but never mentioned explicitly in his correspondence, for example. See Diamond, p.18.
[66] See Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: la littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982).
[67] Bruneau, p.581.
[68] See Mary Orr, 'Imitation', in *Intertextuality: Debates and Contexts* (Cambridge: Polity, 2003), pp.94–129.
[69] Ibid., p.16.
[70] See Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

considers the Romantic as a 'positive influence' on Flaubert's aesthetic, whereby his adoption and adaptation of intertextual material drives the development of his own ideas. Beyond Bloomian 'anxiety of influence', the value of 'source hunting' in Flaubert's *EJ* is limited by Bruneau's assertion that 'si nous voulons être certains que Flaubert a lu telle ou telle œuvre, il nous faut [...] la double confirmation de la ressemblance et de la référence':[71] Bruneau requires both textual similarity and documentary evidence (in Flaubert's correspondence or the Bidault inventory), as 'proof' of the validity of a particular source. This approach is clearly restrictive in the degree of exposure to other authors which Bruneau is prepared to permit Flaubert and is perhaps unreasonably idealistic: it should, for example, be noted that although little explicit reference to Chateaubriand is made in Flaubert's correspondence,[72] *René* is identified by Bruneau himself as the principal source for *Novembre*.[73]

The focus is therefore on Flaubert's *uses* of the German Romantic material that he encountered, and on his 'sincère et profond' imitation of those aspects of Romanticism which found a niche in his aesthetic through translation, and which, in turn, 'translated' into his *EJ*. Orr's definition of influence as a 'tributary which forms a mightier river by its confluences, or the stream that comprises many contributors'[74] is reminiscent of Degoumois's earlier assertion that Goethe's influence on Flaubert is like that of a subterranean river, flowing from the same sources beneath a 'beau fleuve de plaine'.[75] Over eighty years since Degoumois's monograph, the present study will refine the fluvial metaphor to identify the role of the tributary of German Romanticism, by means of close reading, to appreciate Flaubert's transportation and deposition of aesthetic ideas which may have long left their 'source'. Considering Flaubert's imitation of the German Romantic ideas to which he was exposed (whether by reading texts in translation, via reviews of Romantic work and ideas in publications such as *La Revue germanique*,[76] or exposure to debates triggered by publications such as *De l'Allemagne*), will therefore provide a more comprehensive and accurate appraisal of contributory factors to his early aesthetic than has been permitted by previous studies. Orr suggests that the 'one-step remove' created by Flaubert reading works in translation affords his imitation 'the freedoms of its target and

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[71] Bruneau, p.19.
[72] See René Descharmes, *Flaubert: sa vie, son caractère et ses idées avant 1857* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), p.37.
[73] Bruneau, p.232.
[74] Orr, *Intertextuality*, p.84.
[75] Degoumois, p.34.
[76] See note 20 above.

source languages to experiment, explore, widen and deepen versions of non- and interconnection'.[77] While of course an element of 'translation loss' is often seen as an inevitable consequence of the translation process, 'translation gain' may be seen as an aid to creativity, rather than promoting the direct appropriation of others' ideas: the present thesis will seek to evaluate the products of such 'translation gain'.

By adopting an approach in which the definition of intertextuality encompasses the creative imitation of ideas as much as the replication of specific motifs, the present study addresses the ways in which literature and literary movements may cross linguistic boundaries. While Flaubert's reading of major German Romantic works in translation clearly contributes significantly to certain aspects of the *EJ*,[78] more generic tropes of German Romanticism appear to play a much broader role in his aesthetic. The 'translation gain' which accompanies the work of 'intermediary' figures such as Madame de Staël, for example, involves her prioritisation of particular aspects of German Romanticism (such as bleak, 'northern' landscapes), in contrast to the emerging 'Romantic' traditions in France. Beyond simply relaying German plots or ideological viewpoints to a French audience solely through primary texts, translation surely aided and directed the young Flaubert's literary experimentation. Rather than perceive translation as a medium through which ideas from the source language may be unavoidably lost, therefore, this thesis explores the sense of national specificity surrounding German Romanticism as a catalyst for translation gain in Flaubert's *EJ*. While German texts translated into French provided a 'formal' literary interface between the two linguistic groups, however, the 'cross-border' traffic of ideas through reviews and periodicals clearly also contributed to the intellectual climate in which Flaubert was growing up. With this in mind, this thesis also unpacks critical approaches to notions of intertextuality, and argues for a broader consideration of the influences on an author's aesthetic than that which involves only relationships of 'resemblance and reference'[79] between texts. The broader notion of the intertext as an 'aesthetic springboard' which can inspire creative imitation, would seem to build on works

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[77] Orr, *Intertextuality*, p.160.

[78] The overt similarities between *MF* and *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* are explored in chapter 2 of the present study, for example.

[79] This narrow definition of the criteria for 'permissible' (or at least verifiable) influences on the *EJ* is adopted by Bruneau, and results in only a partial appreciation of ideas to which the young author was exposed. See note 71 above.

such as *La Seconde main* by Antoine Compagnon,[80] and reinforce developments in more recent studies of intertextuality.[81]

In order to best examine the 'Germanic' interconnections between Flaubert's early works, a thematic approach will be adopted, whereby each chapter concentrates on a specific aspect of German Romanticism within a number of selected narratives. While there are clear disadvantages to this approach (since every text contains elements which are pertinent to all chapters to a greater or lesser extent), focusing attention in this way enables a more detailed and thorough analysis, and ultimately a clearer argument for Flaubert's creative imitation of German Romantic ideas and to what extent. A chronological or authorial approach would also have been possible: the former is weakened by the uncertainty surrounding when and if Flaubert read specific works (or whether he was merely aware of their existence and the concepts contained within them), while the latter might be construed as an attempt to 'force' correspondences between individual motifs rather than approaching the notion of imitation from a more holistic perspective. Both also risk the repetition of ideas. In considering intertextuality within *Novembre*, Victor Brombert notes that 'le récit renvoie explicitement à Goethe, à Chateaubriand, à Vigny, à Byron. Quel rapport entre ces *topoi* livresques et l'expérience intime?'[82] While examining only the authors to which explicit reference is made would risk excluding key elements of Flaubert's aesthetic, by considering Flaubert's use of the broader 'topoi' of 'dark' German Romantic motifs within this corpus, it is anticipated that a richer appreciation of his aesthetic 'expérience intime' will be gained. By connecting the disparate writings from Flaubert's early career, their significance within his *œuvre* can then be re-evaluated.

Aims and objectives

Although this thesis will approach Flaubert's early writings from a different angle than the major studies which have considered the corpus previously, these works offer useful guidance. Bruneau's observation that Flaubert's *œuvres de jeunesse* 'traversent l'une après l'autre les grandes modes romantiques',[83] forms the basis of his classification of the works into three 'cycles': historical, philosophical and autobiographical. These quintessentially French Romantic 'modes' and the study of their effects within Flaubert's artistic

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[80] See Antoine Compagnon, *La Seconde main: ou, le travail de la citation* (Paris: Seuil, 1979).
[81] See, for example, note 68 above.
[82] Victor Brombert, 'Usure et rupture chez Flaubert: l'exemple de *Novembre*', in *Essais sur Flaubert en l'honneur du professeur Don Demorest*, ed. by Charles Carlut (Paris: Nizet, 1979), pp.145–54 (p.148).
[83] Bruneau, p.70.

development are of use to the present analysis in directing its consideration of the corpus, although such discrete categorisation could be seen as somewhat limiting. Equally, this thesis may be seen as a counterpart to Sartre's reading of the early works as an insight into Flaubert's psychological formation: our consideration is Flaubert's aesthetic development. Furthermore, the ideas of Unwin's *Art et infini* provide a useful springboard for analysing Flaubert's early mindset, although again, the aesthetic rather than the pantheistic will be prioritised in furthering the debate started by Unwin regarding Flaubert's concept of 'la nature de la réalité'.[84] Since the thesis considers manifestations of the German from a French literary perspective, the role of *De l'Allemagne* must not be forgotten. Madame de Staël's four 'parties' (summarised succinctly by Isbell as treating (i) the German nation and customs; (ii) literature and the arts; (iii) philosophy and ethics; (iv) religion and enthusiasm),[85] in which she examines different aspects of the German mindset, provides a thematic framework which may be adopted in conjunction with Bruneau's notion of 'cycles'. Initially, therefore, a chapter will be devoted to the Romantic context in which Flaubert began writing (encompassing the national and historical), followed by his treatment of the individual (akin to Bruneau's 'autobiographical' cycle), prior to exploring the philosophical and artistic topoi of his *EJ*. The choice of German Romantic motifs with which to fill each 'partie' of the thesis and its various sub-sections is guided by the work of previous critics, and thus many constituent elements of what Bénichou terms 'la fable sacrée de la religion romantique'[86] and their cumulative effect on Flaubert's aesthetic development will be covered. The power of translation will be held in tension throughout: the notion of a specifically German inflection on Flaubert's prose constitutes a form of 'translation gain', and this Germanic inflection may also be understood as a key contributor to the works' aesthetic value.

Perhaps one of the more controversial methodological issues facing this thesis concerns delimiting what is meant by 'jeunesse' when applied to Flaubert's *EJ*. Bruneau identifies three possible years by which the corpus may be delineated, namely 1842, 1845 and 1849, but uses the former date and claims that 'l'œuvre de jeunesse proprement dite de Flaubert s'arrête avec *Novembre*'.[87] Masson classifies Flaubert's work prior to 1845 as 'Écrits d'adolescence et de jeunesse' and 'Premiers romans',[88] while the recent first volume of

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[84] Unwin, *Art et infini*, p.9.
[85] See Isbell, p.10.
[86] Bénichou, II, 1817.
[87] Bruneau, p.8.
[88] Gustave Flaubert, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Bernard Masson, 2 vols (Paris: Seuil, 1964), I.

Flaubert's *œuvres complètes* encompasses all known material up to and including *L'Éducation sentimentale* of 1845, under the title *Œuvres de jeunesse*.[89] Other studies include the first version of *La Tentation de Saint Antoine* (1849),[90] while a handful choose to restrict their corpus considerably more: Eric Gans, for example, considers only writings between 1835–37.[91] Clearly, it is difficult to separate any author's juvenilia from his/her mature work without ambiguity, although it could be argued that editors often simply choose to include *L'Éducation sentimentale* (1845) in the 'écrits de jeunesse' category for the practical reason that doing this balances the size of volumes within the series of Flaubert's *œuvres complètes*. Where critics have restricted their definition of Flaubert's *EJ* to a year prior to 1842, they have been quick to emphasise that this is for sound methodological reasons: Gans, for example, analyses in detail each of the twenty-four known narratives written 1835–37 for their intrinsic value as microcosms of Flaubert's juvenile mindset.[92]

This thesis will adopt the definition of Flaubert's *EJ* which encompasses his literary output between 1835 and 1842, for a number of reasons. Although several known writings exist prior to 1835, these were generally undertaken as school exercises, so cannot represent a free choice of subject matter or, arguably, creative expression. Bruneau defines the 1835–42 period as encompassing Flaubert's 'œuvres de jeunesse vraiment originales',[93] and also adopts this definition in supporting his principal conclusions. In a letter to Louise Colet, Flaubert himself asserts that 'cette œuvre [*Novembre* (1842)] a été la clôture de ma jeunesse'.[94] Although such judgements made by an author may not be the most reliable indicator, the differences in length, genre and characterisation between *Novembre* (1842) and *L'Éducation sentimentale* (1845) appear to be validated by Flaubert's claim. Moreover, the latter text was written after a number of significant biographical and historical events (such as Flaubert's first nervous attack of January 1844), and combined with the critical acknowledgement of French Romanticism's apotheosis being reached during the 1830s,[95] marks a new phase in Flaubert's artistic career. Therefore, 1842

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[89] See note 7 above.
[90] These include, *inter alia*, Unwin's *Art et infini*.
[91] Eric Lawrence Gans, *The Discovery of Illusion: Flaubert's Early Works, 1835–1837* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).
[92] 'The underlying assumption of this analysis has been that even the most immature of these works is a literary entity, a microcosm that, crude and imitative as it may be, cannot but reveal the basic structures of Flaubert's own consciousness.' Ibid., p.2.
[93] Bruneau, p.10.
[94] *Correspondance*, I, 410.
[95] See note 32 above.

represents the most suitable 'end-date' for the corpus of *EJ* to be used in the present study, Gans's argument for focusing on a narrower set of parameters notwithstanding. By considering Flaubert's *EJ* as a whole rather than each for its own merits, selecting the most appropriate works from this corpus to illustrate the chapters of the present study will provide a more comprehensive and, ultimately, a more convincing argument for their imitations of German Romanticism.

Echoing the Romantic preference for the Medieval over the Classical, the thematic exploration of German Romantic motifs in this thesis will work from the 'macrocosm' (the broad Romantic context) to the 'microcosm' (the level of the Romantic individual), with each chapter drawing ever closer to the inner workings Flaubert's aesthetic, as depicted by the inventiveness of the *EJ* as a whole. The relationship between the general and particular is frequently cited as an enduring feature of Flaubert's *œuvre*,[96] thus strengthening the thematic approach adopted here: each Romantic trope may be considered as a broader indication of the Romantic ideas which Flaubert was imitating. While the reasons for assigning individual texts to particular chapters will be explored in the introduction to each section, the overall structure of this thesis will follow an adapted version of the 'cycles' pattern proposed by Bruneau.[97] In the first chapter, the 'historical' context into which Flaubert was born will be considered, adopting a broad definition of 'history' which includes the cultural and geographical attitudes that prevailed in France during the 1830s. Following this 'national' viewpoint, in chapter 2 attention will be focused on the individual, and the 'human landscape' which is depicted in Flaubert's early works. Although such terms are more generic than Bruneau's notion of an 'autobiographical' cycle, the way in which the description of particular 'life stories' may be seen to stand for more general human existence has a similar effect in allowing exploration of the German Romantic 'mindscape' adopted by Flaubert. The third chapter will move yet closer to this mindscape by considering the 'philosophical' elements of narratives from within the corpus. To appreciate the cumulative effect of this 'aesthetic diary', Flaubert's adoption and adaptation of Romantic genres will be considered in the final chapter. By adhering to this structure, an appreciation of the position of the German Romantic at various levels within Flaubert's *œuvre* (or '*Gesamtkunstwerk*'), will be achieved.

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[96] For example, Orr notes the 'international and universal dimensions' of Yonville in *Madame Bovary*. See Mary Orr, *Flaubert. Writing the Masculine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.25.
[97] See note 83 above.

Chapter 1 therefore considers manifestations of the literary contexts in which Flaubert grew up, through exotic, historic and aesthetic lenses. Amid the rejection of Classical models, Romanticism is often associated with an interest in the exotic. The 'exoticism' presented in *De l'Allemagne* is that of Germany, a 'northern' climate with swirling mists and 'dark', inhospitable environments, rather than the warm, Mediterranean climate of the Classical or 'oriental' world. The notion of the exotic thus remains, but with reference to settings which are either geographically or temporally removed from the reader's *milieu*, highlighting the way in which the 'dark' and the 'northern' may be presented as an exotic alternative to the everyday. Equally, the role of Romanticism in reasserting the national and historical is well known: the political and social changes in nineteenth-century France (for example the industrial revolution and growth of cities), made many nostalgic for a bygone age, and Flaubert's attraction to the 'conte historique' genre and choice of French (rather than Classical) subjects was by no means unique.[98] However, his use of 'dark' motifs within these historical tales is suggestive of German Romanticism rather than the 'conservative' treatment of French history by writers such as Chateaubriand.[99] Finally, the way in which Romanticism sought to break with established cultural and aesthetic bonds will be considered. The controlling notion of 'form' in seventeenth-century French art, and the restrictive nature of Classical imitation are distinguished from the artistic freedom sought by Romantics. Moreover, the 'dark' tendencies of the English Gothic contributed to the use of similarly unsettling, macabre motifs in Romanticism. The way in which the dark side of Flaubert's 'Romantic' cultural context manifests itself in selected early works will thus conclude this examination of the German Romantic in the 'outer' world.

While pathetic fallacy often provides an almost clichéd link between the world and the Romantic individual, never far from the 'dark' Romantic elements of the historical landscape is the 'dark' side of human nature, and chapter 2 considers the 'mindscapes' of Flaubert's protagonists. The sinister qualities of many characters in his *EJ* are demonstrative of the German Romantics' interest in 'abnormalities' of the mind: melancholia, somnambulism, nightmare and hallucination are all 'dark' features associated with German Romanticism, and especially writers such as E.T.A. 'Gespenster' Hoffmann.

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[98] The popularity of subject matter which was 'close to home' for a French audience is exemplified by the success of Hippolyte Lucas, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes: Encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle*, 8 vols (Paris: Curmer, 1840–42).

[99] Chateaubriand's *Le Génie du christianisme* (1797), for example, extols the virtues of France's 'national' religious heritage rather than considering the 'dark' or negative elements of the French past.

Obsession, or the popular nineteenth-century condition of monomania,[100] in Flaubert's characters is often an indicator of Romantic 'génie' and a superior, Romantic sensibility. The place of this apparent 'madness' within society and society's treatment of its sufferers as monster figures offers an early insight into what would become Flaubert's renowned hatred of 'la bêtise humaine' and, more generally, the bourgeois mentality.[101] The appetite for excess and the use of drugs to achieve new sensations is a common feature of the Romantic lifestyle,[102] and the way in which Flaubert uses Romantic ideas in writing his early 'contes bacchiques' will also be considered here. For the heroes of many of Flaubert's early tales, insanity followed by suicide is an almost inevitable outcome: this is consistent with Allan Pasco's observation that 'as Romantics cultivated melancholy, so they cultivated death'.[103] However, as with the monomaniac and the drunkard, the suicidal protagonist's death wish can be perceived as indicative of a superior state of mind, which may be contrasted with the unflinching pragmatism of those around them. Perhaps it should be argued that rather than embracing the more generic, Romantic notion of 'mal du siècle' or 'Weltschmerz', Flaubert's Romantic heroes are afflicted by a more personal, Wertherian 'Ichschmerz'. Their claustrophobic, melancholy mindscapes are presented as a sign of Romantic 'génie' of the sort ascribed to Goethe's Werther.

Chapter 3 attempts to enter the 'mindscapes' presented in the previous section by considering the relationship between mind, spirit and metaphysics. The metaphysical is often considered a defining feature of German Romanticism: while French Romantic treatises (such as *La Préface de Cromwell*) are predominantly historical, Staël emphasises the way in which 'les romans philosophiques ont pris [...] en Allemagne, le pas sur tous les autres'.[104] While the present study does not consider German philosophical intertexts, the (ostensibly Manichean) world view present in the works to which Unwin refers as 'mystiques'[105] will be unpacked. This will also develop some of the ideas found in Andrew

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[100] For a comprehensive study of monomania, see Marina van Zuylen, *Monomania: The Flight from Everyday Life in Literature and Art* (Ithaca: Cornell Univeristy Press, 2005).
[101] See Alan W. Raitt, *Gustavus Flaubertus Bourgeoisophobus. Flaubert and the Bourgeois Mentality* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2005).
[102] This aspect of Romanticism is perhaps one of the most enduring: from De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1822) which was translated into French in 1828 by Flaubert's acquaintance Alfred de Musset, to Baudelaire's post-Romantic homage to the power of 'le vin' in *Les Fleurs du mal* (1857), the Romantic appetite for sensual excess appears undiminished.
[103] Allan H. Pasco, *Sick Heroes. French Society and Literature in the Romantic Age, 1750–1850* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1997), p.147.
[104] *De l'Allemagne*, p.150.
[105] See Unwin, *Art et infini*, pp.25–96.

Cuthbert's recent doctoral thesis,[106] albeit in relation to the opposite end of Flaubert's 'aesthetic diary'. Representations of the supernatural and other instances of '*Unheimlichkeit*' are considered initially, and the way in which these irrational phenomena are 'explained' is compared with the interests of Hoffmann, outlined above. As a means of widening of the debate regarding Flaubert's philosophical outlook in *Art et infini*, the 'dark' motif of the Satanic and its demonstrable power over the world compared to the relative weakness of Christianity will then be explored. While Jesus is invariably cast as an otherworldly 'Romantic hero' in a manner comparable with Renan's later, hugely significant work *La Vie de Jésus* (1863), the portrayals of the Devil by Flaubert invariably invite comparisons with Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust*. The Faustian theme is continued in Flaubert's exploration of the 'dark' side of reason – a quest for knowledge, both good and bad, can only lead to the discovery of the power held by 'evil'. Rather than examining the chosen works as evidence of a dualistic Flaubert in the manner of many existing studies, the focus is thus on the ways in which Flaubert makes use of dualism for his own purposes. The Spinozism identified in Flaubert's work by certain critics[107] is by no means his only connection to 'non-French' thinkers: the complete works of Creuzer, for example, are listed in the inventory of his library,[108] and it is clear that German influences on his early aesthetic span both the literary and the philosophical. In a continuation of Unwin's debate, this chapter considers the way in which Flaubert's juvenile 'spéculations métaphysiques' combine with their 'vision réaliste'.[109]

In a culmination of the appraisal of Flaubert's creative imitation of German Romanticism, the final chapter will consider his adoption and adaptation of Romantic genres, focusing on *Novembre* as a set of closing remarks in this early 'aesthetic diary'. 'Dark' genres are often favoured by 'non-French' Romantics (the Gothic tradition in relation to English Romanticism or the fantastic, favoured by German Romantics, for example), although Flaubert also clearly draws on French traditions such as the 'conte philosophique'. His emphasis of realism and paradox within these genres, often to such an extent that the subject matter becomes unreal, is a defining feature of his aesthetic. This therefore invites the reappraisal of Unwin's assertion that for Flaubert, 'la meilleure façon

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[106] Andrew Cuthbert, 'Les Champs des connaissances: Myth and Metaphysics in the Late Works of Flaubert' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2003).
[107] See, for example, Andrew Brown, '"Un assez vague spinozisme": Flaubert and Spinoza', *Modern Language Review*, 91 (1996), 848–65.
[108] See Rouault de la Vigne, p.83.
[109] Unwin, *Art et infini*, p.100.

d'expliquer la nature de l'infini n'est donc pas la démonstration philosophique, mais la représentation artistique'.[110] While a degree of formal and linguistic experimentation may be expected in any author's early writings, often resulting in fragmented or incomplete works, the way in which form appears essential to the content and style of Flaubert's *EJ* is suggestive of the codified, theoretical nature of German Romantic aesthetics. Furthermore, the way in which these diverse genres align themselves within Flaubert's *Gesamtkunstwerk* (itself a tenet of German Romanticism), and create an aesthetic 'mosaic' or coherent corpus, will conclude this analysis of the ways in which German Romanticism exercised a positive influence over Flaubert's early artistic development.[111]

In summary, this thesis aims to identify a more rigorous set of interconnections between Flaubert's *EJ* than has been attempted previously, by considering the extent to which his early aesthetic was shaped by exposure to German writers of the Romantic period. Adopting a broader perspective than that of a straightforward influence study, sustained aesthetic correspondences between the concepts contained in Flaubert's *EJ* and the ideas of German Romantics, as well as the apparent translation of specific motifs, will validate the thesis and provide the most concerted case to date that German Romanticism played a significant role in Flaubert's intellectual and aesthetic formation. On a broader level, this thesis will reassert the significance of 'écrits de jeunesse' within an author's *œuvre*, and encourage a reappraisal of the view held by critics and reviewers that such work is necessarily a mere precursor to a more worthy literary career.[112] One of the foremost advantages to critics of Flaubert's early writings over his later *œuvre* is the candid insights into his aesthetic which the short, unedited narratives contain: over fifteen years since the last publication dealing with this textual corpus as a whole, there are clear benefits to Flaubert Studies of maintaining an equally 'fresh' critical approach to these otherwise neglected pieces, which does not replicate the methodologies of genetic or correspondence-based criticism. The use made of devices favoured by German Romantics such as Romantic irony, and the extent to which Flaubert's famous predilection for irony may be traced back to Germanic roots, will also contribute to a wider understanding of the style of one of France's greatest 'Realist' writers. Ultimately, this thesis will offer a contemporary

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[110] Ibid., p.185.

[111] This sense of culmination concurs with Gans's promotion of the aesthetic value of Flaubert's juvenilia: 'The works of these early years are the most revelatory ones from a structural point of view because the evolution they embody is truly organic, determined by the gradual emergence of conflicts, as it were, unconsciously from within the Romantic forms themselves.' Gans, p.11.

[112] See note 1 above.

perspective to established debates within Flaubert Studies, such as Flaubert's position between Romanticism and Realism. Let us now examine the young author's passage 'though Romanticism darkly' to uncover intrinsically Germanic influences and imitations in Flaubert's *EJ* as the preface to his literary career.

Chapter 1: Romantic Contexts

In Germany, according to Madame de Staël, the term 'Romantic' was defined from its inception: 'le nom de *romantique* a été introduit nouvellement en Allemagne, pour désigner la poésie dont les chants des troubadours ont été l'origine, celle qui est née de la chevalerie et du christianisme'.[1] The 'novelty' of literature which looked to indigenous culture, rather than to Classical antiquity, was clearly attractive to those French writers who found existing models restrictive. Donald Charlton emphasises the pivotal role of Staël's presentation of Romanticism in shaping the emerging movement in France:

> German influences on Staël and Constant led to the linking of the notion of 'the Romantic' with, firstly, the medieval and Christian in contrast to the Ancient, secondly, the northern European in contrast to the Mediterranean, and, thirdly, the national and modern in opposition to Classicist doctrines.[2]

The notion of rejection of the established order, translated for a French audience by figures such as Madame de Staël, summarises the literary climate in which Flaubert began writing. Consideration of his spatio-temporal and aesthetic position within this 'Romantic context' is therefore a timely place to begin this analysis. Initially, as perhaps the most 'visual' aspect of Romanticism identified by Charlton, Flaubert's treatment of the exotic (in contrast to his middle-class, Norman *milieu*), will be examined. Subsequent consideration of Flaubert's use of temporally distant (but nonetheless French) settings draws attention to both the national and medieval rather than Classical antiquity. Ultimately, the impact of this Romantic context on Flaubert's aesthetic, and his use of the exotic or historical 'other' to depict his own surroundings, will be appraised.

A growing interest in the exotic, fuelled by colonisation, increased scientific knowledge of the world and greater opportunities for the wealthy to travel beyond Europe, resulted in the publication of works such as Guillaume-Thomas Raynal's *Histoire des deux Indes* (1770) towards the end of the eighteenth century, which informed the tastes of many early French Romantics. For example, Moreau argues that authors including Raynal and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre were highly influential on Chateaubriand, and 'ont éveillé en lui le besoin de l'exotisme',[3] a 'need' which manifested itself in the writing of works such as *Atala* (1801), with its obvious connections to French colonial policy in Louisiana at the time. While the 'goût orientaliste' of the early nineteenth century, which may have been

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[1] *De l'Allemagne*, p.32.
[2] *The French Romantics*, ed. by D.G. Charlton, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), I, 16.
[3] Moreau, p.32.

encouraged by the Napoleonic campaigns in Egypt (1798–1801), is well documented,[4] notions of 'southern' exoticism[5] soon became somewhat clichéd. However, Staël observes 'le talent admirable des Allemands pour se transporter dans les siècles, dans les pays, dans les caractères les plus différents du leur',[6] suggesting literary potential of the foreign that extends beyond the use of stock imagery. This taste for 'the other' in its broader sense, rather than merely the 'southern' imagery of the ancient, Classical world, includes the swirling mists and thunderstorms of 'northern' exoticism, which may be contrasted equally effectively with the more temperate climate and culture of 'home'. Gérard Raulet asserts that 'nationalisme et exotisme, au dix-neuvième siècle, vont de pair',[7] but fails to address the origins of this trend. The first section of this chapter therefore considers Flaubert's somewhat Germanic tendency to use the 'exotic other' as an important means to explore the national. In *La Peste à Florence* (1836), Flaubert presents a community living in terror of the plague and, despite its exotic backdrop, displays many similarities to the society in which he was growing up. Meanwhile, in *Passion et Vertu* (1837), the callous Ernest rejects the cold, grey shores of France in favour of life in Mexico, leaving the 'exotically Romantic' and broken-hearted Mazza behind. In both tales, the 'exotic' is contrasted with the realistic to the extent that painful reality is made to seem universal.

In the second section of this chapter, attention turns towards the 'reality' of France's historical heritage. While 'history' had previously meant Classical civilisations and Classical mythology, the German Romantics by contrast looked to their own collective past, in an attempt to foster national identity through the medium of a culturally specific literature which would revive and sustain their traditions. In the preface to their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1819), the Brothers Grimm describe their desire to sow 'Sämen für die Zukunft'[8] amid the 'Verkehrtheiten des Lebens',[9] which they perceived around them in the form of 'progress'. Combined with the fear of losing any sense of national identity to the international homogenisation which was widely considered to be the inevitable result of industrialisation across Europe, many German Romantics sought to create a politically

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[4] For a comprehensive treatment of the history of orientalism in the arts, see John MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
[5] The way in which northern European artists 'created' a particularised vision of the 'Orient' in the early nineteenth century is explored in Edward W. Saïd, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).
[6] *De l'Allemagne*, p.48.
[7] Gérard Raulet, 'L'Archive exotique du «siècle des nationalistes»', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 74 (2000), 19–42 (p.19).
[8] W. and J. Grimm, 'Vorrede', in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen, gesammelt durch die Gebrüder Grimm*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980), I, 15–27 (p.15).
[9] Ibid., p.16.

unifying literature which would encourage the formation of an identifiable and single nation state: for example, Friedrich Schlegel's concept of 'progressive Universalpoesie'[10] defines German Romantic literature as having appeal to *all* German-speaking people, rather than being restricted to the educated elite. Such concern for 'promoting' the language of the populace in Germany was not without precedent – Luther's insistence on the use of vulgar German in Biblical translation sets a clear example[11] – yet despite very different political circumstances in France, French Romanticism also adopted many such principles of the German Romantics as the movement developed across the Rhine.

In *De l'Allemagne*, Staël asserts that 'on prend quelquefois le mot *classique* comme synonyme de perfection. Je m'en sers ici dans une autre acceptation, en considérant la poésie classique comme celle des anciens,'[12] suggesting sentiments of innovation and ownership of the emerging literary traditions among Romantics. Although many French writers continued to show interest in the Classical world, their perspective on it was clearly changing. Constant's *De la religion* (1824–31), for example, attempts to present a comprehensive overview of ancient religions in five volumes rather than extolling only the virtues of Christianity in the manner of Chateaubriand's *Le Génie du christianisme* (1797). The Germanic notion of modernity promoted by Staël may have helped to 'legitimise' emerging tendencies in the French-speaking world: an earlier piece by Constant entitled *Des effets de la Terreur* (1797) is very specific in its scope and historical context, for example. This recourse to national history also offered the Romantics and their public a degree of 'truth' at a time when previously accepted 'certainties' were crumbling – governments were being undermined by Revolutions, while scientific advances challenged the Creation story, for example. Frank Bowman suggests that the 'mythology' of folklore provided 'a means of apprehending a truth that reason alone could not grasp and [...] a presentation of that truth which supplements logical discourse'.[13] According to Charlton, the 'truth' which preoccupied the Romantics could be found 'through an appeal to every human faculty of knowledge and through a painstaking attention to past history and

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[10] Friedrich Schlegel, '[Athenäums] Fragmente' (1798), in *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, ed. by Ernst Behler, 35 vols (Munich: Schönigh, 1958), I, 183.

[11] In his 'Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen' (1530), Luther defends his use of the language spoken by 'die mutter im hause, die kinder auf der gassen, den gemeinen mann auff dem markt [*sic*]' in translating Biblical verse from Latin. See Martin Luther, *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen und Fürbitte der Heiligen*, ed. by H.S.M. Amburger-Stuart (London: Duckworth, 1940).

[12] *De l'Allemagne*, p.32.

[13] Frank Paul Bowman, 'Illuminism, Utopia, Mythology', in *The French Romantics*, I, 76–112 (p.96).

thought'.[14] By considering their *own* heritage (separated from the legacy of distant Classical civilisations), the French Romantics were seeking to establish a sense of 'true' national identity, not unlike that sought by their German counterparts.[15]

Echoing sentiments comparable to those of the Grimms,[16] French writers of the early nineteenth century demonstrated a renewed interest in fables and folk tales, with their apparent purity of form as vehicles for conveying moral messages. Flaubert also realised the appeal of the fable and used it for his own purposes:[17] Benjamin Bart observes that 'reconnaître que les fables sont plus vraies que les vérités des historiens permet à Flaubert de résoudre le conflit entre le naturel et le surnaturel comme sources de vérités'.[18] The 'half-reality' created by the use of fantastic subject matter within realistic settings thus offered Flaubert, among others, the possibility of exploring the 'truth'. *EJ* which portray societies removed both spatially and temporally from the reader's *milieu* may therefore be examined for their implications about the 'here and now' rather than for their historical or geographical accuracy. Just as Flaubert uses the exotic to reveal the 'reality' of nineteenth-century France, the relationship between his early *contes historiques* and his contemporary environment is of equal importance to his perception of the French 'cultural identity'. In her appraisal of the merits of Romantic literature, Staël asserts that

> la littérature romantique est la seule qui soit susceptible encore d'être perfectionnée, parce qu'ayant ses racines sur notre propre sol, elle est la seule qui puisse croître et se vivifier de nouveau: elle exprime notre religion; elle rappelle notre histoire; son origine est ancienne, mais non antique.[19]

The appeal of national history to the Romantics lay in 'le goût d'une histoire concrète, le goût de la vie',[20] its 'reality' emphasised above by Staël's repetition of 'notre'. While the ancient world may have appeared excessively removed from the present, Romantics sought to re-evaluate accepted portrayals of history and religion within their own culture. The sense of identity fostered by recourse to medieval and Christian models rather than Classical antiquity would therefore seem all the more relevant to this generation of authors.

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[14] *The French Romantics*, I, 28.
[15] In *La Préface de Cromwell*, Hugo refers to 'l'uniforme simplicité du génie antique', explaining the need for Romanticism to represent truth rather than simply particularise the ideal in the manner of earlier ostensibly 'French' literature, for example the adoption of Classical models by Racine. See Hugo, p.195.
[16] See notes 8 and 9 above.
[17] For example, Flaubert adopts the 'fable convention' of writing an explicit 'Moralité' at the end of *RI*, but follows this with '(Cynique)'. Flaubert's adoption and adaptation of 'Romantic genres' is explored in chapter 4 of the present study.
[18] Benjamin F. Bart, 'Flaubert et le légendaire', *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 81 (1981), 609–20 (p.611).
[19] *De l'Allemagne*, p.35.
[20] Moreau, p.78.

While initial work in France was typically conservative – Chateaubriand's *Le Génie du christianisme* extols the virtues of Roman Catholicism, for example – later works by Constant such as *L'Esprit des religions* (1803–04) display more pantheistic tendencies, ostensibly as a result of the liberal influences from Germany communicated by Madame de Staël. Since chapter 3 of the present study explores the metaphysical aspects of Flaubert's early aesthetic, the second section of this chapter will concentrate primarily on his treatment of French cultural rather than religious heritage. In both *Mort du Duc de Guise* (1835) and *Chronique normande du X^e siècle* (1836), Flaubert takes 'real' events from French history and describes them – and the reactions of those observing them – in a way which implies his perception of the French national mentality: despite their temporal distance from his own era, the behaviour and reactions which Flaubert portrays could be those of his contemporaries.[21]

By presenting exotic, 'northern' geographies and 'non-Classical' histories, Romantics on both sides of the Rhine were therefore able to foster a sense of collective cultural identity among themselves and their readers. With its 'realistic' subject matter and accessibility to people who may not have benefited from a Classical education, the designation of Romantic literature by German writers such as Schlegel as a 'progressive Universalpoesie' had appeal to those French authors looking to break from the confines of tradition. As Raulet observes, 'toute la génération romantique, à commencer par les «romantiques d'Iéna», notamment Friedrich Schlegel et Hölderlin, va [...] retenir de Herder l'idée qu'il faut refonder la culture nationale en allant puiser plus loin à ses sources afin de mieux revenir au pays'.[22] While the new generation of French Romantics may not have 'needed' the unifying social, political or religious identity desired by their German counterparts to evoke sentiments of national or cultural cohesion, the popularity of the ideas described by Staël evidently appealed to many French artists.[23] In the climate of uncertainty created by challenges being posed to long-established 'truths', a return to the 'sources' of national culture fuelled the movement which Bénichou designates 'la révolution romantique'.[24] Reading the products of this 'revolution' may have affirmed the place of the historical in Flaubert's aesthetic – the *EJ* clearly bear hallmarks of

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[21] Such use of the past has obvious resonance of Flaubert's later *œuvre*, in particular *Salammbô*.
[22] Raulet, p.24.
[23] Perhaps the most convincing evidence of the French Romantics' liberty to return to the national includes the proliferation of 'home-grown' genres such as the 'physiologie', of which Hippolyte Lucas, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes: encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle*, 8 vols (Paris: Curmer, 1840–42), provides a well-known compilation.
[24] See Bénichou, 'La Révolution romantique', in *Romantismes français*, I, 259–330.

Chateaubriand's historical discourse, for example[25] – since the mentality of his characters, exemplified by those in the *conte historique* entitled *Deux mains sur une couronne* (1836) and the more generalised philosophical musings of *Agonies* (1838), is of greater interest to the young author than historical accuracy. The way in which such mentalities may be compared and contrasted with the nineteenth-century 'present' ultimately fosters a sense of collective identity, affording Flaubert the opportunity to critique the mindsets of a nation as well as the mindscapes of individuals. The final section of this chapter therefore considers Flaubert's aesthetic priorities in his portrayal of the French 'cultural identity', as translated by these two ostensibly 'timeless' early works. It will be in this exotic, historical and aesthetic French Romantic context that the impact of individual German Romantic traits can be better appraised.

I Exoticism

The inescapable associations of 'the exotic' with orientalism in an early nineteenth-century French context – Chelebourg describes the orient as the Romantics' 'source inépuisable de couleur locale, l'occasion de tableaux vifs et coloriés',[26] for example – have frequently caused other forms of exoticism (such as the 'exotic of the dark'), to be overlooked. As outlined above, the notion of the exotic in the present study is broader than this, encompassing both settings and temperaments which are removed from the reader's own *milieu*. According to Castex, a tendency among French Romantics to situate their fiction in a defined time and place may be attributed to German authors rather than indigenous literary traditions: '«Il était une fois» écrivait Perrault; Hoffmann, lui, ne nous plonge pas dans un passé indéterminé'.[27] While fairytales are traditionally thus 'timeless' and 'placeless', German authors such as Hoffmann in fact chose to situate their fantastic narratives with greater certainty. The appetite of German Romantics for the 'exotic other' is well known, for example in the longing expressed by poems such as Brentano's 'Nach Sevilla' (1801), or in the dreamy allusions to Mediterranean locations visited by

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[25] For example, Bart notes how six lines of *MdG* are identical to those in Chateaubriand's *Analyse raisonné de l'histoire de la France*. See Benjamin F. Bart, 'Flaubert, Plagiarist of Chateaubriand', *Modern Language Notes*, 65 (1950), 336–9. However, like many other critics, Bart fails to explore *how* Flaubert uses such historical accounts for his own purposes.

[26] Chelebourg, p.111.

[27] Castex, p.8.

Eichendorff's Taugenichts.[28] However, works such as Hoffmann's *Der goldne Topf* (1814), which describes supernatural characters and occurrences, yet is situated in nineteenth-century Dresden, or poems describing exotic figures in everyday locations (for example, Eichendorff's 'Die Zigeunerin' celebrates the robustness of the gypsy), also offer their readers a version of otherness. The reality of such settings invariably serves to make elements of the exotic and/or the supernatural more plausible: Castex asserts that Hoffmann 'décrit des hallucinations cruellement présentes à la conscience affolée [...] sur un fond de réalité familière'.[29]

Correspondingly, nineteenth-century French authors such as Victor Hugo often sought to portray in detail the 'local colour' of their narratives' settings: Philippe Van Tieghem asserts that Hugo aims to 'éclairer le drame intérieur par la couleur locale éxtérieure; en faire l'image complète d'un monde et d'une époque'.[30] Flaubert, by contrast, favours prioritising 'dark' aspects of exotic locations in a manner comparable to Staël's concentration on northern German landscapes, with their mists, storms etc., in *De l'Allemagne*.[31] Flaubert therefore works with a somewhat more limited palette in describing local colour, to the extent that Descharmes claims that 'le *Don Juan* de Hoffmann, les cadavres, les cimitières, la lune, les tombeaux, fournissent à Flaubert la plupart de ses images'.[32] As a result, there are invariably sinister undercurrents amid the 'exotic' settings which Flaubert describes: Marie Diamond observes that 'the stones, the vegetation, the birds, are not signs of enduring or vital life, but symbols of decline and death'.[33] However, having no first-hand knowledge of substantially different environments from that in which he grew up,[34] the young Flaubert is likely to be less concerned with geographical accuracy than using an exotic context (informed by his reading) as a means to portray his perceptions of Norman society. While this approach to social critique was already well established – Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1721) provides a well-known example – his suggestion that human 'bêtise' is the same everywhere, indicates perhaps a

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[28] In *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* (1826), the protagonist visits Rome, Lombardy, Prague and Vienna, and frequently extols the virtues of both his environment and carefree lifestyle.
[29] Castex, p.8.
[30] Philippe Van Tieghem, *Le Romantisme français* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1966), p.32.
[31] See Isbell, p.31.
[32] Descharmes, p.45.
[33] Diamond, p.54.
[34] The first significant journey abroad noted in his biography is that to the Pyrenees and Corsica at the age of 18. See Geoffrey Wall, *Flaubert: A Life* (London: Faber & Faber, 2001), p.49.

degree of Flaubertian irony since the exotic 'other', for which so many Romantics yearned, is not as exotic as they might believe.

An almost clichéd Romantic view of the exotic is presented in *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*, when Eichendorff portrays an idealised (albeit geographically inaccurate), vision of Rome, 'mit wundersamen Bergen und Abgründen am blauen Meer, goldnen Toren und höhen glänzenden Türmen'.[35] By contrast, before describing her sinister demeanour, in *PF* Flaubert locates Beatricia's room in 'le quartier le plus misérable de la ville' (p.145). This grotesque version of the exotic resembles Flaubert's other Mediterranean backdrops, such as the dark, narrow street in Barcelona inhabited by Giacomo (*Bibliomanie*) for example. Similarly, rather than displaying 'exotic', Mediterranean beauty akin to that of Mérimée's Carmen, Beatricia has many attributes of the fairytale witch: her long, yellowed teeth are like those of the ape-man Djalioh (*QV*), and 'elle marchait toujours nu-pieds, en s'appuyant sur un bâton plus haut qu'elle' (p.145). As an almost supernatural figure within the realistic setting of Florence, therefore, Beatricia may be compared to the 'Äpfelweib' in *Der goldne Topf*, who combines a mundane social role with the ability to transmogrify, or 'die Alte' in Tieck's *Der blonde Eckbert*, whose insights extend beyond the rational. Comparisons with the latter may be developed further by the ominous prediction to *PF*'s central protagonist: in a similar manner to 'die Alte's' assertion to Eckbert that 'das Unrecht bestraft sich selbst',[36] Beatricia tells Garcia that 'le cancer de l'envie et de la haine te rongera le cœur' (p.147). The macabre also plays a role in the portrayal of Beatricia's exoticism: as well as her historical and geographical 'otherness', the unexplained presence of skulls and human hair in her abode make her seem far removed from 'normality'. However, Flaubert's use of 'inclusive' definite articles in describing the scene implies that the reader *could* also experience it at first-hand – 'si *la* main par hasard tâtonnait sur une grande table ronde qui se trouvait là, elle rencontrait aussitôt [...] de longs cheveux tout sanglants' [emphasis added] (p.146) – thus the tale's exotic location sustains the credibility of its supernatural elements.

The 'reality' of *PF* is provided by reference to 'real' historical figures and events, namely the murder of one of Cosmo de Médici's sons. The names of 'real' aristocratic

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[35] Josef von Eichendorff, *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1976), pp.62–3. Of course in reality, Rome is not on the coast, but Eichendorff uses authentic place names without excessive concern for geographical accuracy, ostensibly to lend credibility to the exotic 'world' enjoyed by his protagonist.
[36] Ludwig Tieck, *Der blonde Eckbert* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1976), p.24.

figures associated with the Médicis, such as 'le comte Salfieri' and 'le duc de Bellamonte' lend the tale credibility as well as a sense of the exotic.[37] However, it could be argued that historical accuracy is no more a concern of Flaubert's than geographical detail is to Eichendorff. Gans suggests that the figure of François combines attributes of Francesco, the eldest son, with those of Giovanni, the son who was actually killed by Garcia,[38] and is quick to suggest that this is 'the reflection of the relative status of the brothers in Flaubert's own family'.[39] Although this interpretation may be influenced heavily by Sartre's psychoanalytical approach in *L'Idiot de la famille*, François does fit into his role as 'the successful older brother' especially neatly, as though worldly success is his destiny, reaffirming Robert's observation of 'cette sorte d'harmonie préétablie qui existe entre certains personnages et leur milieu'.[40] The narrator echoes this image of François as 'le chéri de la famille: à lui tous les honneurs, les gloires, les titres et les dignités' (p.148): this accumulation of bourgeois aspirations emphasises the embittered way in which Garcia perceives the worldly success that is implicitly beyond his reach. While Beatricia identifies a 'signe de bonheur' in François's palm (p.147), Garcia appears destined for unhappiness. It could be argued, therefore, that the tale's outcome is inevitable, and this 'predetermined melancholy' indicates from the outset that Garcia is a Romantic hero, whose 'mindscape' may be similar to that of the characters explored in chapter 2 of the present study, regardless of his 'exotic' *milieu* in seventeenth-century Italy. Despite their spatio-temporal removal from it, these historical characters thus appear vulnerable to the same strain of despair which afflicted a select group of inhabitants of nineteenth-century France.

Unlike the German Romantic writers mentioned above, however, Flaubert frequently includes details of his narrative's exotic setting as an afterthought, rather than make them integral to the action. For example, after describing Beatricia's predictions to the brothers, we are told merely that she 'contemplait par sa fenêtre les étoiles qui brillaient au ciel et la lune qui argentait les toits de Florence' (p.147). Were Florence not mentioned at the end of the sentence, the description could be of a 'Mediterranean Romantic backdrop' anywhere. Equally, when we are told that it is 'quelque chose de fantastique, de triste et même

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[37] This device may be likened to that fostered by the portrayal of two artists in *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*, 'Leonhard' and 'Guido', who represent Leondardo da Vinci and Guido Reni respectively.
[38] See Gans, p.108.
[39] Ibid., p.109.
[40] Paul-Louis Robert, 'A propos du centenaire de Flaubert – une première «Madame Bovary»' *L'Opinion* (10 December 1921), 662–3 (p.663).

d'effrayant qui devait, au XVII[e] siècle, en Italie, à Florence, et, la nuit, effrayer un homme tel que Garcia de Médicis' (p.147), the accumulation of simplistic information describing the time and place could be seen as a parody of the Romantic taste for situating works of fiction in temporally and geographically removed settings. Similarly trite details elsewhere in the text sustain the somewhat insincere tone fostered by 'une folle nuit d'Italie, au mois d'août, à Florence' (p.149). This typically Flaubertian 'triple accumulation' emphasises the way in which his narrative's setting is of tertiary importance, and perhaps supports the view that he is portraying a distinctly 'non-Latin' Italy, where mentalities are more akin to those of the Rouennais than the Romans. Before the narrator has asserted that beyond describing a historical event, for example, the tale deals with 'une autre peste [...] le malheur' (p.149), the reader appreciates that this psychological element is just as significant as the depiction of the plague, although perhaps it is this element especially, a 'sujet lugubre et terrible, attestant l'influence d'Hoffmann',[41] which owes the greatest debt to German Romanticism.

The power of the plague over 'le peuple' is described as being superior to that of the monarchy – 'depuis un mois elle régnait en souveraine dans la ville' (p.156) – and the 'peuple' are united in their fear as they dance and celebrate in an attempt to forget the threat. However, on an individual level, Garcia's unhappiness is greater than the collective fear: Gans asserts that 'the morbid atmosphere of the plague that runs through the story serves to unite Garcia's sufferings with those of mankind in general and to emphasise the universal significance of his revolt against the mortal condition'.[42] Alone while his family celebrate, he is compared to 'le spectre de Banquo' (p.151), in the first direct allusion to Shakespeare in Flaubert's *EJ*,[43] thus displaying Flaubert's appreciation of the 'northern' exoticism of swirling mists and sorcery with which Shakespearean works (especially *Macbeth*) are associated. Garcia's misery intensifies while out hunting, and once again the Flaubertian narrator is quick to proffer the situational detail that 'il faut vous dire que l'on était alors dans la forêt' (p.153), debunking Romantic convention. The mystical associations of forests, in both German Romantic works (in Tieck's *Der blonde Eckbert*, a magical bird sings of 'Waldeinsamkeit'), and in Shakespeare (the migration of Birnam Wood in *Macbeth*, for example), add to the air of the exotic which surrounds Garcia and

[41] Doumic, p.448.
[42] Gans, p.111.
[43] See Sagnes, 'Notice: *PF*', p.1258.

might forewarn a nineteenth-century audience of his impending actions.[44] After he has killed his brother, Garcia's exotic costume is contrasted with his barbaric action by the narrator who observes 'des taches de sang sur sa fraise de dentelles' (p.154).

Throughout *PF*, the third-person narrator offers general maxims which are as applicable to Garcia's situation as to that of the people of Florence in general. For example, he remarks 'oh! c'est souvent un rire qui cache une larme' (p.149), amid his description of the frantic celebrations of the people of Florence as they attempt to 'forget' the reality of the plague. Similar to that of Emma Bovary as she nears death, their laughter echoes as they revel in 'la débauche et dans toute la boue du vice' (p.156). Such 'generic' behaviour, in which there is a Faustian disparity between 'Schein' and 'Sein', appears timeless and just as applicable to the reader's own *milieu* as to the exotic setting of seventeenth-century Italy. Likewise, 'le peuple' is portrayed as a single, homogenised mass which is only too pleased to believe that death, 'the great leveller', has taken both the sons of Cosme de Médicis: 'le peuple pour un instant s'était soulevé de son matelas, avait ouvert sa fenêtre de ses mains défaillantes et moites de sueur, pour avoir la joie de contempler deux grands seigneurs que l'on portait en terre' (p.157). Such *Schadenfreude* is echoed in many of Flaubert's works (*PS*, for example), suggesting that whatever the geographical or historical context, people's collective reactions to the misfortunes of an 'other' will always be the same. Flaubert's depiction of 'le docteur Roderigo' is also comparable with the doctors found elsewhere in his *œuvre* (such as those in *RI*). As an alchemist, there is a certain amount of mystical power about him, although the narrator is quick to assert that he is 'peu versé dans la science qui le faisait vivre' (p.150). In turn, we are told that he 'était un homme de beaucoup d'esprit, aimait assez la société de Cosme II de Médicis, qui n'en avait guère' (p.150). Charlatans – or perhaps more general sustained disparities between appearance and reality – thus appear to exist at all levels in society.

Despite its exotic backdrop and apparent historical differences from the era in which Flaubert was writing,[45] *PF* describes sentiments and behaviour which he observed in humanity generally. Mystical elements such as the truth behind Beatricia's predictions and the tale's adaptation of real historical events may cast an exotic 'light' over the action,

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[44] In his comprehensive summary of nineteenth-century views on the forest, Alfred Maury asserts that 'la vie des forêts contraint l'homme civilisé à retourner vers la barbarie' in *Les Forêts de la France dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge: nouveaux essais sur leur topographie, leur histoire et la législation qui les régissait* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1856), p.3.

[45] Although despite these apparent differences, comparisons with the 1832 cholera outbreak in France are inevitable, and just six years after Flaubert wrote *PF*, France suffered the cholera epidemic of 1842–43, arguably lending his narrative a timeless quality.

although the underlying 'message' of the tale – or as Gans puts it, its 'universal significance'[46] – is equally applicable to Flaubert's own experience. The narrator is quick to undermine any suggestion of mystical exoticism (when describing Beatricia's lifestyle, he asserts that 'la mendicité complétait ses revenus' (p.145), for example), while his maxims are as timeless as the adages offered by narrators elsewhere in Flaubert's *EJ*. The all-pervasive 'râle d'enfer [...] sous les voûtes' (p.156) heard at Garcia's death summarises the tale's suggestion that diabolic influences are at work amid a superficially respectable society. Equally, the 'moralité' at the end of the tale – 'car à toutes choses il en faut une' (p.158) – undermines any expectation on the part of the reader to consider this a fable, and invites him/her to question the extent to which the narrative was really about the plague in Florence rather than having more general significance. In the same way as plagues have failed to eliminate humanity over the centuries, the overriding sense of life continuing unhindered amid a peel of church bells (similar to those at the end of *MF*, for example), encapsulates Flaubert's belief that basic human nature remains unchanged, regardless of *milieu*. The collective identity which Flaubert describes in *PF* may be contrasted with that of the reader's own environment; in the subsequent analysis of *Passion et vertu*, the implications of this may be unpacked at the level of the individual.

At first reading, *PV* does not take place in an exotic setting like that of *PF*, although its underlying theme is also the allure of 'the other'. Like his first published *EJ*, *Bibliomanie*, the narrative's source may be traced to an article in the *Gazette des Tribunaux*[47] concerning an adultress who is suspected of murdering her children and poisons herself. Critics have identified further similarities between *PV*'s protagonist and Madame de Rênal in Stendhal's *Le Rouge et le noir* (1830).[48] However, Flaubert adds substantially to such source material, making the tale seem more akin to the 'conte philosophique' genre than being a work based on historical 'fact'. Sagnes observes that 'pour être philosophique et œuvre d'analyse, le conte de Flaubert n'est pas pour autant détaché de la réalité'[49] – this lack of 'detachment' from reality lends the tale its exotic qualities. One of the major deviations from the source material is that the trial of 'Mme N...' is based only on the *suspicion* that she murdered her children, while in the case of Flaubert's heroine Mazza,

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[46] See note 42 above.
[47] [author unknown], 'La Moderne Brinvilliers', *Gazette des Tribunaux. Journal de jurisprudence et des débats judiciaires, feuille d'annonces légales*, 3515 (4 October 1837), pp.1–2.
[48] See Laurence M. Porter, '*PV*', in *A Gustave Flaubert Encyclopaedia*, ed. by L.M. Porter (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001), pp.250–1.
[49] Sagnes, 'Notice: *PV*', p.1299.

her guilt is beyond question.[50] The narrative's setting in contemporary Parisian bourgeois society lacks both the temporal and geographical distance from Flaubert's own *milieu* found in *PF*, but the way in which Mazza and Ernest interact represents a comparable interface between the 'exotic' environs of the Romantic and the pragmatic world of the French petit bourgeois. From the outset, Ernest is described using terms which suggest an unremarkable yet unflinching world view: 'loin d'être une de ces âmes d'exception comme il y en a dans les livres et dans les drames, c'était un cœur sec' (p.275).[51] Despite the irony implicit in this description (he is, after all, 'merely' a fictional character; even the narrator subsequently remarks that 'c'est [...] bien un *Don Juan*' (p.276)), Ernest is thus made to seem all the more 'down-to-earth' or representative of the French reader's *milieu*. His scientific tendencies are emphasised throughout: he harbours 'cette théorie de séduction' (p.275), and envisages his relationships with women in terms of cause and effect ('est-elle mariée, la farce n'en sera que meilleure' (p.275)). This scientific, chemical approach to life is evocative of Goethe's *Die Wahlverwandschaften*[52] and makes his the antithesis of the sentimental, Romantic mindset associated with Wertherian figures. The 'style indirect libre' used to portray Ernest's thoughts (comparable to the 'erlebte Rede' device favoured by German Romantics, discussed below), affords the reader an insight into his callous identity, which is implicitly representative of *all* bourgeois figures, regardless of their *milieu*: 'Et il y a tant de moyens de s'en faire aimer, soit par la jalousie, la vanité, l'orgeuil, l'horreur, la crainte, même' (p.276). As a 'Don Juan' figure who lacks the Latin exoticism of his Byronic intertextual precursor, Ernest is quick to boast to friends in statistical fashion that 'J'en ai encore une!' (p.282), reinforcing the narrator's assertion that his liaison with Mazza is merely the replaying' of a familiar sequence of events. In short, Ernest is a 'chimiste au cœur desséché, type parfait de ce bourgeois moyen et odieux que Flaubert a toujours détesté',[53] who imports the Norman mentality and values (of which Flaubert was critical), to any situation or geographical context.

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[50] This difference between the narrative and its source material forms a significant part of Bruneau's analysis of *PV*. In the present study, however, it is argued that the contrast between Mazza and her environment provides more fertile ground for assessing the influences of (German) Romantic literature on Flaubert.

[51] This description is reminiscent of Flaubert's original title for the second version of *L'Éducation sentimentale* – 'Les Fruits secs'.

[52] This work was translated as *Les Affinités électives* by Georges Bernard Depping and others, 3 vols (Paris: L'Huillier, 1810). The concept of being able to predict behaviour 'scientifically' in this way was a subject of considerable discussion in France at the time when Flaubert was writing.

[53] Robert, p.663.

Mazza, by contrast, is an exotic character whose outlook is unquestionably Romantic. In a reflection of Flaubert's own adolescent preferences, Mazza 'aime la poésie, la mer, le théâtre, Byron' (p.277),[54] and her unusual name marks her out as being 'different' from the suitably-named and bourgeois Ernest, who considers her tastes and decides that 'c'est une sotte, je l'aurai' (p.277). In appearance, her 'deux grands yeux noirs' (p.278) are comparable with Lotte's 'schwarze Augen' in *Werther*,[55] while we are told that prior to meeting Ernest, she was a devoted mother and loyal wife. However, the narrator clarifies her domestic boredom in his description of her banker husband's bourgeois interests: on returning home, he can only talk about how he 'fit le matin une bonne spéculation, acheté une ferme, rendu une vente...' (p.284), the repetition of commercial vocabulary showing the monotony and disinterest with which Mazza receives such news of changes in land ownership which were taking place in nineteenth-century France. It is hardly surprising, therefore, when the narrator remarks that on meeting Ernest, 'pour la première fois elle sentit qu'elle aimait' (p.280). Such Romantic, emotional descriptions of Mazza's thoughts are contrasted with the way in which Ernest treats their meetings: as one might expect, there are clinical overtones to the brutally efficient way in which 'quand il l'eût flêtrie, usée, abimée [...] quand il l'eût rendue lasse, brisée, haletante il la laissa seule et partit' (p.282). The way in which the accumulation of adjectives describing Mazza comes to an abrupt end at the point where Ernest's actions are mentioned, summarises their two contrasting characters. While to Mazza, Ernest represents the fulfilment of her Romantic yearnings, to him she is merely an exotic 'other' which may be enjoyed intermittently without regular commitment, not unlike a holiday destination.

The question posed by the narrator, 'Qui n'a ressenti dans des heures de fièvre et de délire les mouvements intimes du cœur?' (p.280) nonetheless emphasises a sense of the collective in the narrative viewpoint that helps the reader to identify with Mazza's situation. This not only suggests that *every* reader should be able to identify with Mazza, but also echoes the dual nature of 'passion' and 'vertu' suggested by the narrative's title. However, Ernest is one figure, at least, who seems not to have experienced such Romantic sentiments, and consequently falls outside the apparent universality of human emotions expressed. General maxims offered by the narrator also aim to further the sense of

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[54] Noting the similarities between Mazza and Flaubert, Robert asserts that 'c'est Lui comme la Bovary est Lui', Ibid., p.662.

[55] *Werther*, p.40. 'Dark eyes' are, of course, defining features of Emma Bovary and Maria (*MF*), to name but two Flaubertian heroines.

collective identity: we are expected to agree with the sentiment that 'la passion est une arme à feu qui part et vous tue lorsqu'on la croyait sans péril'[56] (p.278), with the use of 'vous' drawing the reader into the story.[57] The narrator's overt lack of omniscience (for example his ignorance of the contents of Ernest's first letter), supports further the credibility of the tale as a first-person account. As a result, when the narrator asserts that 'un jour je le vis [Ernest] avec les yeux rouges, d'où l'on pouvait conclure qu'il avait pleuré – ou mal dormi' (p.285), we are more inclined to realise the irony provided by the break in 'speech' and appreciate the likelihood that Ernest had simply slept badly. Equally, the reader is almost obliged to accept the narrative viewpoint which encourages our sympathy for Mazza ('Pauvre Mazza!' (p.280 and p.292)), and comprehension of the circumstances which lead to her downfall: 'tant d'amour, de cœur et de tendresse pour une indifférence si froide, un calme si raisonné' (p.292). Mazza thus possesses Romantic sentiments which, ironically, the modern, hard-nosed incarnation of the 'Don Juan' figure lacks: such 'unusual' inclinations within the nineteenth-century bourgeois world emphasise further her exotic qualities.

Mazza's 'exoticism' is underpinned by the oriental imagery used in the descriptions of her Parisian surroundings and the natural world. Nature is often personified in German Romantic writing: in *Der blonde Eckbert*, for example, we are told that 'der Mond sah abwechselnd durch die vorüberflatternden Wolken',[58] while 'die Bäume standen mit ihren Wipfeln in der Abendröte'.[59] However, in *PV* we are told, in an implicit echoing of Mazza's perception of it, that the moon appears 'comme un sultane au harem entre ses femmes' (p.288), demonstrating Flaubert's *use* rather than simple replication of a Romantic literary convention. The oriental imagery of the harem used here reflects Mazza's own situation: despite her *milieu* being nineteenth-century France, she is (unwittingly) an exotic member of Ernest's 'harem'. Her Romantic tendencies are emphasised further by the pathetic fallacy used to describe her view from the quayside in Le Havre – 'les nuages noirs et épais s'amoncelaient à sa gauche vers le soleil couchant qui était rouge et lumineux sur la mer' (p.287), the thick black clouds building in the direction of Ernest's departure indicate Mazza's imminent downfall. In a manner suggestive of

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[56] The Wertherian resonances of passion being likened to a firearm are unlikely to have been lost on a nineteenth-century audience.
[57] This technique is reminiscent of the famously 'inclusive' use of 'nous' at the beginning of *Madame Bovary*, for example.
[58] *Der blonde Eckbert*, p.4.
[59] Ibid., p.9.

Chateaubriand's *René*, the narrator describes Mazza's passion as 'un amour entier, comme le Vésuve, qui se déchire dans les éruptions et répand sa lave bouillante sur les fleurs de la vallée' – even in her tendency to self-destruction, Mazza is associated with 'southern' exoticism, although her *milieu* is clearly Le Havre rather than Italy. This apparent exoticism which Mazza embodies and perceives at 'home' is contrasted with Ernest's pragmatic reasons for going to Mexico: rather than finding Romantic allure in the Americas like Chateaubriand (in *Atala*, for example), he is going simply as part of 'une commission savante qui doit analyser les produits et le sol même du Mexique' (p.286) – 'même' emphasising the seriousness with which he regards this assignment. While Mazza's husband is travelling on business in Germany (a suitably staid destination to match his uninspiring character?), Mazza wishes to follow her supposedly more exotic lover to central America, although the narrator suggests that ultimately, both men have *similar* motivations for travel, and focus on the pragmatic notions of exploration and trade associated with the industrialising (and anti-Romantic) ethos of nineteenth-century France.

The way in which Mazza seeks the exotic within her own environment is demonstrated by her 'use' of public spaces where she hopes for a Romantic encounter with Ernest. She seeks him 'au bal, à la promenade, dans les jardins publics, aux musées' (p.285), believing that she will meet him in a scene similar to those of the Byronic novels which she enjoys.[60] Ernest's use of public space, however, is restricted to his reading of the *Journal des connaissances utiles* and the *Musée des familles*, from which he derives 'idées morales' such as that which he includes in his letter of rejection to Mazza: 'il ajoutait qu'il avait beaucoup vu et étudié, et qu'au reste la Providence était juste, que la nature était un chef-d'œuvre et la société était une admirable création' (p.286).[61] The 'exotic', Romantic identity formed by reading Byron is thus contrasted with that of the pragmatic bourgeois: in empathising with Mazza, the reader endorses her perception of the insensitive 'foule' as 'imbéciles [...] qui ne voient que le bonheur sur un front calme et qui ne savent pas que la torture arrache des rires' (p.292). Equally, her rejection of Europe in favour of the exoticism she believes exists in Mexico could be seen as a rejection of German Romantic notions about nature's beauty in all settings,[62] although while she may have been affected by that which the narrator calls 'les transports de l'amour' (p.301), Ernest is clearly

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[60] This 'weakness' for Romantic literature is another point in common between Mazza and Emma Bovary.
[61] Many further comparisons with *Madame Bovary* are possible here: *inter alia*, Rodolphe's recourse to Romantic clichés and the 'instructive' nature of certain publications for characters such as Homais.
[62] Eichendorff, for example, claims that beauty is to be found simply in 'die freie schöne Natur', away from society. *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*, p.24.

unchanged – the way in which he ends his letter 'n'oubliez pas mon acide' (p.298) is testament to his pragmatic focus on the chemical and inescapable lack of sensitivity. Therefore, the truth in Mazza's almost parodied contrast of Romantic ideas about Europe and Mexico is undermined: Europe may be 'pleine de brouillards et de glaciers, où les cœurs sont tièdes comme l'atmosphère et les amours aussi flasques, aussi mous que les nuages gris' (p.296), although 'cold' attitudes such as Ernest's prevail in Central America despite 'sa terre de feu, son soleil ardent, son ciel pur, ses belles nuits dans les bosquets de palmiers et de platanes' (p.296).

In *PV*, therefore, the exotic in the form of 'the other' is made to seem alluring by its promise of escape, either from a tedious lifestyle in the case of Mazza or another, 'different' female conquest in the case of Ernest. Ultimately, however, the exotic is made to appear mundane,[63] or even necessarily restricted to the imagination. Therefore, if we are to read *PV* as a scientific 'model' of human behaviour under certain conditions, it seems that since Romantic heroes are unable to reconcile themselves to being unable to escape their destiny, they will inevitably come to grief. As with so many of Flaubert's other *EJ*, bourgeois figures such as Ernest continue to prosper – when in Mexico, 'il la regrettait mais s'empressait d'aller éteindre dans les bras d'une esclave le feu allumé dans l'amour le plus fort et le plus sacré' (p.293) – while madness and self-immolation are the destiny of Mazza. It seems then, for Flaubert, that the exotic identity of the Romantic is at odds with the identity of 'the foule', echoing Eichendorff's assertion that 'unser Reich ist nicht von dieser Welt'.[64] Thus, while society may be organised in such a way that favours the bourgeois outlook and identity, the German Romantic identity is fostered by its emphasis on attraction to differences from that which surrounds it, and must therefore inevitably involve a degree of repulsion in the manner of Goethe's *Wahlverwandschaften*. The 'moral' of Flaubert's tale thus appears to be that ('southern') 'passion' and ('northern') 'vertu' are mutually exclusive, so that Mazza's Romantic tendencies, when awakened by Ernest, were destined to be her downfall.

In summary, despite their very different geographical and historical settings, both *PF* and *PV* depict the exotic as a means of reflecting their readers' own social and cultural identities. Both are based on real events, although the fictional elements introduced by

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[63] This sentiment is perhaps summarised most succinctly in Flaubert's later famous assertion that Emma Bovary 'retrouvait dans l'adultère toutes les platitudes du mariage'. *Madame Bovary* (Paris: Flamarrion, 1986), p.364.

[64] *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*, p.27. This also has Biblical overtones, for example Jesus in Matthew 6.28: 'Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin'.

Flaubert enhance the reader's appreciation of the polarity between the Romantic and non-Romantic which exists within human society. This echoes Dennis Porter's assertion that throughout Flaubert's *EJ*, the world is perceived in terms of opposing elements,[65] be they in climate (Europe versus the Americas in *PV*), or in social conditions (glory and honour versus insults and humiliation in *PF*), although, as I have shown, a German inflection on such polar oppositions renders them much more blurred. While the setting of seventeenth-century Italy is 'conventionally' exotic (i.e. it is temporally and geographically removed from the reader's *milieu*), in the tale's portrayal of Garcia, the suffering of the Romantic hero is made to seem inescapable, regardless of spatio-temporal context. Moreover, like both French and German Romantics, Flaubert perceives the social identity of his *milieu* to be divided between the insensitive 'foule' or bourgeoisie and the sensitive Romantic minority. The specifically Germanic implication of his *EJ* is that *negative* human qualities remain unchanged despite an exotic backdrop. This distinction is emphasised in *PV*: while the narrative is contemporary in terms of both its historical and geographical setting, Mazza, as an 'exotic' character in both physical and mental outlooks, is overtly out of place in this very local *milieu*. Society appears intent on favouring the callous, insensitive identity embodied by Ernest, while causing Mazza's downfall. Like so many German Romantic narratives, the proximity of *PV* to the reader's own environment is such that Ernest displays the 'accepted' and desired cultural identity required to prosper – as the narrator remarks, 'le bonheur se trouve dans les routes battues par la foule' (p.299). Having established that Flaubert uses the Germanic take on the 'exotic other' to reveal particular (dark) character traits in both individuals and 'the people', attention will now be turned to the sense of collective heritage conveyed in his *contes historiques*.

II Historicism

Although German Romantics were often keen to portray the exotic, idealised 'other', their approach to history was decidedly nationalistic. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, Klopstock attempted to draw the attention of his compatriots to 'l'intérêt poétique de leur histoire nationale',[66] while Herder promoted the idea of finding the popular soul in folk songs. Anthologies of folk legends such as *Die teutschen Volksbücher* (1782–86) by

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[65] See Dennis Porter, 'Mythic Imagery in Flaubert's *œuvres de jeunesse*', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 9 (1972), 148–60 (p.156).
[66] Chelebourg, p.22.

Görres sought to foster national identity among their readers by drawing on the Germans' collective past to capture the *Volksgeist*. Representations of the *Volksgeist* offer a useful political indicator: for example, many of these pieces portray the French in a negative light or appeal for national unity,[67] following the defeat of Prussia in the Napoleonic campaigns (1806). Beyond its preoccupation with representing 'national' identity, however, German Romanticism is also frequently credited with the promotion of reading history philosophically: Lessing's 1780 masterpiece, which was published in translation as *L'Education du genre humaine* in 1829, had considerable influence in France.[68] This 'new' approach to history, which prioritised both the national and philosophical, was aided by the undermining of established beliefs about the past. A number of Romantics, including Friedrich Schlegel, opened up Sanskrit texts, while Champollion decoded the hieroglyphs. Hebrew could thus no longer be considered the primitive language: as Bowman observes, 'pour l'Inde et pour l'Egypte, ce qu'on avait dit depuis des siècles se révélait faux'.[69] The revalorisation of history therefore became a significant element of German Romantic literature.

Observing the German Romantics' taste for historical subject matter, Madame de Staël commented that

> les sujets historiques exercent le talent d'une tout autre manière que les sujets d'invention; néanmoins, il faut peut-être encore plus d'imagination pour représenter l'histoire dans une tragédie, que pour créer à volonté les situations et les personnages.[70]

Such praise for the Germans' representation of national history, as opposed to Classical antiquity, helped to 'legitimise' and promote French Romantic literary interests. The use of events from the country's past thus also became one of the defining features of the Romantic movement in France: 'le Romantisme fut d'abord surtout un effort pour remplacer l'antiquité classique par l'antiquité nationale, pour trouver dans notre passé des sources d'inspiration.'[71] According to critics such as Moreau, Chateaubriand was the first of his generation to treat French history in detail: 'avec Chateaubriand, [la France] a tenté

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[67] See, for example, Fichte's *Rede an die deutsche Nation* (1808).
[68] See Gottfried Ephraim Lessing, *L'Education du genre humaine*, trans. by Eugène Rodrigues (Paris: Froment, 1829). This work may be seen to build on many of the ideas promoted in Rousseau's *Emile, ou de l'éducation* (1762).
[69] Frank Paul Bowman, 'Flaubert dans l'intertexte du discours sur le mythe', in *Gustave Flaubert 2: Mythes et religions 1*, ed. by B. Masson (Paris: Minard, 1986), pp.5–57 (p.44).
[70] *De l'Allemagne*, p.75.
[71] Van Tieghem, p.94.

de rejoindre son propre passé, de le relier au présent'.[72] However, while Chateaubriand's *Le Génie du Christianisme* may have been an initial step towards fostering a national identity through its appeal for recognition of the virtues of Roman Catholicism over Paganism, it required a sustained effort from other writers such as Stendhal – who, according to Van Tieghem, aimed to 'rénover les sujets en les tirant de notre histoire nationale'[73] – to overcome Classicism. Bénichou asserts that it was not until 1830 that Romantics were able to celebrate 'la victoire définitive de la nouvelle société sur l'ancienne'.[74] Therefore, by the time Flaubert was writing, medieval and Christian models (rather than those of Classical origins), were established firmly within the Romantic literary canon. The renewed interest in French cultural heritage can thus be attributed, at least partially, to the German Romantic 'need' for national unity and literary identity which was translated across the Rhine and informed the development of the French Romantic movement.[75] It must not be forgotten that Flaubert grew up steeped in a pseudo-medieval mentality (his interest in stained-glass windows and love of history as a schoolboy are well known, for example), and the conquering mentality of the Normans described in the Bayeux Tapestry was being revived with France's colonial policy in North Africa and the Americas. Amid this sense of the historical in Flaubert's *contes historiques*, he uses real events from French history as the basis for his fiction, although rather than promoting a proud sense of national identity through tales such as *Mort du duc de Guise*, he concentrates instead on the universally 'dark' side of the mentalities of his protagonists in their appropriate spatio-temporal contexts.

Written when Flaubert was nearly fourteen, *MdG* is seen by many as a simple historical account which is almost identical to that in Chateaubriand's *Analyse raisonné de l'histoire de la France*,[76] albeit with a small number of exaggerations. For example, Bruneau notes that the king's writing instrument is a 'poignard noirci' in Flaubert's rendition, while it is a mere 'crayon' in that by Chateaubriand.[77] However, to view the narrative solely in these terms is to ignore its portrayal of identities and the ways in which Romanticism influenced Flaubert's presentation of the historical facts. Equally, the approach adopted by previous studies fails to address the question *why* Flaubert chose this subject matter: while

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[72] Moreau, p.i.
[73] Van Tieghem, p.31.
[74] Bénichou, I, 391.
[75] Of course, other figures such as Walter Scott, whose work lies beyond the scope of this thesis, may also be credited for the revival of interest in national history among French Romantics.
[76] See, *inter alia*, Bart, 'Flaubert, Plagiarist of Chateaubriand', and Gans, pp.33–4.
[77] Bruneau, p.83.

circumstances surrounding the assassination of the Duc de Guise were not unknown in contemporary circles,[78] this narrative was not conceived as a school exercise, so the story must have held considerable literary potential for the young Flaubert. Like work by Heine, therefore, *MdG* could be seen as fiction written from a historical starting point: according to Raulet, 'les «Histoires» mêlent cependant faits historiques, plus ou moins «romancés», légendes orales, faits divers plus ou moins attestés que Heine élève au rang de légende'.[79] However, while German Romantics thus 'romanticised' history in a way which would encourage national pride – for example, Brentano's poem 'Zu Bacharach am Rheine' cemented the place of the Loreley figure in German folklore – in this case, Flaubert chooses to prioritise a 'dark' aspect of the French past, ostensibly to make a 'legend' out of the motivations of those involved.

As one might expect of any post-Revolutionary account, the portrayal of the monarch in *MdG* is not favourable, and even less positive than its intertextual precursors: Chateaubriand describes Henri III simply as 'un fou',[80] whereas Flaubert refers to him as a 'roi faible et imbécile' (p.48). Henri clearly believes in his Divine right to power, voicing sentiments which also had particular poignancy in post-Revolutionary France – 'il faut que tout change et rentre à la place où la Providence l'a placé' (p.50) – yet relies heavily on both the advice and actions of the 'conseil du roi' to defeat his challenger. While Henri rejects his henchmen's suggestions of putting his rival on trial in favour of 'des épées et des poignards' (p.50) (as demanded by sixteenth-century codes of honour), ultimately he fails to be the heroic, warrior-like king one might expect – we are told that 'prêt à frapper son ennemi, Henri tremblait' (p.51), and even after the duke is dead, the narrator observes that 'Henri trembla devant le cadavre du duc de Guise' (p.52). The repeated image of the king trembling thus suggests his unworthiness of the throne (such questioning of social rank may, of course, be extended to the Revolutionary mentality of the early nineteenth-century in France), and reinforces the notion that his supporters, rather than his own efforts, are responsible for the narrative's final outcome. A sense of his cowardice is reinforced by the narrator's observation that 'quand le cadavre fut froid comme le marbre, quand les épées et les poignards furent retirées [...] il lui donna un coup de pied à la tête en lui

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[78] It is interesting to note that a year after Flaubert's narrative, a further account of this historical event was published: Paulin Paris, 'Assassinat du duc de Guise', *Musée des familles, lectures du soir*, 4 (1836–37), 282–4.

[79] Raulet, p.31.

[80] François-René de Chateaubriand, *Œuvres complètes de Chateaubriand*, 14 vols (Paris: Sarlit, 1864–79), X (1866), 283.

crachant au visage' (p.52). The futility of these actions summarises Henri's mentality, while the repetition of 'épées' and 'poignards' emphasises the reality of the situation in which these weapons are used only by those around him. Bruneau suggests that Henri is 'un de ces êtres hypocrites et méchants qui hantent les drames et les romans historiques de l'époque romantique',[81] although for Flaubert, such attitudes are clearly not confined to historical literature: Henri's desire to eliminate a rival bears similarities to that of Baptisto (*Bibliomanie*), for example, suggesting that regardless of historical or social setting, such brutish mentalities are an inescapable part of human identity.

Critics have argued that Flaubert's reasons for admiring the Duc de Guise are different from those of Chateaubriand: Bruneau claims that 'pour ce dernier, le duc de Guise représente la catholicité; pour Flaubert, le duc est avant tout un «héros», un «Titan» dont la glorieuse destinée est tragiquement brisée'.[82] However, while he may represent the 'French spirit', the outlook of the Duc de Guise is not dissimilar to that of Henri: Flaubert's portrayal of the 'Club du Guisard'[83] is comparable with that of the 'conseil du roi', and the duke is also motivated by arrogance and idiocy. For example, he is aware of his impending fate ('s'il n'emploie le bourreau, il se servira de l'assassin' (p.48)), yet does not show any signs of concern. Instead, he seeks pleasure in drink with his friends and supporters (inviting comparisons with Flaubert's 'contemporary' tales of escapism, *FdM* and *IM*), while he tells his mistress that 'un baiser avant la tombe, et je dormirai tranquille' (p.50). This notion of sleeping soundly prior to death is described clearly in Brentano's poem 'Todeslust', in which the lyric voice looks forward to death, despite knowing that he will not see his lover on earth again. In some respects, this could make the duke appear a Germanic Romantic hero, although the lack of sensitivity with which he treats his final hours, and the way in which he is surrounded by bloodthirsty henchmen, render him very different from the solitary figures often associated with German Romanticism. Gans suggests that this tale relies on the historical prestige of its protagonist to impress upon its readers the significance of the events;[84] Flaubert's intention could thus be seen as much to foster national identity through recourse to history as to use a known historical occurrence to reveal particular human attitudes and behaviours.

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[81] Bruneau, p.82.
[82] Ibid.
[83] The attitudes and collective mindset displayed by this 'club' may be likened to those of clubs in Flaubert's later *œuvre*, such as the 'Club de l'intelligence' in *L'Éducation sentimentale*.
[84] See Gans, p.33.

Elsewhere in Flaubert's *EJ*, generic (negative) human qualities are portrayed in the behaviour of 'le peuple' (see, for example, *PF*). In *MdG*, however, 'other people' are represented only by those who form the two opposing sides of the 'Club du Guisard' and the 'conseil du roi', perhaps to sustain the narrative's historical focus. The Guisardistes are portrayed as bloodthirsty and hungry for power: their 'serments tout à la fois terribles et féroces, furieux et frénétiques' (p.47) are evocative of Revolutionary speeches from the relatively recent past for Flaubert's audience by figures such as Jean-Paul Marat, while the alliteration suggests their collective, almost bestial, mentality. Possibly the most bloodthirsty among them is the 'archevêque de Lyon', who insists that the duke must remain in Blois to fight, thus neglecting 'une femme qui gronde et un enfant qui menace' (p.48) who await his return in Orléans. The proper names and specific geographical details which Flaubert includes in this account lend the tale credibility, making the reader more inclined to accept as 'historical fact' that an archbishop should advocate neglecting one's family responsibilities in favour of violence, for example. There is, however, a suggestion that the duke's henchmen may not be committed to the cause wholeheartedly: their battle cries appear to finish abruptly when 'on n'entendit plus que le bruit de leurs bottes éperonnées qui résonaient sur les dalles du grand escalier' (p.49). Finer details such as these add an element of 'historical local colour', and make the tale appear more personal and therefore more relevant to the contemporary reader. Van Tieghem suggests that this new emphasis changed historical writing: 'par son goût de la couleur locale historique, qui n'est qu'un aspect particulier du goût du vrai, [le romantisme] a transformé le roman historique'.[85] Flaubert clearly uses historical details to identify particular aspects of humanity for criticism – they form part of his emerging preference for 'le petit détail qui fait vrai', especially where the 'dark' side of history (war etc.) is concerned.

The supporters of the Duc de Guise, associated with bloodthirsty ferocity, are contrasted with the 'conseil du roi', who enjoy political status as members of the nobility and agree with Henri unanimously in order to retain their favoured positions, inviting comparison with the nineteenth-century political situation. The latter have several political weapons at their disposal, including manipulation of the law for their own benefit, thus demonstrating to the reader the ease with which power may be abused. For example, the 'duc de Maintenon' suggests a trial at which they will use 'de faux témoins' to assure 'une prison perpetuelle' (p.50) for the duke, echoing the more contemporary notion of 'cloak and

[85] Van Tieghem, p.75.

dagger' politics. The contrast between the opposing groups' suggested methods of combat invites comparison with the struggle between civilisation and barbarianism, rendering *MdG* illustrative of Moreau's notion that 'le romantisme historique, qui condamne toujours la civilisation au profit des barbares, des primitifs [est] «le patriotisme germanique» qui en a tant imposé aux historiens de son temps'.[86] Therefore in writing *MdG*, Flaubert appears not only to be following the German Romantic tendency to 'cement' a historical event of national significance in his readers' consciousness, but also to echo the German Romantic sympathy for the emergent 'non-civilised' people. However, in his description of the Guisardistes' motivations, they are made to seem remarkably similar to those supposedly at the pinnacle of civilisation. Ultimately, the king's supporters show themselves to be more effective than he is (they kill the duke, and Henri arrives only once the corpse has gone cold), demonstrating a 'universal' truth that those in political power rely on the work of others to gain and retain their positions.

While a Flaubertian narrator might be expected to comment on the action in *MdG*, there is relatively little authorial intervention, which sustains the atmosphere of a historical account with minimal 'modern' interference. However, a small number of 'asides' such as 'l'assassinat était alors à la mode' (p.50) remind us that we are reading fiction, and that this is therefore a consciously subjective rendition of French history. Compared with the distanced, 'objective' perspective associated with Classical history,[87] the conversational tone evoked by comments such as 'oui, tout ce conseil, tous ces gardes, tous ces assassins, tous ces appareils de guerre, ne devaient servir qu'à la mort d'un seul homme' (p.51) almost reassures the reader of the absurdity of the way in which Henri III's court seeks to defeat the Duc de Guise. While other early works finish with 'conventional' literary endings such as a 'moralité', in *MdG* the king is left trembling in front of the duke's corpse, suggesting that rather than being an isolated incident, this is just one 'snapshot' from the stream of French national history which Flaubert has chosen to portray. When the duke collapses onto the bed, its personification as a 'lit si honteux, témoin des débauches des rois' (p.52) is not only comparable with literary forebears such as Diderot's *Les Bijoux indiscrets* (1748), but also alludes to the long lineage of corrupt and debauched monarchs before and after Henri III, suggesting that on a universal scale, political power may be associated with eternal corruption.

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[86] Moreau, p.129: this, of course, pre-empts a similar investigation of 'barbares' in *Salammbô*.

[87] Van Tieghem, for example, asserts that the Romantic approach to national history was a 'réaction contre la «froideur» classique'. See Van Tieghem, p.75.

It therefore appears that while Flaubert embraces the German Romantic taste for reasserting the importance of national history, in *MdG* he used the 'reality' of a historical event to make a more general point about the 'dark' aspects of human identity. While Germany did not have the unifying political status of being a single nation state like France, nor a relatively recent Revolution to show how corrupt monarchies could be overthrown, Flaubert's presentation of a national martyr has a similar effect to the tendency of German Romanticism to cement the identity of folkloric figures in literature: both depict a memorable mentality. Thus despite its temporally distant setting, the behaviour depicted in *MdG* could be that of Flaubert's own *milieu*, not unlike that found in his geographically removed – or 'exotic' – narratives. While one might argue that by the reign of Henri III, human 'bêtise' is already embedded sufficiently by social development, Flaubert's consideration of an earlier historical period in *Chronique normande du X^e siècle* offers him an opportunity to portray society during the 'Dark Ages'.

Like *MdG*, *CNDS* is based on a real event from French history, although as Sagnes observes, it is particularised by Flaubert: 'Il ne retient que l'épisode qui s'est déroulé à Rouen'.[88] By concentrating solely on Rouen on 28th August 952, Flaubert is able to portray the actions of ancestors of those in his precise *milieu* and thus the extent to which their attitudes may have changed over the centuries. The narrative's title is similar to Mérimée's *Chronique du règne de Charles X*, about which Laforgue claims that 'écrire un roman de l'histoire, et non pas un roman historique, est le but de Mérimée'.[89] The notion of using history as a basis from which to write fiction, rather than writing a historical novel *per se*, is consistent with Flaubert's later assertion that 'la réalité ne doit être qu'un tremplin'.[90] While critics have identified the principal source of *CNDS* as Licquet's *Histoire de Normandie*,[91] the portrayal of corrupt human behaviour in Flaubert's tale suggests a broader set of intertexts. Although German Romantics such as the Grimms looked to the past as a source of national 'purity',[92] the medieval atmosphere of Tieck's *Der blonde Eckbert* is underpinned by an air of corruption: as a child, Berthe was beaten 'auf die grausamste Art',[93] while Eckbert's fellow knight and 'friend' Hugo is quick to betray him. The notion of mankind's 'dark' side being eternally present is an element of

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[88] Sagnes, 'Notice: *CNDS*', p.1244.
[89] Pierre Laforgue, *1830. Romantisme et histoire* (Saint-Pierre-du-Mont: Eurédit, 2001), p.207.
[90] *Correspondance Supplément*, IV, 52.
[91] Théodore Licquet, *Histoire de Normandie*, 2 vols (Rouen: E. Frère, 1835). See, among others, Gans, p.90.
[92] Consider, for example, the Grimms' claim that 'darum geht innerlich durch diese Dichtungen jene Reinheit', in 'Vorrede', *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, p.16.
[93] *Der blonde Eckbert*, p.5.

German Romanticism which Flaubert is likely to have found alluring. Rather than portray his medieval characters as primitive warlords whose simplistic, indiscriminate bloodlust lacks the vindictive corruption of modern civilisation, he thus depicts figures who, despite their historical setting, show 'timeless' sinister character traits in a manner similar to that of Tieck.

Flaubert's historical figures may thus be seen to embody a number of eternal characteristics which combine to form a negative or dark 'human landscape'. In a comparable manner to Henri III in *MdG*, Louis IV may be likened to the bourgeois who inhabits a social niche in total complacency:[94] he clearly believes in his Divine right to the throne, and his arrogance is shown when he states that 'un roi sait garder quelque chose de précieux, et la preuve c'est que lorsqu'on lui prend sa couronne, on lui arrache quelque fois la tête avec, tellement il y tient' (p.120). While Louis relies heavily on the work of his advisors to ensure his popularity, the narrator suggests that there is a theatrical element to his behaviour as he embraces Richard, 'versant une larme que chacun vit couler sur sa joue' (p.118). The way in which a single tear captures everyone's attention could be considered too contrived to represent a spontaneous display of tenderness, thus one could argue that he possesses greater political awareness than Henri. However, there is a suggestion of Louis's intrinsic juvenility as he muses 'ah! ah! je l'aurai' (p.119), when contemplating his acquisition of Normandy, while his readiness to relinquish plans in order to placate the angry crowd makes him seem weak, even in comparison with Henri. He has to summon 'le courage de s'approcher du balcon et de regarder par la fenêtre', but 'il trembla et faillit s'evanouir' (p.122) as soon as he sees the 'foule': such feminised images are very different from those which characterise the powerful, warrior-like royalty associated with medieval romances. Therefore, the Faustian 'Schein / Sein' disparity[95] with which the reader comes to associate Louis suggests an enduring link between the outward appearance of political power or social status and intrinsic weakness, and that little has changed in Flaubert's contemporary perceptions of Norman society.

Arnould, the king's advisor, bears many similarities to Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust*: the narrator describes him disparagingly as the 'sbire du roi' (p.121), and he clearly bears the traits of a modern equivalent – the 'spin doctor' figure – found elsewhere in

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[94] Gans claims that for Flaubert, Louis IV 'is but a remote, idealised ancestor of Homais', thus his character traits reverberate throughout Flaubert's *œuvre*.' Gans, p.92.

[95] This German Romantic trait is discussed further in chapter 3 below.

Flaubert's *œuvre*.[96] Like Mephistopheles, his unnerving physical appearance is hidden initially beneath his cloak: he is 'd'une stature élevée, le corps maigre, le front ridé, le visage couvert de balafres' (p.118), while his 'toque de velours rouge' replicates the deep reds associated with infernal corruption (such as those at the cabaret in *IM*, for example). His appearance and devious cruelty are contrasted with the angelic demeanour of the twelve year-old Richard; 'un bel enfant aux cheveux blonds, aux yeux tendres, au teint pâle' (p.117). Like Henri, however, Arnould's reactions on seeing the angry crowd are focused solely on saving his own life; the readiness with which he suggests appeasing them invites the reader to question his true degree of commitment to the king. His use of the subjunctive suggests his desperation as he implores Louis 'que le roi rende son prisonnier et qu'il laisse cette province!' (p.122). The narrator is quick to emphasise that Arnould repeatedly makes suggestions upon which the king acts, rather than the monarch having any ideas of his own: 'genuine' political power is shown to lie in the hands of a grotesque, diabolical figure. When the king awards Arnould the title of 'premier ministre' for his endeavours, it is implied that the scheming and callous are rewarded at the cost of the innocent.

Perhaps the only 'wise', insightful character in *CNDS* is Richard's tutor, Osmond, suggesting intertextual precursors which include Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and medieval German epics that feature benevolent 'mentor' figures such as *Parzival* (Gurnemanz) and *Tristan und Isolde* (Curvenal). However, echoing the Flaubertian notion that the innocent rarely prosper – which also has resonance in German Romanticism, because of the way in which Bertha ultimately comes to grief in *Der blonde Eckbert*, for example – when Osmond voices his perception of Arnould as 'ce seigneurial assassin' (p.119), he is threatened with death. Although on a historical level, Louis's assertion that 'insulter un de nos vassaux, c'est m'insulter moi-même' (p.119) might seem a reasonable representation of medieval codes of honour, in a broader context this appears indicative of the way in which failure to adopt a particular political stance can lead to one's downfall. The king's response to Osmond's defiance may be contrasted with his reactions to the discontent of the 'foule': he is quick to suppress a dissenting individual when he does not fear repercussions (Osmond is clearly aware of this, given the simplicity with which we are told that he 'sortit sans rien dire' (p.120)), although when there is the chance that his will might

[96] His callous attitude and concern for winning favour for himself at all costs may be likened to that of Spendius (*Salammbô*), for example.

be ignored, Louis simply appeases the majority. Osmond's mentality therefore serves as a contrast to the collective identity of the other characters in the tale: he is willing to challenge received ideas and has his pupil's best interests at heart. Flaubert makes it clear, however, that these virtues are responsible for his downfall.

As elsewhere in Flaubert's *EJ*, 'le peuple' is portrayed as a single, idiotic, homogenised mass, although perhaps this is not unexpected given the social hierarchy of medieval times. However, such descriptions are not confined to 'history' and recur throughout Flaubert's *œuvre* despite revolutions and apparent social advances. The opening scene of *CNDS*, in which 'tout le peuple se présentait sur la route de Paris en criant de joie et en versant des fleurs' (p.117) having waited since the early morning is strikingly similar to Flaubert's observation of the 'foule' awaiting the arrival of Louis-Philippe in Rouen, 891 years later in 1833,[97] and suggests an enduring sense of collective identity among the 'foule'. As if the singular '*le* peuple' were not enough to suggest homogeneity, the use of 'tout' suggests that the crowd contains *no* individuals with the ability to think for themselves. The narrator emphasises the way in which manipulative figures such as Arnould can exploit collective public opinion: the king's political advisor almost boasts that 'il suffit qu'on lui mette un bâillon et il ne dit plus rien' (p.119): such apparent gullibility and willingness to 'forget' might lead the reader to question the extent to which public attitudes (especially this 'feudal' mentality) have changed since the tenth century. Equally, the way in which the rumour of Richard's illness spreads among the population demonstrates the effectiveness of political information campaigns – 'ce bruit circulait dans la ville que le jeune duc commençait à être malade' (p.120). The power of the people's collective opinion comparable with the mass of limbs depicted by Friedrich Overbeck in his painting 'Triumph der Religion in den Künsten' (1840). In a similar manner, in this description a disembodied 'mille bras' wave 'des piques, des haches, des hallebardes, des poignards, des lances et des poings fermés' (p.122) when they believe that they have been deceived, yet as soon as Richard is revealed to them, 'les piques et les armes tombèrent des mains' (p.122). The simplicity and uniformity of these portrayals of the collective mindset can be seen to reflect the enforced simplicity and uniformity of those involved.

It could be argued that Flaubert's depiction of the 'peuple' is indicative of his perceptions of the Norman identity within his contemporary *milieu*: while *MdG* depicts an event of national significance, *CNDS* prioritises its description of Normandy and its

[97] See the description of the crowd in Flaubert's letter dated 11.09.1833, *Correspondance*, I, 12–3.

people. Like other nineteenth-century works which portray the mentality of the Norman peasantry in an unfavourable light (for example Maupassant's 'Pierrot' in *Contes de la bécasse*), *CNDS* depicts an unruly mob who may be placated easily by a mere distribution of wheat. Reference to specific locations in Rouen (such as 'la place Saint Marc' (p.121)), lend the tale credibility and immediacy to Flaubert's own situation, as well as a degree of the 'couleur locale historique' associated so strongly with the Romantic movement.[98] Although many of the attitudes described appear contemporary, Flaubert uses pathetic fallacy with considerably less irony than in other early works (such as *QV*), possibly suggesting that his tenth-century ancestors were more attuned to their environment. For example, when Louis IV embraces Richard, 'le ciel était pur et azuré, quelques étoiles commençaient à y briller' (p.118), while Louis's intensifying desire to acquire Normandy is reflected when 'le vent devint plus fort et son souffle souleva dans l'air quelques fleurs' (p.119). This proximity of the protagonists' sentiments to the natural world, especially at night, is similar to Brentano's *Nachtgedichte*, in particular 'Sprich aus der Ferne', in which the stars possess 'heiliger Sinn' while the moonlight calms the poet's troubled spirit, and 'Der alte Garten', in which the poet beholds the past in the form of a resplendent garden at night. *CNDS* thus bears many hallmarks of German Romantic literature as well as the detail of a historical account which is specific to Flaubert's own, French *milieu*.

The narrative perspective is central to the reader's appreciation of the relevance of *CNDS* to his/her contemporary surroundings. From the outset, the narrator addresses the reader directly and thus fosters the tone of an oral account – 'connaissez-vous la Normandie, cette vieille terre classique du Moyen Age, où chaque champ a eu sa bataille, chaque pierre garde son nom, et chaque débris un souvenir?' (p.117). The juxtaposition of 'classique' and 'Moyen Age' constitutes an overt demonstration of Van Tieghem's argument that the Romantics sought to create 'une antiquité nationale' to replace the emphasis on classicism,[99] as well as parodying the extent to which distant historical events are often commemorated in the landscape and thus the collective consciousness. Like the narrator in *MdG*, the narrative voice makes occasional 'asides' to reassure the reader of the absurdity of the situations he is describing, such as 'c'était pourtant le même peuple qui était venu l'autre jour avec des fleurs et des cris d'amour!' (pp.121–2), and a similar reliance is placed on dialogue to support the credibility of the action. Such 'reassurances'

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[98] See note 85 above.
[99] See note 71 above.

from a narrator whose voice otherwise remains in the background are evocative of the style of *Der blonde Eckbert*, in which general statements about human nature are particularised to 'explain' characters' motivations. For example, prior to describing Eckbert's ultimate paranoia, the reader is told that 'es gibt Stunden, in denen es den Menschen ängstigt';[100] similarly, in *CNDS*, the narrator claims that 'il est de si beaux moments dans la vie d'un homme, où la nature émane un parfum si suave et si doux à l'âme, qu'on se sentirait coupable de ne pas jouir de ses délices' (p.118). Drawing the reader into the narrative by the 'collective' use of 'on' makes him/her more inclined to appreciate the tale's generic relevance.

The narrator's final assertion that 'cette immense acclamation se répandait dans toutes les rues, et trouvait un écho dans tous les cœurs' (p.122) reinforces the sentiment, similar to that at the end of *MdG*, that the collective identity of the 'peuple' endures throughout the centuries. While the 'immense acclamation' was implicitly not shared by every figure mentioned in the tale, the collective identity of the people overrides that of individuals: it could thus be considered an ironic comment on the conventional 'fairytale' ending. Both *MdG* and *CNDS* use a combination of historical events and fiction to portray particular aspects of a Norman mentality or collective identity, which may still have contemporary relevance. While *PF* and *PV* may be seen as depicting the familiar in 'exotic' settings, these tales treat the 'historical other' in such a way that on reflection, many character traits may be recognisable in the reader's own surroundings.[101] By his recourse to history, Flaubert could be considered to embrace contemporary literary trends: Laforgue asserts that 'en 1830, l'histoire est là et c'est elle qui dessine l'horizon littéraire et idéalogique du romantisme'.[102] However, while Flaubert's *contes historiques* may correspond in genre to particular French Romantic tastes, in content he uses history as the basis for criticising humanity at a more general level. Raulet summarises the distinction between the historical writings of Chateaubriand and those of Flaubert as follows: 'il y a une philosophie de l'histoire chez Chateaubriand, chez Flaubert il n'y a plus qu'un historicisme porté [...] à sa limite'.[103] Therefore, while Flaubert takes inspiration from the French Romantic interest in national history and its German intertextual and ideological precursors, his 'exaggerated historicism' is perhaps simply a means by which to define his perception of the French

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[100] *Der blonde Eckbert*, p.3.
[101] This theme is explored further in relation to Flaubert's later *œuvre* in Anne Green, Flaubert *and the Historical Novel: Salammbô Reassessed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
[102] Laforgue, p.14.
[103] Raulet, p.39.

national identity:[104] despite the tales' historical backdrop, like Tieck and other German Romantics, his principal aim seems to be to defamiliarise the present, the bettter to criticise contemporary social values.

III Aesthetics

Definitions of the term 'aesthetics' are wide-ranging, and while the manifestation of many of Flaubert's aesthetic principles will be examined in chapter 4 of the present study, in this section the 'Romantic context' of aestheticism – 'the doctrine or disposition that regards beauty as an end in itself and attempts to preserve the arts from subordination to moral, didactic or political purposes'[105] – will be considered. This definition corresponds closely to Théophile Gautier's arguments for 'l'art pour l'art',[106] and the resulting movement whose development in France coincided with that of Flaubert's artistic career. Many of Gautier's ideas about the role of the artist clearly owe a debt to German Romantic thought: in the translation of Hoffmann's *Don Juan* (1813), for example, readers are informed that 'il n'appartient qu'au poète de comprendre le poète: les esprits romantiques seuls peuvent apprécier les œuvres romantiques'.[107] Such lofty notions of Romantic artistic superiority ostensibly supported the young Flaubert's feelings of misanthropy in his bourgeois *milieu* and offered an initial direction to his beliefs about the role of art. Growing up amid the middle-class aspirations of his father and elder brother, Flaubert's artistic ideas were informed largely by his reading: reassurance from literature that the Romantic artist need not adopt a 'professional' stance, such as that of a historian or psychologist, nor that his/her work should necessarily moralise, reject the new, revitalise the old or even provide social commentary, comes largely from German literature. Many more specific artistic principles, which would later characterise Flaubert's *œuvre*, also appear to be 'translated' from the German: perhaps one of the most memorable of these is Staël's assertion that

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[104] Flaubert's perception of French Romanticism being characterised by an inward-looking, (over-) concentration on national history is undoubtedly informed, at least in part, by his reading and awareness of the controversy surrounding *De l'Allemagne*.

[105] 'Aestheticism', in Chris Baldick, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p.3

[106] For a comprehensive treatment of the ideas surrounding this movement, see Albert Cassagne, *La Théorie de l'art pour l'art en France* (Paris: Dorbon, 1959).

[107] Hoffmann, *Œuvres complètes*, III, 260.

'Goethe soutient [...] que l'artiste doit conserver son sang-froid pour agir plus fortement sur l'imagination de ses lecteurs'.[108]

Although providing a detailed overview of 'the Romantic aesthetic' in France and Germany clearly lies beyond the scope of the present study, this section seeks to explore which Romantic aesthetic values Flaubert developed during his formative years. According to Bruneau, three stages may be identified in the development of Romantic literature in France: narratives which concentrate on the individual (such as *René* (1802)), are followed by explorations of the exotic and historical (*Études françaises et étrangères* (1828) by Deschamps, for example), which are in turn superseded by political and social works (such as Hugo's far-reaching *La Préface de Cromwell* (1830), discussed above).[109] Of course, the German Romantics are well known for representing their political and social values in their writing, and it is therefore tempting to ally their influence with the development of the last of Bruneau's 'stages'. German Romantic preferences cannot be compartmentalised in the way that Bruneau attempts to classify French 'phases', however, since various fields of interest (including religion and folklore) developed simultaneously. While Creuzer examines the religious beliefs that underpinned cultural identities of the past in *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* (1810–12),[110] for example, Novalis's work *Die Christenheit oder Europa* (published 1826), idealises the role of religion in contemporary society. Considered alongside other projects such as Herder's *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* (1778), and the Grimms' *Altdeutsche Wälder* (1813–16), it is clear that at the heart of the German Romantic aesthetic is a more generic, internalised notion of collective cultural values, as well as the encouragement of openness to the culture of others.[111] These are very different from the more conservative, Roman Catholic interpretation of Romanticism, promoted by Chateaubriand in *Le Génie du christianisme*, for example. The dominant German aesthetic principles thus appear to involve liberty from the restrictive bonds of Classicism and celebration of artistic talent for its own merits, rather than art's conformity to particular models or themes: Paul Comeau suggests that

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[108] *De l'Allemagne*, p.17.
[109] See Bruneau, p.227.
[110] Georg Friedrich Creuzer, *Religions de l'antiquité*, trans by J.D. Guigniaut, 10 vols (Paris: Teuttel et Wartz et Didot, 1825–41). This work is listed specifically in Bidault's inventory of Flaubert's library. See Roualt de la Vigne, p.81.
[111] Bowman, for example, observes that 'Schleiermacher, comme Hegel et Lessing, prône aussi un esprit de tolérance, un respect pour toutes les religions'. Bowman, 'Flaubert dans l'intertexte du discours sur le mythe', p.17.

'writers were now united under the banner of artistic freedom',[112] although such assertions are perhaps unhelpfully vague when it comes to defining the aesthetic of the German Romantic artist.

The French Romantic 'aesthetic context' may nonetheless be characterised by a degree of desire to overturn the established order of Classical values. Raulet suggests that initially, exoticism and nationalism were instrumental in this rejection of established philosophical and political themes – 'nationalisme et exotisme [...] signifient *ensemble* une explosion de l'épistémé et de la culture politique'.[113] However, he adds that as the nineteenth century progressed, 'le superflu «oriental» était devenu indispensable à la refondation du strict nécessaire: la conscience nationale',[114] thus the French literary climate of the 1830s involves an almost ingrained use of exoticism and nationalism, approaching cliché. However, Bénichou emphasises the French Romantics' own apparent 'conscience d'une nouveauté, de quelque chose qui n'est pas seulement rappel et restauration du passé, mais image et besoin du présent':[115] interest in and possible alliance to an avant-garde movement is a logical development for any young author, although it seems that Flaubert exhibited a greater interest in the more broadly-based German forms. The prominence of Romanticism as a whole during the 1830s, however, renders it a significant constituent of Flaubert's 'aesthetic context'. The conservative middle-classes were perhaps the greatest obstacle to the success of this emerging artistic identity: Moreau observes that 'ce romantisme [...] prépare sourdement ou insolemment la chute du monde bourgeois'.[116] Offering a means by which to ridicule bourgeois 'bêtise', such artistic principles appear to have found a fertile soil in Flaubert's mind: perhaps it is therefore unsurprising to find an obvious affinity to the Romantic from his *EJ* onwards. Although challenging established religious beliefs and undermining received philosophical ideas are clearly important Romantic concepts, chapter 3 of the present study deals specifically with the metaphysical aspects of Romanticism; this section explores at a more general level the ways in which the young Flaubert's reading informed his 'Romantic aesthetic'.

Deux mains sur une couronne brings together disconnected episodes from French national history, using the historical to express ideas which other disciplines (such as psychology) are unable to, and to demonstrate the timelessness of 'dark' human values and

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[112] Comeau, p.225.
[113] Raulet, p.19.
[114] Ibid., p.30.
[115] Bénichou, I, 270.
[116] Moreau, p.242.

collective mentalities. Rather than promoting a specifically French national identity in the manner of Flaubert's other early *contes historiques*, discussed above, *DMC* may be read for its use of the historical to evaluate the present, in a manner which would be repeated in Flaubert's later *œuvre* (especially *Salammbô*). *Agonies*, meanwhile, offers a closer insight into Flaubert's understanding of the Romantic 'inner self', with its aphoristic observations informed by his perceptions of contemporary society, prior to the more personal, specific comments on human behaviour contained in *Angoisses*. Subtitled 'ou pendant le XV^{e} siècle (épisodes du règne de Charles VI)', *DMC* bears hallmarks of the 'conventional' *conte historique*: comparing it with *MdG* and *CNDS*, Gans calls it Flaubert's 'most ambitious' work to date for its emulation of this genre.[117] Perhaps its 'ambition' lies in its aesthetic richness: each chapter possesses a title which encourages sustained interest, often with hyperbolic overtones (for example 'plus de mains! plus de couronnes!' (p.62)), a technique which invites comparison with the style of many of Hoffmann's tales,[118] while literary quotations beneath each title foster an erudite, authoritative tone. One quotation is attributed to Froissart's *Chronique du XV^{e} siècle* (1559–61), suggesting that Flaubert wishes to show how he has researched the content of his narrative and therefore to imply its historical accuracy as well as its aesthetic merits. Such features are perhaps not expected from a piece of this length, although they combine to lend the work an air of literary scholarship and a 'timeless' quality. However, any supposed 'factual authority' is undermined by the way in which *DMC* attempts to connect three unrelated historical events: the queen's entry to Paris (1389), the murder of the duc d'Orléans (1407) and the assassination of Jean-sans-Peur (1420). It could therefore be mooted that this narrative is so 'consciously' literary because of its representation of disparate episodes from the past in a form which prioritises the aesthetic over accuracy; Flaubert's other *contes historiques* concentrate only on single events, so adopt a different stance. Equally, while *MdG* and *CNDS* draw similarities between attitudes from the past and those of the present, *DMC* distinguishes between the historical actions described and the nineteenth-century values represented by the citation of writers such as Dumas and Hugo. Thus by writing fiction which is set firmly in the past and lacks the suggestion of universality found in *MdG* or *CNDS*, it could be argued that Flaubert's recourse to history in *DMC* seeks to portray a

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[117] See Gans, p.69.

[118] The brief synopses at the beginning of each chapter in *Der goldne Topf* provide a memorable example of this motif.

specifically French 'high cultural identity' which has evolved from this earlier state, parodying many nationalistic French Romantic texts.

From the outset, the reader is reminded of the narrative's temporal distance from his/her own era: 'le Paris de 1385 n'était pas le Paris de nos jours, avec ses ponts et ses palais; mais Paris alors, c'était une forêt de maisons noires' (p.53). The 'darkness' associated with the city's dense housing is contrasted with the 'light' of the structures representing the modern, 'Hausmannised' civilisation with which the later nineteenth-century reader would become familiar, evoking a sense of progress and evolution. Flaubert's portrayal of the French capital in *DMC* may be compared with the opening of Hoffmann's *Mademoiselle de Scudéry (chronique du règne de Louis XIV)*: 'Paris, à cette époque, était le théâtre des plus odieuses atrocités, commises à l'aide d'un maléfice insigne et diabolique'.[119] Furthermore, the imagery of the forest alludes to the German notion of a primitive 'Urwald' and evokes the possibility of its inhabitation by the solitary savage: such connotations are summarised by Alfred Maury's assertion that 'le moyen âge représentait le sauvage sous la figure d'un personnage velu et hideux, gardent les mystérieuses demeures, les châteaux enchantés que l'imagination populaire plaçait au milieu des solitudes ombragées'.[120] As though to reinforce the sense of distance from the present in *DMC*, the protagonists are almost presented not only as representatives but also as caricatures of their era: those in authority are described as 'tout ce qui dans le royaume portait épée, calotte, et bonnet carré' (p.54), reducing their identities to the visual traits which might be used to illustrate them in a history book or in a medieval tale.[121] Despite the enduring presence of woods just outside the city, the image of Paris presented to the nineteenth-century reader therefore seems far removed from the urban area with which (s)he is familiar, and it therefore seems reasonable to assume that (s)he would expect a more primitive representation of cultural identity within the tale, to which modern customs and values may appear superior.[122]

A sense of the primitive is reflected in the characters' behaviour: repeated orgiastic images of excessive indulgence implicitly lack the supposed refinements of 'civilisation' which the reader might expect of contemporary revelry. The celebration is described as

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[119] Hoffmann, *Œuvres complètes*, II, 53.
[120] Maury, *Les Forêts de la France*, p.3.
[121] The *Chanson de Roland*, for example, portrays largely two-dimensional characters who are characterised by a single attribute.
[122] A similar juxtaposition of 'old' and 'new' Parisian values occurs memorably in the Fontainebleau episode in *L'Éducation sentimentale*, for example.

'une fête avec le luxe effréné d'une imagination jeune et exaltée' and 'une fête; non, une orgie royale' (p.54), with syncopated sentences and exclamations emphasising the extent of the people's sensual decadence, and perhaps echoing post-Revolutionary festivities, as well as the emotion-laden works describing Romantic individualism. The narrator observes the way in which such behaviour pervades all sections of society uncontrollably: 'le roi avait quitté son diadème, la reine sa pudeur, la femme sa vertu' (p.54). The suggestion of royalty enjoying the same debauched pleasures as the 'foule' could be seen to indicate an intrinsic human mentality and therefore that everyone shares the same cultural heritage. This notion is emphasised by the hyperbolic image of the 'mass' of people, described as 'toute cette foule qui hurlait de joie [...] tout ce cortège si rempli de luxe et de magnificence' (p.54), which evokes 'universal' forms of enjoyment at this point in history. The suggestion that such activities transcend social boundaries within a particular society evokes sentiments similar to those expressed in Rudolph Becker's *Mildheimisches Liederbuch* (1799), in which it is claimed that 'die Alten hatten Weib und Kind, und andere gute Gaben; sie hatten Freude, Tanz, Gesang, und Flur und Wald und Speis' und Trank, so gut, als wir es haben'.[123] The accumulation of these 'basic' forms of enjoyment has a similar effect on the reader to Flaubert's hyperbolic enumeration of the various types of 'luxe' enjoyed by the Parisians of 1385. Becker's lyric voice continues by suggesting that while former generations enjoyed similar pleasures to those of the present, they were constrained by superstition: similarly, in *DMC* the implication is that while French 'civilisation' may have evolved superficially, this inescapable heritage, as extolled by 'conventionally nationalistic' French Romantic works, still represents the people's underlying values.

A similar disparity between expectation and reality is found in the narrator's depiction of the monarchy in *DMC*: despite her enjoyment of the festivities and the reception given by her subjects, Isabeau is portrayed as being bloodthirsty and callous. She refers to the crowds as a 'masse aveugle et stupide' (p.57), while her assertion that 'on le gouverne facilement' (p.57) supports the notion of a compliant, non-thinking (and therefore 'anti-Romantic') populace. Isabeau clearly enjoys the power she holds over her people – her assertion that 'seul gouverner tout un peuple, le voir là frémir à vos paroles, plier sur votre regard' (p.57) indicates the way in which French national mentality has ostensibly changed since the days of absolute power. From a post-Revolutionary perspective, the reader might

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[123] Rudolph Zacharias Becker, *Mildheimisches Liederbuch* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971), p.116.

believe that French cultural values could not possibly be described in these terms, although of course the attitudes of those in power may have simply taken a different form amid the changing mentality of society as a whole. Equally, Isabeau describes her intentions for Jean-sans-Peur's assassination in the third-person, as though looking at herself from a historian's perspective: 'elle le fera pendre à Montfaucon, non! elle lui fera trancher la tête' (p.56) – her indecision about the method of execution alludes to the whims upon which historical events (and Revolutions) may be based. This combination of cynicism and a subtle brand of irony thus characterises Flaubert's early aesthetic. Equally, in the private sphere, Isabeau is similarly cold and calculating, addressing the king 'en regardant le duc d'Orléans' (p.55): like heroines elsewhere in Flaubert's *œuvre*,[124] she appears destined to commit adultery and may be 'blamed' for her own downfall. She is quick to forget her former lovers ('il y avait longtemps qu'elle avait pleuré, il y avait longtemps qu'elle avait pensé à lui' (p.60)), reinforcing the narrator's allusions to the callous, masculine side to her character: the reader might therefore be inclined to perceive her as a 'great' ruler comparable to Jeanne d'Arc, although of course Isabeau's brutal mentality also has a distinct place in describing Flaubert's perception of the French cultural identity.

The similarities between Jean-sans-Peur and his adversary Charles VII are striking, inviting comparisons between *DMC* and *MdG*. The narrator presents them as 'deux assassins qui se saluent, deux couronnes qui s'entrechoquent' (p.63), and his use of imagery from the natural world ('voilà le loup et le renard' (p.63)), suggests that intrinsically, both possess the same animal characteristics and desires, which are worthy of comparison with the two wiliest predatory creatures of the forest. Such glorification of the 'exotic criminal' and violent confrontations between rivals occur in both German and French Romanticism: robbers feature at the heart of Schiller's *œuvre* (*Die Räuber* (1781)), while 'exotic' tales of Mediterranean banditry (such as Mérimée's *Carmen* (1845)), enjoy similar prominence. In this case, however, their place in Flaubert's ostensibly 'historical account' makes the characters' primitive animosity seem far from the reader's own *milieu*. Equally, the corrupt suggestion from the 'Club des Armagnacs' that the loyalty of Jean-sans-Peur's lover may be bought, is made to appear distinct from contemporary values, although on reflection, the portrayal of clubs elsewhere in Flaubert's *œuvre*[125] makes plain

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[124] Isabeau's physical appearance ('grands yeux noirs' (p.55)), and apparent readiness to commit adultery render her comparable with Emma Bovary, for example.

[125] See, for example, note 83 above.

the part of such mentalities in the French national heritage. With regard to the aesthetic role of such characters, Gans comments that:

> historical idealisation loses its privilege of permitting a legitimate expression of worldly desires. In the person of Jean, the historical hero has been made to experience, like the contemporary protagonist, his own *falling* into an unideal world in which praxis must be paid for with guilt.[126]

Thus rather than portray the struggle between Jean and Charles with the 'benefit' of historical hindsight, Flaubert's examination of his characters' mentalities means that neither is idealised: the extent to which such attitudes and identities remain unchanged over time and throughout Revolutions is left for the reader to decide. While *MdG* and *CNDS* both appear to invite direct comparison with the present day, in *DMC* the cultural identities of Jean and Charles are situated firmly in the fourteenth century, with the reader given the opportunity to judge their aptness for modern times.

As one might expect of Flaubert's aesthetic exploration of the French mentality, the 'multitude de Parisiens' (p.53) is presented as a homogenised, non-thinking mass, with no individual displaying a discernible identity *per se*. Like cows in a field, the narrator suggests that the slightest event may capture the people's attention: the juxtaposition of 'un chien qui se noie ou un roi qui passe' (p.53), suggests their inability to distinguish between such sights, and their lives appear to be marked only by the bells of Notre Dame. The mention of 'la cloche de Notre-Dame' (p.57) provides a link between the narrative and present-day Paris, suggesting that although the people's cultural values may have changed superficially, their potential for 'dark' collective brooding has not. Such notions of timelessness are reiterated when the narrator uses a metaphor from the natural world, identifying four categories of individual among the 'mer de peuple', which he describes as 'une ruche noirâtre d'hommes, de femmes, de mendiants et de soldats' (p.53). This apparent 'hierarchy' of human types within a somewhat threateningly 'dark' context may be likened to the 'mass' of people who obstruct Mère Lise from seeing her son in Hoffmann's tale *Petit Zacharie, surnommé Cinabre*: in their attempts to glimpse the diminutive 'ministre Cinabre', as a single entity the crowd 'montait l'escalier avec grand bruit et rires farouches',[127] demonstrating also that the Romantics did not focus solely on individuals. Like Hoffmann's crowds, despite their loud exuberance, the Parisian multitude is shown to be threatening predominantly because of their sheer number: they

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[126] Gans, p.72.
[127] Hoffmann, *Œuvres complètes*, III, 221.

vow to avenge the death of the duc d'Orléans, but 'enfin le peuple faisait tout ce qu'il fallait pour ne réussir à rien' (p.59). While in post-Revolutionary France, one might believe that such mentalities are no longer, the Flaubertian implication is that intrinsically, things are unchanged. More generally, a sinister air pervades the tale and therefore the identities of those involved: even the Club des Armagnacs meets in 'une maison sale, petite et encombrée' (p.60), hence it might be assumed that the 'peuple' live in inferior conditions. While it could be argued that cultural identities have evolved alongside the improvements in living standards, Flaubert's suggestion in *DMC* is that any evolution of the underlying 'dark' sentiments is harder to discern.

Supported by the tale's overtly literary structure, the narrative perspective in *DMC* is comparable with that of an historical account. However, Flaubert's use of the *erlebte Rede* device, popular among German Romantics, offers the reader an insight into the functioning of people's minds. The Old Testament, 'eye-for-an-eye' notions of justice expressed in this way by the people – for example their assertion that 'le crime qui punit un crime n'est pas un crime' (p.59) – reveals flawed reasoning, without the need for an omniscient narrator to comment on it. This creates a very similar effect to the repetition of the assertion in Hoffmann's *Mademoiselle de Scudéry* that 'un amant qui craint les voleurs / n'est pas digne de l'amour'.[128] While the reader may dismiss such 'flawed' values as the result of primitive mentalities of the past, such thinking implicitly informs the cultural identity of the present, and *erlebte Rede* offers a subtle means by which to suggest the extent to which human attitudes have (not) evolved. The maxim delivered by the previously silent member of the Club des Armagnacs has a similar effect: his insistence that it originated from a mysterious 'homme fort instruit et très judicieux' strengthens the suggestion that 'bêtise' is an enduring human trait which cannot be confined to history. Equally, the notion that the conscience may be likened to a balance in which 'il y a un côté pour le bien et un côté pour le mal; chaque fois que vous mettez une pièce de monnaie dans la balance, le côté du bien s'allège' (p.62) might possess enduring resonance regarding bribery and corruption in the reader's own *milieu*. However, since it is presented as part of the narrative rather than as a maxim (unlike the 'universally applicable' adages of *MdG*, for example), Flaubert perceives it as an enduring element of human identity.

Ultimately, the aesthetic priorities of *DMC* show the reader the ways in which historical events may translate into the cultural identity of a nation. The narrator remarks that

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[128] Ibid., II, 134.

Isabeau's persona as a bloodthirsty, callous queen became her defining characteristic, and that 'le tombeau n'a pas été pour elle un lit de repos, son siècle l'a maudite et les historiens l'ont flétrie' (p.64). Perhaps unsurprisingly, the only person described as profiting from events is the queen's scheming henchman, Tanneguy Duchâtel, who according to the 'chronique' (p.64), receives a royal pension for his endeavours.[129] Flaubert's suggestion behind such observations is, therefore, that while readers might wish to believe that the cultural identity of the French people has evolved since 1385 and that the primitive, unquestioning attitude of the 'peuple' has changed following the Enlightenment and the Revolution of 1789, these 'dark' characteristics have been simply 'translated' into the 'bête' French collective mindset. It would thus appear that for aesthetic reasons, Flaubert chooses to link these three disparate historical events before a 'definite yet fictional' backdrop, since they portray different aspects of his perceptions of the French national 'character'. By uniting them in such German-inspired fiction, he is able to concentrate on the various 'dark' sides of his own national identity (adultery, bribery), and link them to equally 'dark' responses on the part of the 'foule' (revenge, blind adoration), within the space of a single narrative. Although the intrigue is so consciously distanced from the present day, it is left to the reader to decide whether the cultural identities of the protagonists are equally removed from his/her own *milieu*.

While all three *contes historiques* featured in this chapter might be considered to show the evolution of a French cultural identity by direct description of events in the French national past, the portrayal of episodes encapsulating cultural identity in *Agonies* is somewhat more abstract. Scholars believe that it should be considered together with *Angoisses* as a composite work:[130] the more structured section entitled *Agonies* comprises generic, philosophical musings on human behaviour, while *Angoisses* complements these with concrete illustrations of human behaviour, as though the narrative voice is recording his despairing observations of humanity in a journal. Such observations of 'real life' rather than adopting a Classical basis for fiction, typifies the preferences of the German Romantics. Sagnes emphasises that rather than being specific to Flaubert's life, the observations in this work have universal relevance: 'ce n'est pas à sa vie qu'il s'en prend, mais à la vie en général, aux valeurs dont on s'y enorgueillit ou sur lesquelles on fonde son

[129] 'Rewards' for such pragmatic, spiritually unworthy characters, recur throughout Flaubert's *œuvre*: the accumulation of Homais's worldly accolades by the end of *Madame Bovary* provides a memorable example.
[130] See Sagnes, 'Notice: *Agonies*', p.1327.

sens'.[131] As an aesthetic whole, *Agonies* may therefore be considered to penetrate to the core of Flaubert's perception of human identity without a fictional façade: the metaphysical questions and assertions which form the narrator's 'agonies' are timeless, while his 'angoisses' may be read more as scientific observations than fiction. Like a journal, the latter section peters out rather than reaching a satisfactory conclusion, suggesting that Flaubert was simply compiling a 'bank' of images and ideas to use in his later *œuvre*. In the preface, Flaubert refers to *Agonies* as the work of a 'pauvre enfant de 16 ans' (p.383), supporting the view that this is a 'pure' representation of his own thoughts rather than fiction. The title 'Agonies' suggests an acute type of suffering inflicted by existence. The personal, Romantic suffering explored in this work is thus perhaps more akin to Goethean *Ichschmerz* than the less individualised Romantic condition of *Weltschmerz*, since the narrator exhibits a particularly bleak form of *ennui*, and perceives his writing merely as 'un immense résumé d'une vie morale bien hideuse et bien noire' (p.397). Such disgust at the 'dark' aspects of Flaubert's *own* identity must be a reflection of his perceptions of the 'local' culture within which he exists, since his values are inevitably informed by society. Moreover, the narrator's assertion that his sentiments are 'bizarres comme ses pensées, incorrectes comme l'âme, elles sont l'expression de son cœur et son cerveau' (p.383) indicates the portrayal of the internal values of a (Hoffmannesque) Romantic spirit, in which the bizarre is celebrated, and the soul, as an inescapable constituent of humanity, may only be described using the definite article.

Such principles are signficiant for the remainder of Flaubert's *œuvre*: Doumic asserts that the author's aesthetic is 'fixed' from an early age, claiming that 'l'artiste s'est modifié, mais non l'homme',[132] thus reworkings of this 'internal' aesthetic recur throughout Flaubert's later writings in various fictional guises. Despite its Romantic aesthetic pretensions,[133] however, the work's subtitle – 'pensées sceptiques' –undermines its sincerity, and suggests that if Flaubert is aware of his own sceptical mindset, these musings could be a selective version of his thoughts. However, imagery from the natural world which suggests the fundamental, timeless qualities of the narrator's ideas, recurs throughout *Agonies*: his outlook on life as 'un crépuscule triste, où un soleil rouge se couche derrière un océan sans limites' (p.398) alludes to his perception of infinity.

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[131] Ibid.
[132] Doumic, p.454.
[133] Notions of the Romantic artist committing his intimate thoughts to paper have obvious resonance of the confessional style, explored further in chapter 2 of the present study.

According to Chelebourg, 'l'âme romantique se plaît à la confrontation avec l'infini. A considérer les limites de l'homme, la reverie mélancolique sur les spectacles de la nature prend une dimension métaphysique'.[134] Since the narrator claims to have found inspiration for *Agonies* in the relative isolation of quintessentially Romantic locations – 'dans ses moments d'ennui [...] sous les lauriers d'un jardin ou sur les rochers de la mer' (p.397) – the reader may be persuaded that *Agonies* represents Flaubert's appreciation of Romantic values, and therefore forms the basis of his understanding of how to be an artist. While these locations are apparently generic – even clichéd – Romantic settings, they *could* be specific to Flaubert's geographical context (for example the latter image might represent the cliffs at Etretat), thus Romantic yearning can be found in northern France as much as in distant lands.

Perhaps to reinforce the sentiments expressed in *Agonies* concerning the 'true' nature of human identity, *Angoisses* provides concrete examples of 'real' life which demonstrate particular timeless characteristics. The first 'episode' or 'scene' describes the exhumation of 'un homme illustre': while he may have been revered in life, the corpse is reduced to being merely 'quelque chose d'infect, d'indécis, de hideux, quelque chose qui répandait une odeur fétide, quelque chose qui faisait mal' (p.386), suggesting that the individual's supposed 'identity' in life simply masks the macabre reality of human (de)composition, and alluding to the Romantic aesthetic attraction to such gruesome details. Influences of the Gothic and Hoffmann's work (especially his *Geistliche Lieder*), are implicit in the nauseating description of the exhumed corpse, although the human 'need' to see it (and be disgusted by it), appears to be central to the mindset of the Romantic artist. Flaubert advocates that this ingrained instinct – 'ce même instinct naturel qui porte l'homme à se passioner pour ce qu'il y a de hideux' (p.387) – forms an inescapable part of human identity. Furthermore, the people's attraction to hideous 'man-made' spectacles such as executions is made to seem a part of the French mindset, while also reinforcing the basic premise that humanity delights in suffering. The notion of 'individual' identity is made to seem somewhat less certain: the narrator speculates that the soul is 'peut-être cette exhalaison fétide qui sort d'un cadavre' (p.387), ascribing unpleasant associations to the defining feature of the individual. The narrator is unable to seek reassurance about the human soul from religion: echoing Voltaire's portrayal of the clergy, he observes a minister and a prostitute 'qui blasphémaient Dieu et qui dansaient des danses impudiques'

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[134] Chelebourg, p.101.

(p.388), while the priest with whom he finally speaks is more interested in his 'énorme quantité de pommes de terre'[135] (p.389) than in counselling his visitor. An undercurrent of inescapable corruption thus pervades *Angoisses*, with the identities imposed on individuals by society being exposed as mere facades to 'true' human essence.

In the second 'scene', *Angoisses* presents a broader view of the nature of Romantic suffering and its inescapable role in Flaubert's aesthetic. The narrator claims that 'du nord au sud, de l'est à l'ouest, partout où vous irez, vous ne pouvez faire un pas sans que la tyrannie, l'injustice, l'avarice, la cupidité ne vous repoussent avec égoïsme' (p.390). This enumeration of negative human qualities is comparable with Hoffmann's *Der goldne Topf*, in which Anselmus's eternal search for 'das Leben in der Poesie'[136] is repeatedly frustrated by those in his bourgeois *milieu*. The episode described here has a fable-like quality: 'jadis il y avait un voyageur qui marchait dans les grands déserts d'Afrique' (p.391), suggests its universal relevance in describing human traits. As though fate is against him, the traveller's progress is impeded by the natural world, initially by a rock blocking his path, then when night falls and 'les tigres vinrent, le déchirèrent et burent son sang' (p.392). While there is an element of youthful exuberance in these images, the notions that nature will inevitably impede one's progress in life and that predators are invariably quick to move in, reinforce the sense that happiness and success are unattainable goals for the Romantic individual. The 'moral' of the tale is thus summarised in the narrator's assertion 'oh! oui, la misère et le malheur règnent sur l'homme' (p.392), implying the role of a malevolent environment in shaping human identity and a correspondingly cynical mindset. Nature may therefore be 'blamed' for the enduring presence of hypocrisy among human beings – the repeated illustrations of the narrator's assertion that 'la vertu c'est le masque, et le vice c'est la vérité' (p.388) culminate in the exclamation 'le bien c'est faux, le mal c'est vrai!' (p.389), suggesting that at every level, human beings are inescapably corrupt.

Unlike *DMC*, *Angoisses* does not use details of events from French history to illustrate the Romantic artist's (negative) view of humanity, although at the end of two vignettes portraying human barbarity, the victims are revealed to be Charles VI and Louis XVI. The way in which these kings are described merely as 'un fou' (p.393) or 'cet homme' (p.394) evokes a sense that suffering unites social classes: the narrator claims that 'l'habit aille à la taille de chacun: la misère aux peuples, le malheur aux rois' (p.394). The narrator's

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[135] The link between the clergy and excess has resonance of Flaubert's later *œuvre*, for example the portrayal of Bournisien in *Madame Bovary*.
[136] *Der goldne Topf*, p.130.

personification of 'le malheur' with its 'figure aux yeux caves' (p.393) is suggestive of Becker's 'böse[r] schwarze[r] Mann',[137] who restricted people's enjoyment of life in the past.[138] The inescapable reality of human misery therefore reveals its pivotal role in Flaubert's developing aesthetic. It could thus be argued that the Romantics' place in society is as guilty of forming this view as nature: the narrator exclaims 'sotte espèce que la nôtre!' (p.399), suggesting that needless suffering is a defining characteristic of the human species. The futility of individuals' efforts to overcome such aspects of their condition is suggested by the narrator's cynical assertion that they 'succomberont sous le poids de leur fardeau' (p.390): mankind thus has little alternative but to accept these intrinsic elements of human identity. In the final sentence of *Agonies*, the distanced, Germanic Romantic narrator seeks escape from these confines by raising himself spiritually from the rest of humanity – 'je voudrais être crevé, être ivre, ou être Dieu pour faire des farces' (p.400) – as though the artist cannot change his earthly lot.

As the situations described in *Angoisses* develop, the narrative voice evokes a sense of humanity's relative insignificance. Such sentiments are not without precedent in French literature (Voltaire's *Micromégas* (1752), for example), although the powerlessness of the individual within the cosmos is a common theme in German Romanticism: Caspar David Friedrich's paintings of small figures contemplating nature (such as 'Mondaufgang am Meer' (1819), for example), provide a visual demonstration of the German Romantics' perceptions of relative human significance. All-pervasive melancholy thus distinguishes the narrator from the unsympathetic, insensitive 'foule' around him (he asks 'à quoi bon venir pleurer au milieu des rires' (p.385), for example). In sections XVII – XX of *Angoisses*, the relative (in)significance of the individual is explored further: while many of Flaubert's contemporaries might believe that revolutions can change cultural identity, such historical actions are shown to have only fleeting effects, and it is suggested that essential human nature cannot be changed so easily. However, despite its appeal to the very limited number of people able to appreciate Flaubert's personal anguish, *Agonies* retains a relatively calm narrative perspective, which is ostensibly indicative of Flaubert's enduring aim to retain Goethean 'sang froid', as described by Staël.[139]

As a whole, *Agonies* may be considered as a portrayal of the Romantic artistic identity at its roots, because of the way in which it explores human thought and motivations at a

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[137] Becker, p.116.
[138] This incarnation of misery evokes that of the blind beggar in *Madame Bovary*.
[139] See note 108 above.

basic level. While occasional reference is made to specific times and places in *Angoisses*, this is a broader aesthetic summary of Flaubert's perceptions of what it means to be human. While *Angoisses* may suggest that Flaubert shared the Romantic distaste for industrialisation and 'progress', he is clearly at home in observing the bourgeois world and expressing his disgust at the pragmatic, industrialist identity which modernity creates. Unlike many French Romantic works, his art can hardly be accused of gratuitous glorification of the past. It is perhaps more appropriate to adopt Gans's view that Flaubert shares the 'Romantic nostalgia for temporally (or spatially) distant *milieux* in which the individual was not yet alienated from the world',[140] although this must be qualified since in the Flaubertian aesthetic, human identity involves an eternal degree of separation between man and his environment. This is at odds with the quintessentially Romantic trope of pathetic fallacy being used to indicate an intrinsic harmony between the Romantic protagonist and the natural world (discussed further in chapter 2, below). *DMC* illustrates Flaubert's belief that even in a temporally distant setting, humanity itself is the reason for man's difficulties: the humanity which he portrays in both this *EJ* and *Agonies* thus embodies his perception of 'la bêtise humaine'.

In summary, the young Flaubert's environment is likely to be the driving force behind his desire and tendency to perceive the world as a Romantic artist. Robert claims that 'le milieu bourgeois qu'il observait avec l'amertume d'un Molière lui a fourni tous ses grotesques depuis le Garçon':[141] although his misanthropy may be likened to that of Molière, the 'escapism' and freedom offered by German Romantic aesthetics appear to have offered Flaubert experience of an 'other' with which to contrast the mentalities of those around him. However, rather than simply depict the exotic or historical 'other' in his fiction in the manner of many German Romantic writers, the *EJ* considered in the present chapter seem to suggest an enduringly cynical view of human identity, regardless of historical or geographical setting. While German Romantics had political aims and ideals in their 'creation' of their distinctive literary aesthetic, Flaubert's creative imitation of this aesthetic prioritises the way in which he perceives 'dark' aspects of humanity dominating a collective mentality.[142] This rather pessimistic standpoint and its implication of inherent, inescapable negative qualities inevitably raises metaphysical questions, for which imitation of German rather than French Romanticism provided the most appropriate literary vehicle

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[140] Gans, p.33.
[141] Robert, p.663.
[142] This is, of course, echoed by Flaubert's later depiction of the rise and fall of civilisations in *Salammbô*.

for exploring possible answers. Flaubert's aesthetic may thus be considered to embrace an element of European Romanticism, originating in Germany, which Van Tieghem associates with the essence of the movement: 'par un échange fécond, l'art et la pensée s'interpénètrent; l'artiste se sent obligé de devenir penseur, et le penseur, sans le savoir, a respiré l'enseignement qu'a répandu l'artiste'.[143] However, Flaubert's more individual approach to the Romantic notion of 'l'art pour l'art' (unpacked in chapter 4 of the present study), might perhaps be described better as 'l'artiste pour l'artiste' for his development of a more individualised aesthetic, while constantly maintaining the Goethean 'sang froid' provided by his German precursors. As such, like the 'pièces montées' which he goes on to create, it may be argued that Flaubert uses 'fragments' of the German Romantic aesthetic rather than *all* the ideas and principles he encountered in his reading. The way in which such 'fragments', often represented by the mindsets of individuals, fit into this somewhat particularised Romantic context, is a principal point of interest here, and this will be explored in the following chapter.

[143] Van Tieghem, p.117.

Chapter 2: Romantic Mindscapes

Having addressed the German influences and impacts on Flaubert's aesthetic context, attention will now be turned to the extent to which the 'dark' aspects of Romanticism, both French and German, manifest themselves in the protagonists described in the *EJ*. In his *Introduction à l'histoire universelle* (1831), Michelet describes an eternal struggle 'de l'homme contre la nature, de l'esprit contre la matière, de la liberté contre la fatalité'.[1] Given this work's significance to the development of Romanticism in France,[2] the importance of the natural environment in determining the mindset of the 'conventional' (invariably male) French Romantic protagonist is perhaps unsurprising. Pasco emphasises this somewhat antagonistic role of nature in his assertion that

> Romanticism [...] should be defined as a dominant, society-wide sense of helplessness and depression, accompanied by extreme individualism, marked by turmoil in the personal, public and natural world, and characterised by excessive self-awareness, acute recognition of an alienating world, and desire to find escape.[3]

This definition, interestingly, focuses on 'dark' aspects of human existence: melancholia, insanity, introspection and an ongoing struggle against the natural world are depicted in pessimistic protagonists who seek to escape reality. Moreover, it renders the 'conventional', direct association of Romantic literature with the device of pathetic fallacy unreasonably simplistic.[4] While there are many examples of Romantic protagonists' emotions being reflected in nature (Werther observes a flood when inundated with passion, for example), the notion of enduring harmony between Romantic heroes and their surroundings appears more problematic. As a result of their struggle in the world, Romantic heroes are usually 'overcome by their environment, their society, their civilisation';[5] their ultimate failure seems inevitable. Using Pasco's definition of Romanticism, therefore, the (French) 'rêve romantique d'une «concordance» de l'individu avec son milieu et son époque'[6] would seem to remain an unattainable ideal.

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[1] Jules Michelet, *Œuvres complètes*, 40 vols (Paris: Flammarion, 1893–98), XXXV (1897), 400–71 (p.403).
[2] See Chelebourg, p.59.
[3] Pasco, p.177.
[4] For a detailed treatment of pathetic fallacy as a Romantic trope, see Josephine Miles, *Pathetic Fallacy in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of a Changing Relation Between Object and Emotion* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965).
[5] Pasco, p.100.
[6] See Isabelle Daunais, *Frontière du roman. Le Personnage réaliste et ses fictions* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2002), p.12.

The typical German Romantic hero tends to exist in isolation: the remote location of Eckbert's cabin in the Harz mountains is a central feature of *Der blonde Eckbert*, for example. Such figures may live on the margins of mainstream society, yet their singularity is usually treated with sensitivity by their narrators:[7] in his poem 'Die Zigeunerin', for example, Eichendorff celebrates the gypsy's physical and mental strength. Their unusual characteristics and habits invariably result in less sympathetic treatment from those around them, however, especially where their oddness is perceived more as a sign of monstrosity than genius. The alienation of such 'monstrous' protagonists, who fail to conform to social expectations, is a positively valorised feature of Romantic literature.[8] While 'conventional' French Romantic protagonists such as Adolphe or René can hardly be considered physically monstrous, their extreme individualism and almost total isolation from mainstream society certainly render them singular, 'misfit' characters. German Romantics such as Hoffmann, however, are frequently associated with the creation of 'dark', physically monstrous Romantic heroes (such as those who surround Anselmus in *Der goldne Topf*), although 'dark' aspects of the Romantic mind as well as the body are of primary interest here. Pasco summarises the mindset of the Romantic hero as comprising 'excessive individualism, acute self-consciousness and neurotic introspection':[9] this neurosis frequently results in the designation of such heroes as 'mad'.

While such mindsets might otherwise be ridiculed, 'madness' is celebrated by the Romantics and is often heralded as a defining feature of the superior Romantic spirit, or 'génie': Bénichou observes that 'les visions des fous peuvent, elles aussi, contenir la vérité d'un monde supérieur au nôtre'.[10] At a time when values previously believed to be the truth were being undermined (as discussed in the previous chapter of the present study), the 'insights' of the insane were of significant allure to Romantic artists. As Bowman observes, 'it was a matter of reintegrating madness into culture, proposing that any adequate definition of the mind had to include the phenomena of insanity, that madness had metaphysical meaning',[11] although such a positive perspective on madness was restricted to male figures, contrasted with the dismissive diagnosis of hysteria among women. The Romantics thus valued (male) insanity as a useful conduit by which to

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[7] René Descharmes notes that the Romantics 'éprouvaient une sorte de tendresse littéraire [...] pour la misère d'une caste'. Descharmes, p.43.

[8] For an engaging treatment of the alienation of such protagonists, see Robert Sayre, *Solitude in Society: A Sociological Study in French Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).

[9] Pasco, p.6.

[10] Bénichou, II, 1535.

[11] Bowman, 'Illuminism, Utopia, Mythology', p.78.

explore the pre-industrial 'golden age', which they feared might be lost to 'progress', and took great interest in 'enlightened' nineteenth-century attitudes to treatment of the insane. Monomania was a popular diagnosis among psychiatrists for numerous forms of obsession during the 1830s,[12] and this popularity spread into literature. In her comprehensive treatment of this variety of 'madness', Marina Van Zuylen suggests that 'Nodier conceived *monomanie* as the re-creation of a lost unity, perhaps our last chance to retrieve an ideal world'.[13] As Nodier himself explains in the preface to *La Fée aux miettes* (1832), where he attempts to link the theme of 'songes' to that of 'folie' in his description of 'le mystère de l'influence des illusions du sommeil sur la vie solitaire',[14] Romantic heroes' dreams may be 'mad', but they indicate spiritual and intellectual superiority – they are 'fort intelligibles, selon toute apparence, dans le monde des esprits',[15] and constitute an element of Romantic 'génie' which is lacking in pragmatic, 'sane' characters.[16]

Given its influences on Nodier and other key figures in French Romanticism, German Romantic work therefore clearly contributes significantly to defining attributes of the (male) Romantic hero in France during the 1830s: characters with such 'mindscapes' frequently combine Wertherian sensitivity with Hoffmannesque monstrosity, and are invariably ostracised within their contrastingly insensitive, brutally standardised environments. Compared with the 'positive' aspects of individualism associated with the nineteenth century (success of the self-made businessman, for example), the solitude of Romantic heroes is perhaps less productive, however. Rather than becoming worldly-wise, 'hardened' characters as a result of their emotional excesses, many tend towards the otherworldly, naïve and poetic attitudes which characterise the 'reiner Tor' figure found throughout German Romantic literature. Such individuals rarely fulfil a specific social function, but are blissfully content with their uncomplicated lot. Given the worth attached by Romantic authors to idleness and self-contemplation (epitomised by the 'Taugenichts' portrayed by Eichendorff[17]), theirs is made to seem a more rational, even desirable, lifestyle

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[12] Goldstein observes how monomania was 'in vogue' at the Salpêtrière during this time. See Jan Goldstein, 'Professional Knowledge and Professional Self-Interest. The Rise and Fall of Monomania in Nineteenth-Century France', *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 21 (1998), 385–96 (p.389).

[13] Van Zuylen, p.193.

[14] Charles Nodier, *Œuvres complètes*, 12 vols (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), IV, 16.

[15] Ibid.

[16] For a useful appraisal of Romantic 'génie', see Laurence M. Porter, *The Literary Dream in French Romanticism: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979).

[17] A naïve character who 'lives for the day' and has an apparent purity of spirit and carefree existence embodies the concept of the 'reiner Tor' and is epitomised by the Taugenichts figure. See Eichendorff, *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*.

choice; invariably those characters who 'live for the day' amid various forms of individual excess fare no better than any other, echoing the Romantics' rejection of the meliorist principles promoted by Enlightenment works such as Voltaire's *Candide* (1759). Rather than enjoy happiness in solitude, however, Romantic heroes are also invariably characterised by world-weariness or 'ennui'. Depicted memorably as a bleak, extreme form of despair by Baudelaire in *Les Fleurs du mal*, 'ennui' is a significant and debilitating physical and mental condition: obsession and excess may be seen as attempts to overcome this affliction of the Romantic artistic spirit, rather than simply considered as the manifestations of madness.

Obsessive behaviours and physical or emotional excess are, by definition, unsustainable, and suicide seems to be the inevitable destiny of many Romantic heroes. A tendency to self-destruction for reasons as diverse as monomania and *tædium vitae* reflects contemporary social and literary trends, in which unrequited Romantic love was frequently linked inextricably to untimely death. While an apparent 'death wish' is as noticeable among French Romantic heroes as elsewhere in Romantic literature[18] – for example, Constant's Adolphe claims that 'l'idée de la mort a toujours eu sur moi beaucoup d'empire'[19] – some commentators have argued that the roots of its glorification lie firmly in literature of English and German origins. In 'Le Suicide en littérature', Paul Morand identifies 'la grande vague sentimentale qui nous vient du fond du XVIII[e] siècle anglais et allemand, le flux qui submergea la France à la fois par Calais et par le lac de Genève [...] l'ennui et le «suicide beau»'.[20] Although Morand makes no direct reference to it, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* was without doubt the fundamental driving force behind this 'wave' of *tædium vitae* and sentimentality from the other side of the Rhine: the phenomenon of 'Werther-Fieber' across Europe is a frequently cited explanation for many suicides during the years following its publication.[21] A number of the ideas fictionalised by Goethe were presented to a French audience in Madame de Staël's 1813 treatise *Réflexions sur le suicide*, and in accounts of the death of Heinrich von Kleist (1811), so this theme was a popular one immediately before and during Flaubert's formative years. Critics are quick to note that the appeal of suicide to Romantic authors soon waned,

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[18] For a detailed overview of the Romantic 'death drive', see 'Death Wish', in Pasco, pp.134–56.
[19] Benjamin Constant, *Adolphe. Anecdote trouvée dans les papiers d'un inconnu*, ed. by C.P. Courtney (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), p.62.
[20] Morand, pp.34–5.
[21] See François Jost, 'Littérature et suicide de *Werther* à *Madame Bovary*', *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, 42 (1968), 161–98. Jost argues that *Werther* served as a 'model' adopted by Romantic writers across Europe: '*Werther* demeure le roman classique de la mort volontaire' (p.174).

however, and Pasco states that 'by the mid-1830s [...] literary suicide had become a tired cliché'.[22]

If suicides litter Romantic texts prior to 1830, the subject of suicide was a central debate in medical / scientific treatises of the 1840s and 1850s, particularly the classification of its types. The work of Egiste Lisle is a case in point, in which the author identifies a clear majority of deaths caused by 'aliénation mentale', plus a significant number which are classified as 'monomanie' and 'idiotisme, faiblesse d'esprit';[23] it could be argued that both of these latter categories constitute the mere replication of literary motifs. From his more modern perspective, Paul Moreau de Tours identifies two types of suicide: 'physiologique' and 'aliéné' – the latter of these conditions in particular can be linked to (German) Romantic ideas regarding alienation of the Romantic hero, outlined above. Echoing Pasco's assertion that Romantic heroes are condemned to failure, the suicide of 'alienés' is described as 'un acte irrésistible [...] il ne dépend pas de l'individu de le faire cesser'.[24] However, while French literary heroes often allude to suicide as a means of escape – Chateaubriand's René, for example, speaks of his desire to 'me débarasser du poids de la vie'[25] – German Romantics theorised on suicide's metaphysical role, and tended to view death as a passage to a higher plane. Novalis claims that '[d]er echte philosophische Akt ist die Selbsttötung; dies ist der reale Anfang aller Philosophie, dahin geht alles Bedürfnis des philosophischen Jüngers, und nur dieser Akt entspricht allen Bedingungen und Merkmalen der transzendentalen Handlung'.[26] With their evident impact on French society of the time, it seems fair to state that German ideas on suicide such as those of Novalis, and its glorification in *Werther*, translated into the emerging French Romantic tradition: previously, suicide had been used in French novels and plays as a means of aesthetic closure, and rarely as the principal focus of a work.[27] It is no coincidence that in his analysis of literary suicides, Morand uses a German term to describe the protagonists' conditions: 'C'est chez eux un état, du reste affecté, de la sensibilité, une *Gemütsstimmung*'.[28]

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[22] Pasco, p.134.
[23] Egiste Lisle, *Du suicide* (Paris: Ballière et Lévy, 1856), pp.105–7. Figures cited for these are 10726, 847 and 817 respectively.
[24] Paul Moreau de Tours, *Suicides et crimes étranges* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000), p.6.
[25] François-René de Chateaubriand, *René*, ed. by J.M. Gautier (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 1970), p.51.
[26] Novalis, *Fragmente. Erste vollständige, geordnete Ausgabe*, ed. by Ernst Kamnitzer (Dresden: Jess, 1929), p.87.
[27] See Pasco, p.148.
[28] Morand, p.48.

The 'Gemütsstimmung' of Flaubert's characters, or their 'mindscapes', is therefore of primary interest here. In contrast to many French Romantic heroes, such as Chateaubriand's René, the psychology of Flaubert's protagonists is rarely the *sole* focus of a narrative: his interest lies in the place of the Romantic hero *in* society rather than in isolation, so his depiction of human nature rather than the physical world may be perceived as a move away from 'established' French and German Romantic models towards his own aesthetic. Unlike German pieces, especially, Flaubert's *EJ* rarely describe the natural landscape in any great detail, in particular when compared with the isolated, bleak settings evoked in works such as Tieck's *Der blonde Eckbert* or the Mediterranean exoticism found in Eichendorff's *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*. Rather than proclaim a longing for some distant, picturesque utopia (as Goethe does in 'Kennst du das Land?'), or extol the virtues of the 'real' physical environment in the manner of the English Lake Poets, Flaubert devotes his attention to humanity and *human* nature. Although he makes occasional reference to the geographical location of his narratives (for example in *PF*), as we saw in chapter 1 of the present study, it is invariably his characters' 'mindscapes' and the social atmosphere on which the *EJ* concentrate. Given Flaubert's apparent rejection of natural landscapes, therefore, it appears more fruitful to consider the nature of his protagonists than his presentation of nature *per se*. Central to the nature of his protagonists is the notion of insanity, which is invariably an indicator of Romantic 'génie', thus the analysis will commence with an examination of obsession in *Bibliomanie* (1836) and *Mémoires d'un fou* (1838). The claustrophobic, cerebral 'excesses' of these tales will be followed by a survey of the quests for more physical excess in *Ivre et mort* (1838), *Les Funérailles du docteur Mathurin* (1839) and *Rage et impuissance* (1836). While the indulgent 'heroes' of these tales are invariably portrayed as possessing a superior state of mind, eventually such Romantic protagonists submit to untimely death: the suicides of the ape-man Djalioh in *Quidquid volueris* (1837) and that of Flaubert's Romantic heroine, Marguerite, in *Un parfum à sentir* (1836) conclude the analysis. Through examination of the mindscapes of Flaubert's early protagonists, their obsessions, excesses and downfalls, an appreciation of the way in which the German Romantic 'inner world' translates into Flaubert's aesthetic will be gained.

I Obsession

Throughout Flaubert's *EJ*, one finds protagonists whose actions are motivated by obsessive passions, although unlike Werther or other Romantic precursors, the object of their desire is not always another human being. Nowhere is this more apparent than in *Bibliomanie*, Flaubert's first published work,[29] which presents an individual's obsessive passion for books. The sources of *Bibliomanie* are well documented: an article from the *Gazette des Tribunaux*[30] provides a skeleton for the tale, while Hoffmann's *Das Fräulein von Scuderi*, which first appeared in French translation in 1832, provides much of its literary 'flesh'. In his examination of these two principal sources, Camille Pitollet notes that '*Bibliomanie* a joui, depuis la date de sa publication, d'une faveur spéciale, surtout, semble-t-il, en Allemagne':[31] this is suggestive of a particular affinity between the tale's content and the tastes of a German-speaking readership. Critics have identified further possible influences on *Bibliomanie*, including that of 'petits romantiques' such as Pétrus Borel (and by implication the 'genre frénétique'):[32] as outlined in the introduction to the present study, these 'second generation' French Romantics were in turn influenced by German Romantic writers including Hoffmann.

The original 'bibliomane' was a former monk, Don Vincente, whose monomania may have been fostered by his witnessing the destruction or looting of ancient manuscripts at his monastery during the War of Spanish Independence (1808–14). His obsessive passion for hoarding books brought him to leave his order and open a bookshop in Barcelona. He stood accused of setting fire to the premises of his rival, Agustin Patxot, less than a week after Patxot had outbid him at an auction. In the dock, Don Vincente confessed to murdering several people in order to obtain rare books: these included a German writer who was beaten to death, and a local curate, the motives for whose murders were originally assumed to be jealousy or vengeance, since no valuables had been removed from their corpses. In his defence, the former monk argued that everyone has to die eventually, but books, 'es la gloria Dias',[33] and that he had left his victims' valuables because he was not a

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[29] Written when Flaubert was fifteen, *Bibliomanie* appears in *Le Colibri. Journal de la littérature, des théâtres, des arts et des modes* (12 February 1837), pp.1–2, under the heading 'Littérature'. He may have been encouraged to publish here by Alfred Le Poittevin, who had submitted seven texts to *Le Colibri* by February 1837.

[30] [author unknown], 'Le Bibliomane ou le nouveau Cardillac', *Gazette des Tribunaux. Journal de jurisprudence et des débats judiciaires, feuille d'annonces légales*, 3465 (23 October 1836), pp.1–2.

[31] Camille Pitollet, 'Une mystification littéraire. Le Bibliomane assassin. Contribution à l'histoire des œuvres de Flaubert', *Mercure de Flandre* (November 1930), 26–47 (p.27).

[32] See Marshall C. Olds, 'Bibliomanie', in *A Gustave Flaubert Encyclopaedia*, p.30.

[33] ['c'est la gloire de Dieu'], Pitollet, p.36.

thief. Following his confession to this 'crime of passion', Don Vincente was condemned to death. This extraordinary case evidently made such an impression upon Flaubert that the somewhat imprecise assertion that his 'bibliomane' lived 'il y a peu de temps' (p.161), may be taken more literally than usual.

Flaubert's fictional 'bibliomane', Giacomo, is unquestionably an obsessive and a monster figure. Whereas Don Vincente is described, perhaps unremarkably, as 'un homme de petite taille, mais fort et vigoreux',[34] Giacomo is 'un de ces hommes au front pâle, à l'œil terne, creux, un de ces êtres sataniques et bizarres tels qu'Hoffmann en déterrait dans ses songes' (p.161). The Hoffmannesque 'being' whom he resembles most is the jeweller René Cardillac in *Das Fräulein von Scuderi*. The narrator in *Das Fräulein von Scuderi* notes Cardillac's 'ganz besonderer Blick'[35] as well as his unusual habits, and asserts that, just as Giacomo has an almost human relationship with the printed page (his manuscripts are 'enfants cheris' (p.162)), he is 'innig vertraut mit der Natur der Edelsteine'.[36] Considering Flaubert's adaptation of other characters' names from the German author's tale to suit a Spanish context ('Baptiste' becomes 'Baptisto', for example), there can be little doubt that *Bibliomanie* is a fusion of Romantic fiction and a Realistic source. That the conditions of both fictional characters have developed over time is apparent in both Flaubert's and Hoffmann's versions: in Giacomo's case, we are told that 'il ne dormait *plus*' (p.162), while with Cardillac, '*nun* war es kaum möglich, die fertige Arbeit von ihm zu erhalten'[37] [emphases added]. The way in which their respective narratives consider their current behaviour make both Giacomo and Cardillac appear as case-studies of pathologies united under the name of monomania.[38]

However, Flaubert's intentions are clearly broader than the mere replication of a contemporary psychological trend. The monstrous appearance and behaviour of Giacomo are emphasised from the outset. In describing him, the narrator constantly qualifies Giacomo's physical attributes with 'mais', the effect of which is to undermine any positive ideas which the reader may have about his appearance: 'ses cheveux étaient longs, mais blancs; ses mains étaient fortes et nerveuses, mais desséchées et couvertes de rides...'

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[34] Ibid., p.35.
[35] E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Das Fräulein von Scuderi* (Hannover: Richard Beeck Verlag, 1948), p.33.
[36] Ibid., p.33.
[37] Ibid., p.34.
[38] In an article exploring a campaign by psychiatrists which culminated in a law which gave public recognition to the place for expert psychiatric testimony in court (1838), Jan Goldstein notes that from the 1820s–1840s, monomania was a popular diagnosis for patients at the Salpêtrière whose symptoms ranged from alcoholism to arson. See Goldstein, p.389.

(p.161). Giacomo is repeatedly associated with the adjectives 'étrange' and 'bizarre', both of which occur no less than nine times in the narrative, and his air of mystery is underscored when we are told that 'il passait [...] pour un savant ou un sorcier' (p.163). The mystical qualities of those in possession of knowledge, implied by the juxtaposition of 'savant' and 'sorcier', would seem to underpin Bénichou's assertion that Romantic authors replaced priests in terms of spiritual power and recognition,[39] yet simultaneously alludes to the apparent ease with which charlatans can deceive their public, and the close affinity between the magus and the sage / 'fou'.

Corresponding to his 'unusual' status, the world that Giacomo inhabits is far removed from the Mediterranean exoticism which one might expect of Barcelona: instead of a sunlit, Latin *milieu*, his is a 'rue étroite et sans soleil' (p.161): this seems an appropriate dwelling for a 'monster', and he is treated as such by society. Beyond his physical appearance, however, Giacomo is clearly very different from those around him: people instinctively avoid him – 'personne n'osait lui parler' (p.163) – although fears of him are unfounded, since 'jamais il ne toucha à un enfant pour lui nuire' (p.163). His neighbours observe him examining his books late into the night in an ecstatic frenzy, during 'ces nuits fiévreuses et brûlantes' (p.162). Likewise, in Cardillac's case, 'Tag und Nacht hörte man ihn in seiner Werkstatt hämmern',[40] so that both protagonists' lives appear overtly to be governed by their obsessions. Neither character fulfils social expectations – Giacomo is a bookseller who will not sell books and 'savait à peine lire' (p.163), while Cardillac will repair jewellery skilfully, but will not return it for any price.

Despite their highly unusual and even antisocial behaviour, however, neither character is ridiculed by his narrator. Giacomo is described as being 'un de ces hommes singuliers et étranges, dont la multitude rit dans les rues, parce qu'elle ne comprend point leurs passions et leurs manies' (p.170), while Cardillac is 'einer der kunstreichsten und zugleich sonderbarsten Menschen seiner Zeit'.[41] The narrator's suggestion that the failure to accept or understand Giacomo is a deficiency of his tormentors, inverts the norms of evaluating such singular figures, making the reader feel pity instead for the ostracised individual and contempt for the 'foule'. Of course, the reader is carefully included in Flaubert's critique of such bourgeois value judgements: being able to identify Giacomo as '*un de ces* hommes' [emphasis added] is qualification enough to imply the reader's own guilt. The

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[39] See Bénichou, I, 262.
[40] *Das Fräulein von Scuderi*, p.33.
[41] Ibid.

impersonal narrative stance is central to the successful framing of the unwitting beholder, and the narrator's frequent observations on humanity are just as significant as the action in the tale.[42] Flaubert's hatred of 'la bêtise humaine' is well known[43] and manifests itself across his more established *œuvre*, although it is worth noting that society is portrayed as a single, homogenised and threatening mass in both *Bibliomanie* and *Das Fräulein von Scuderi*. In the former, the narrator remarks that outside the courtroom where Giacomo is to be tried for various crimes of which he is innocent, 'le peuple cachait ses larmes dans un rire convulsif' (p.171), while outside Cardillac's house, 'im wilden, verwirrten Getöse riefen zornige Stimmen: zerreißt, zermalmt den verfluchten Mörder!'[44] In both narratives, the disembodied, indistinct noises of rage from 'the people' allude to the dangers of collective viewpoints and mankind's tendency to ostracise.

Consistent with Marie-Hélène Huet's assertion that 'monstrosity always reveals a truth',[45] Flaubert thus uses *Bibliomanie* to uncover the innate responses of the 'foule' to those who exist outside of society's frame of normality and the way in which such individuals appear destined to become scapegoats. At this stage in his literary career, Flaubert has an obvious perception of 'dark' human behaviours, such as the tendency to exclude socially those who are different. This perception must have been informed, at least in part, by the behaviour which Flaubert observed around him: in an early diary entry he writes, 'je n'attends rien de bien de la part des hommes, et aucune trahison, aucune bassesse ne m'étonnera'.[46] Indeed, it could be argued that creating an eccentric character such as Giacomo is necessary in order to reveal the 'circle' of bourgeois respectability outside which he exists, so that by presenting an apparent monster, Flaubert is able to attack the equally 'monstrous' aspects of the middle-class *milieu* into which he was born. As Aarnes asserts, 'seule l'activité poétique lui semble offrir un refuge à l'écart de la bêtise universelle':[47] *Bibliomanie* may thus be seen as much as a 'clinical' study of monomania as of bourgeois society's reactions to it.

The antagonism experienced by Giacomo explores the essentially (German) Romantic notion of 'a polarity of mind and world, and in particular a certain tension existing between

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[42] I explore further Flaubert's critique of humanity in this tale in 'Beyond the G(u)ilt Edge: Flaubert's Framing of the Bourgeois Mentality in *Bibliomanie*', in *Framed! Essays in French Studies*, ed. by Lucy Bolton and others (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), pp.161–74.

[43] For a recent treatment of this theme, see Raitt, *Gustavus Flaubertus Bourgeoisophobus*.

[44] *Das Fräulein von Scuderi*, p.47.

[45] Marie-Hélène Huet, *Monstrous Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p.128.

[46] *Cahier intime de jeunesse*, p.16.

[47] Asbjørn Aarnes, 'Flaubert et le Romantisme', *Orbis Litterarum*, 12 (1957), 129–45 (p.132).

them'.[48] Like Cardillac, Giacomo has the characteristic moral and spiritual superiority of a Romantic hero, with his poetic soul and artistic, otherworldly mindset, and this is contrasted with the rational, materialist types with whom he comes into contact. For example, we are told that despite his inability to read, Giacomo 'aimait un livre, parce que c'était un livre' (p.162). This contrasts sharply with the motives of a student who comes into his shop and wishes to acquire a cherished manuscript for pragmatic reasons of social advancement: 'il me faut ce livre pour être docteur; il me faut être docteur pour être archevêque; il me faut la pourpre aux épaules pour avoir la tiare au front!' (p.164). Although Giacomo's obsession with books is ridiculed by those around him, the student's mania for titles and social advancement (comparable to that of Homais (*Madame Bovary*) and other bourgeois figures in Flaubert's later *œuvre*), is socially acceptable. Throughout Flaubert's *EJ*, poetic souls like Giacomo are juxtaposed with rational, realist types such as the student, to the point that Unwin suggests that the opposition of poetry and reality equates to that of good and evil for the young Flaubert.[49] The narrator leaves little doubt that the student is from a wealthy background and furnishes the reader with a stereotype of his French bourgeois equivalent:

> un homme qui, à Paris, écrit sur une table d'acajou, a des livres dorés sur tranche, des pantoufles brodées, des curiosités chinoises, une robe de chambre, une pendule en or, un chat qui dort sur son tapis, et deux ou trois femmes qui lui font lire ses vers, sa prose et ses contes, qui lui disent: vous avez de l'esprit, mais ne le trouvent qu'un fat. (p.163)

While the accumulation of these somewhat incongruous attributes may have a predominantly comic effect, the nineteenth-century reader might also recognise in the list characteristics or aspirations from his/her own *milieu*; Flaubert's 'frame' encapsulates not only the character, but also the bourgeois mentality and outlook which he embodies.

The Romantic notion of the role of fate and the requirement that some phenomena remain unrationalised forms a significant part of *Bibliomanie*. Starkie suggests that 'Flaubert believed in fatality, in exorable fate, but this did not preclude a belief in free will and in a certain amount of free choice'[50] – she likens the individual's character to the chain by which a dog is attached to its kennel, so while a degree of movement and control over

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[48] Anthony K. Thorlby, 'The Concept of Romanticism' in *French Literature and its Background*, ed. by John Cruickshank, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), IV, 8.
[49] See Unwin, *Art et infini*, p.100.
[50] Enid Starkie, *Flaubert: The Making of the Master* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967), p.302.

behaviour is allowed, characters can never escape their circumstances.[51] Contentment with his lot is thus an unattainable goal for Giacomo:[52] for example, when he learns that the first book ever to be printed in Spain, a Bible of which there is only one copy, is to be sold, his joy is short-lived because 'une inquiétitude lui tenait l'âme: Baptisto pourrait l'acheter' (p.167). Giacomo's desperate obsession is demonstrated by his reaction on seeing the book: 'il le serrait entre ses doigts en riant amèrement, comme un homme qui se meurt de faim et qui voit de l'or' (p.167), which is contrasted with Baptisto's air of serenity and calm at the auction. When Giacomo has put in a bid, Baptisto 'se tut et ne regarda pas la bible' (p.167), leaving the auctioneer to repeat Giacomo's bid three times before offering a rival bid. By the end of a bidding war, in which Baptisto delights in outbidding his enemy at the last minute, Giacomo 'baissait la tête, et avait la main dans sa poitrine; quand il la retira, elle était chaude et mouillée, car il avait de la chair et du sang au bout des ongles' (p.168). This grisly image reinforces the tale's nightmarish overtones, and suggests that the Romantic hero's only relief lies in self-destruction. When Giacomo's defence lawyer produces a second copy of the Bible for which Baptisto outbid his rival at the auction, and uses it to prove that Giacomo did not necessarily set light to the shop, the revelation that Baptisto's copy was not unique is enough to make Giacomo beg to be condemned to death, and he rips up the second copy so that his belief may be upheld. At every turn, it is made to seem that circumstances are conspiring to cause the downfall of 'the monster', and with both his enemy and his defence lawyer contributing to Giacomo's mental torture, his ultimate state of insanity seems inevitable.

While fate was a popular contemporary 'explanation' for the social advancement and success of certain members of society, its use in Flaubert's early fiction perhaps echoes a more general German Romantic preference for the inexplicable (unpacked further in the subsequent chapter of the present study): the reason for Giacomo's obsession cannot be explained, but rather than dismiss him as 'mad', the narrator, like his counterpart in *Das Fräulein von Scuderi*, prioritises the sensitive, artistic side to Giacomo's character. However, it is significant that while Cardillac is a relatively minor character in Hoffmann's work (he is not mentioned in the narrative's title and appears only intermittently), Giacomo and his 'mindscape' are the sole focus of Flaubert's short story. It thus appears that

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[51] Charles Bovary's famous assertion that 'la fatalité' was to blame for the end result of *Madame Bovary*, whereby the unflinching, bourgeois characters continue their lives unhindered after poetic, Romantic souls have come to grief, could be equally applicable here.

[52] See note 6 above.

Flaubert was ready to seize on particular aspects of German Romantic fiction which he read, and to use these as a starting point for the development of his own aesthetic, as well as for his oblique criticism of 'French' Romantic preferences.

Insanity of the central protagonist is integral to the much longer 'roman intime' *Mémoires d'un fou.* A large number of treatises from the early nineteenth century[53] demonstrate the (Romantic-led) interest in the concept of madness, described by one observer as 'the opposite to reason and good sense, as light is to darkness, straight to crooked'.[54] Flaubert's decision to designate his narrator 'un fou' could thus be seen as an amplification of the 'mind – world' polarity explored in *Bibliomanie*,[55] and exploration of the Romantic interest in the 'fou-sage'. Like *romans intimes* from the French Romantic tradition such as *René* or *Adolphe*, the narrator in *MF* experiences excesses of emotion as part of his amorous obsession, although Flaubert's narrative lacks the gushing sincerity of its established French counterparts: one would not expect, for example, to be promised 'des larmes délayées dans des métaphores romantiques' (p.468) by an emotional first-person narrator. The Romantic irony which is used to undermine the narrative's emotional sincerity and is sustained throughout *MF* is similar to the 'conscious' use of irony found in German works such as Tieck's *Der gestiefelte Kater* (in which Romantic irony is deployed repeatedly to break the audience's suspension of disbelief[56]). Equally, however, Richard Coe asserts that Flaubert's piece 'constitutes an almost perfect example of an Orphic text',[57] although qualifies this with the observation that since it is told by an Orpheus figure still in love with his Eurydice, it is perhaps better considered a 'Eurydice myth'.[58] A combination of literary influences is clearly at work here: while Flaubert may have drawn on Classical mythology when writing *MF* amid the Romantic desire to revive mythology and explore national (cultural) heritage, his fictionalisation of adolescent emotional experiences is likely, in common with many other writings from this period, to take inspiration from one particular German masterpiece, Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen*

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[53] One of the most detailed and clinical of these is John Haslam's *Observations on Madness and Melancholy* (London: Callow, 1809); many others were written as doctrines on 'moral management'.

[54] John Haslam, *Observations on Madness and Melancholy* (1809), an extract from which is cited in Vieda Skultans, *Madness and Morals: Ideas on Insanity in the Nineteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), p.31.

[55] See note 48 above.

[56] This notion of Romantic irony is explored further in chapter 4 of the present study.

[57] Richard N. Coe, 'Myth and Madame Schlesinger: Story and Fable in Flaubert's *Mémoires d'un fou*', *French Literature Series*, 12 (1985), 90–103 (p.94).

[58] See Ibid., p.101.

Werthers, of which the popularity in France is explored in the introduction to the present study.[59]

The parallels between *MF* and *Werther* have been analysed in a number of critical works,[60] and alluded to in many more. The two works have a great deal in common: from autobiographical traits (depiction of Flaubert's infatuation with Elisa Schlésinger; Goethe's with Charlotte Buff), to descriptive details (such as the rose motifs on dresses worn by Maria and Lotte or the colour of their eyes), there is little doubt that similarities between the two texts are not coincidental. Both narrators acknowledge their youth – Werther says 'was man ein Kind ist!'[61] while the 'fou' regards Maria as the 'ange de ma jeunesse' (p.514). Despite being able to acknowledge this, neither is able to rationalise his passion for the object of his affections: the 'fou' describes himself as 'navré d'amour', while Werther comes to question his all-consuming obsession – 'was soll diese tobende endlose Leidenschaft?'[62] Moreover, both texts seek to intensify their effect on the reader by appearing in 'dialogue' form: Werther has a named correspondent in his letters, while the conversational tone of the 'fou' also permits the reader a closer appreciation of his emotions.

As might be expected of any Romantic hero, Flaubert's 'fou' suffers from 'Weltschmerz' or 'mal du siècle', demonstrated from the outset by his self-description as 'un pauvre fou' (p.468). Consistent with Goethe's assertion that 'das Classische nenne ich das Gesunde, und das Romantische das Kranke',[63] the narrator in *MF* is perhaps inevitably afflicted by 'madness' as a result of his position in a bourgeois society, as well as his Romantic disposition, which prevents him from experiencing passion in moderation. However, as Unwin observes, the shifting narrative perspective in *MF* suggests that the narrator has a degree of control over his mental state: for example, on seeing Maria, he abandons the idea of madness for that of love.[64] This would seem to strengthen the Romantic notion that insanity is a superior state of mind to which only sensitive, poetic, male characters are privileged. Equally, the way in which the narrator appears distanced from his story (for example, at the end of Chapter IX he tells us, 'ici commencent vraiment les mémoires' (p.483)), is at odds with Werther's intensely personal narration and could be

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[59] See note 22 in the introduction above.
[60] See note 19 in the introduction above.
[61] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1967), p.40.
[62] *Werther*, p.62.
[63] Goethe, 02.04.1829, in a letter to Eckermann.
[64] See Timothy A. Unwin, 'Mysticisme et langage chez Flaubert: de *Mémoires d'un fou* à *Novembre*', *Essays in French Literature*, 26 (1989), pp.38–62 (p.40).

seen as Flaubert's further means of ironising the sincerity of French Romantic works and the confessional style. The effect of distancing created by the assertion that Chapters I–IX were not 'really' the 'mémoires d'un fou' as the title suggested, indicates a move away from the intimate, sincere tone of works such as Rousseau's *Confessions* and evokes a far more sceptical tone than the intensity associated with *Werther*.

Despite his apparent sincerity, however, it could be argued that Werther's love for Lotte is created by the writing process, or at least intensified by it.[65] Likewise, Flaubert's 'fou' is infatuated with Maria from a distance, and describes her in such superlative terms that Mason claims, 'la «Déesse» de Trouville [est] son idéal esthétique et sentimental'.[66] Despite Maria's apparently divine status, the narrator also identifies attributes which perhaps make her more of an 'anti-heroine': she displays masculine qualities ('elle aimait l'odeur du tabac' (p.490)), and rather than being an 'unattainable ideal' like Lotte, she and the 'fou' share common intellectual ground, being 'parfaitement du même sentiment en fait d'art' (p.490). In describing his obsession with Maria, the narrator finds himself restricted by the limitations of language – or as Unwin puts it, 'l'auteur découvre que le mot écrit ne peut constituer qu'un écho lointain et dégradé de la vie infinie des sentiments'[67] – just as Werther comes to appreciate the 'eingeschränkte Kraft meines Busens'.[68] Both texts could thus be seen to reveal the way in which (extremes) of emotion and obsession cannot be expressed anew in print, although the lack of frustration on the part of Flaubert's narrator (his description of his infatuation ends with 'l'hiver vint et je rentrai au collège' (p.493)), could be understood as a means of undermining the sincere, emotional outpourings with which one might associate established French Romantic heroes such as Adolphe or René.

In a similar manner to *Bibliomanie*, realist, anti-Romantic characters are contrasted with the narrator of *MF* as a means of emphasising and questioning his Romantic qualities. Maria's husband is the epitome of the bourgeois: 'Il était orné de moustaches, de vêtements à guise – il fumait intrépidement, était vif – bon garçon amical – il ne méprisait point la table' (p.489). Yet just as Werther enjoys amicable relations with Lotte's fiancé Albert, the 'fou' does not display any animosity towards his 'rival'. Perhaps this is due to the fact that like Werther, Flaubert's 'fou' seeks to present his infatuation with Maria as 'pure'. William VanderWolk suggests that by recreating Elisa Schlésinger in his fiction in

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[65] See Giersberg, p.100.
[66] Mason, p.37.
[67] Timothy A. Unwin, 'Mysticisme et langage chez Flaubert: de *Mémoires d'un fou* à *Novembre*', *Essays in French Literature*, 26 (1989), p.46.
[68] *Werther*, p.59.

this way, Flaubert is able to 'control' her as a flawless figure. However, this fictional representation also creates a sense of 'distance' which is not present in Goethe's narrative: the 'fou' is able to deny any physical desire for Maria by placing in the tale Flaubert's chronologically earlier encounter with an English girl (1835) *after* his meeting 'Maria' (1836).[69] Equally, while the 'fou' almost 'fits into' an incongruous scene involving 'Maria et son mari et moi, étendus sur des chaises à fumer en buvant du grog' (p.490), Werther's sensibility is clearly contrasted with what Bruneau calls the 'idées raisonnables' of Albert.[70] For a reader who is aware of Flaubert's biography, this invented chronology and the ability of the 'fou' to 'fit in' with a bourgeois couple, serves to undermine further his sincerity and the possibility that he is really a simple, poetic soul branded 'mad' by society. Moreover, Flaubert's first-person narrator shows a lesser degree of introspection than Werther and is able to comment on particular aspects of the human behaviour he encounters. In a similar manner to the third-person narrator in *Bibliomanie*, his Romanticism appears tempered therefore with pragmatism. For example, following his description of a castle and its grounds which captured his (Romantic) imagination, the 'fou' makes the bitter (Realist) observation that on its owner's death, 'le pauvre soulier a été jeté à la rivière' (p.483).

The apparent Flaubertian preference for describing 'mindscapes' over landscapes, marks a further departure from the German Romantic intertext. In *Werther*, nature is idealised as the hero seeks to find in it the sympathetic understanding which is lacking in men. When he goes walking, for example, the flood which he observes could be seen as a reflection of his own inundation with passion at this point in the narrative. Contrastingly, a degree of pathetic fallacy is used in *MF* to express the deflation felt by the narrator when he fails to find Maria on his return visit to the place of their initial encounter, rather than to symbolise the development of his obsession throughout the tale. Coe observes the changing gradations of light, from the red, blue, silver and gold mentioned when the narrator first meets Maria, towards the all-pervading greyness which dominates the narrative's ending,[71] while the threatening nature of the 'gros nuages noirs' (p.511) at the end of *MF* appear to signal the inescapable and unsatisfactory end to the story. Thorlby, among others, asserts that 'the feeling for nature as a living organism (rather than as some

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[69] See William C. VanderWolk, 'Restructuring Experience: Flaubert's *Mémoires d'un fou*', *Romance Notes*, 28 (1988), 247–52 (p.249).

[70] See Bruneau, p.250. Bruneau refers to a passage from the translation of *Werther* by Louis de Sevelinges (Paris: Dentu, 1825): 'dans votre morne gravité, vous restez là impassables et inébranlables' (p.107).

[71] See Coe, p.94.

kind of machine) [...] is often held to be the distinguishing feature of Romanticism',[72] though here it is clear that the *human* landscape provides the effects of pathetic fallacy. The grades of light come from Maria's shawl; Maria is described as a 'soleil' set against the grey backdrop (p.551), and where one might expect motifs to indicate support from a benevolent landscape, bleak nothingness (which echoes the 'rue étroite et sans soleil' inhabited by Giacomo), is Flaubert's preferred setting. Once again, therefore, Flaubert makes only selective use of motifs and devices gleaned from (German) Romantic intertexts, preferring instead to concentrate not on physical environments but on the conditions that surround and influence the mindscapes of his characters.

In general, the sparse imagery used by Flaubert to describe the natural environments of his *EJ* concentrates on decay and decrepitude:[73] just as Maria's place is occupied by 'une vieille femme' (p.512) on the narrator's return to the seaside, his obsession is unavoidably overtaken by time. The bells ringing at the end of *MF* play a similar role to the final observation in *Werther* that at his funeral, 'kein Geistlicher hat ihn begleitet':[74] Flaubert's ultimate suggestion is perhaps that time continues unrelentingly, with or without human or spiritual intervention. However, while Werther, like many monomaniacs, never reaches a state where he considers himself mad, the 'fou' appears resigned to his fate, even though he remains obsessed with the idea of Maria. The distance created between the narrator and his subject matter undoubtedly helps: unlike *Werther*, in which the protagonist's obsession *sends* him mad and incites his downfall, the 'fou's' insights into humanity may even have been deepened by his obsession with Maria. As a result, Bruneau suggests that a hermeneutical reading of *MF* may conclude simply that 'la folie est la véritable sagesse, le véritable génie'.[75] Unwin concurs with this standpoint, observing that throughout Flaubert's narrative, 'la notion de la folie est utilisée à la fois comme un moyen de suggérer la richesse des états d'âme du héros, et comme un moyen de les catégoriser et de les démystifier':[76] the 'fou' is thus presented as being mentally superior to other human beings (i.e. he possesses the elusive Romantic 'génie' or heightened understanding beyond reason to which Bruneau alludes), and perhaps it is for this reason that the ending of *MF* differs from that of its German intertext.

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[72] Thorlby, p.13.
[73] See Porter, 'Mythic Imagery in Flaubert's *œuvres de jeunesse*', p.151.
[74] *Werther*, p.147.
[75] Bruneau, p.250.
[76] Unwin, 'Mysticisme et langage', p.39.

Bibliomanie and *MF* both indicate Flaubert's interest in the 'illness' of obsession, yet in neither instance does he ridicule his protagonists for their conditions. Rather than being mere clinical studies of monomania caused by desire for physical objects or emotional fulfilment, the two narratives appear to show authorial sympathy for those who differ from the 'bêtise'-ridden humanity which surrounds them, extending ideas concerning insanity which adopted by both Hoffmann and Goethe. Such German Romantic attitudes towards received ideas could even set the course for later French thought: with an almost Baudelairean accusation of the reader's hypocrisy, for example, the 'fou' asks, 'vous venez peut-être de vous marier ou de payer vos dettes?' (p.468), while the frequent maxims offered by the narrator in *Bibliomanie* (such as 'il faut attribuer le malheur à quelqu'un d'étranger, mais le bonheur à soi' (p.171), which are comparable with the later *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*), implicate Flaubert's reader in his ongoing critique of the bourgeoisie. By presenting narratives which celebrate the 'madness' of such obsessive 'monster' figures, therefore, Flaubert can examine the obsessions of society as a whole.

II Excess

Flaubert's mature *œuvre* is renowned for its treatment of the grotesque,[77] though a similar – ostensibly Romantic – fascination with the excessive is observed in his *EJ*. While *Werther* and *Adolphe* depict in detail individualised excesses of emotion, other works of this period consider the excessive consumption of alcohol and drugs: the debauched scenes of 'Auerbachs Keller' in *Faust* and De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1822), for example, demonstrate the interest in physical excess which spanned European Romanticism. Correspondingly, Flaubert's *EJ* deal with effects of alcohol and drugs, not only on the body but also on the mind. His two 'contes bacchiques', *Ivre et mort* and *Les Funérailles du docteur Mathurin*, which Starkie intimates may have been inspired by Alfred Le Poittevin's early demise due to alcohol,[78] explore motivations for, and consequences of, drunkenness. *IM* portrays two men whose ability to consume alcohol excessively earns them renown at 'le plus aimable cabaret qu'on puisse aimer' (p.448), and results in a fatal drinking contest. The description of this cabaret, with its nauseating

[77] Critics observe elements of the grotesque in all his major novels, from the parodied headgear of Charles Bovary to the orgiastic feast scenes of *Salammbô*. Maurice Bardèche, for example, observes that 'Flaubert aime tout ce qui est excessif, colorié, barbare'. See Maurice Bardèche, *L'Œuvre de Flaubert d'après ses carnets, ses études, ses scenarios, sa correspondance inédite* (Paris: Les Sept Couleurs, 1974), p.217.
[78] See Starkie, *The Making of the Master*, p.40.

decadence and the bestial 'bourdonnement d'ivresse' (p.448) which can be heard for miles around, is juxtaposed with the lashing rain and mist surrounding the establishment, emphasising both similarities and differences between 'wild' nature and 'wild' human debauchery. The vagueness of its location – 'quelque bon gros bourg de Touraine ou de Champagne' (p.447) – and the recurring, nationalistic imagery of red, white and blue suggest that the excesses enjoyed at 'Le Grand Vainqueur' (a name which cannot fail to have macabre connotations), are repeated in many similar locations throughout France. While many nineteenth-century authors such as Baudelaire depict alcohol or drugs as a means to transcend the confines of worldly existence, starting with its very title, *IM* links drunkenness with death and destruction.[79]

Although the other cabaret-goers in *IM* are stock characters, identified only by their profession, Hugues and Rymbaud are two protagonists 'qu'on ne pouvait ranger dans aucune de ces classes' (p.449), and are known solely for their ability to drink to excess. Like Giacomo, their unusual appearance renders them monster figures, although rather than being ostracised, they are admired within their community, and almost deified: 'ils passaient dans le village aussi impassibles et aussi contents d'eux-mêmes qu'un Dieu au milieu de ses adorateurs' (p.450). While one exhibits 'de la force et de la stupidité' (p.449), the other possesses a Gargantuan capacity to consume entire bottles in 'cet estomac gigantesque' (p.450) (although here alcohol fails to lead to the inspiration associated with the Rabelaisian 'dive bouteille'): Flaubert's focus is as much on the effects of excessive alcohol consumption as on the anti-social feats which are so esteemed by society. While they clearly epitomise certain aspects of 'la bêtise humaine', Wolff-Quennot emphasises the wider importance of such characters: '[g]râce à leur monstruosité on définit l'homme, grâce à leur anormalité on cerne le normal';[80] like Giacomo, the status of Hugues and Rymbaud as outsiders aids the depiction of 'mainstream' society. However, in *IM* Flaubert also demonstrates a Baudelairean attraction to the marginal and squalid, using these 'dark' aspects of life to criticise the 'bêtise' inherent in the 'normality' which surrounds them.[81] Equally, the orgiastic depiction of the cabaret and protagonists' drinking contest is, according to Porter, characteristic of civilisation's impending destruction: 'the slow collapse of the world into such formlessness is the fundamental fact of Flaubert's

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[79] Given the clear Romantic awareness of the link between 'l'ivresse' and 'la mort', it is unlikely to be a coincidence that the first poem of the third section in *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 'Le Vin', is entitled 'Le Poison', for example.

[80] Marie-Josèphe Wolff-Quennot, *Des monstres aux mythes* (Paris: Guy Trédeniel, 1996), p.228.

[81] See note 46 above.

fictional universe, though without the promise of regeneration to which the mythic precedents point'.[82] Rather than consume alcohol in reverential excess in the manner of a Bacchanalian festival, therefore, the two protagonists in this tale seek merely short-term, egotistical 'victory' for themselves.

While the description of the physical intoxication of Hugues and Rymbaud contains a degree of 'clinical observation' of the stages of drunkenness, this is tempered with the 'conventionally Romantic' trope of pathetic fallacy:[83] just as stormy conditions surrounded the cabaret, the men's initially peaceful mood is reflected in the 'nuit d'été calme et silencieuse' (p.454). The moonlit backdrop is similar to that which the inebriated doctor attempts to extinguish using a candle-snuffer at the end of the evening in Hoffmann's *Die Elixiere des Teufels*.[84] Equally, the trance-like state induced by alcohol is consistent with conventional Romantic portrayals of drunkenness: 'ils se parlaient gaiement, les yeux à demi clos et la tête lourde et joyeuse, tout prêts à se laisser endormir dans des rêves d'ivresses' (p.455). However, when their desire for excess pushes them beyond this state of contented inebriation and its promise of pleasant dreams, they become agitated and unable to deviate from their *idée fixe*: we are told that 'ils boivent, poussés par un instinct infernal' (p.456), suggesting that ultimately, diabolic, monomaniac sentiments of the sort fostered by Mephistopheles and celebrated in 'Auerbachs Keller' in Goethe's *Faust*, control their actions. It could thus be argued that while in Hoffmann's tale only certain elixirs possess the power to awaken a Satanic spirit within the drinker, this is present in Hugues and Rymbaud from the start and simply brought to the fore by alcohol. During the 'frenetic' stage of their inebriation, the contrastingly sharp, pure 'clair de lune si limpide' (p.456) could suggest a severance of the protagonists' connection with nature, or equally reflect their insanity / lunacy, perhaps alluding to the uncontrolled, unpredictable results of their excess. Whereas the doctor's apparent bond with his environment is made clear in *Die Elixiere des Teufels* when it appears logical to 'switch off' the moonlight at the end of the evening, Hugues and Rymbaud seem not to possess such sensitivity. There is thus a distinctly gratuitous element in Flaubert's use of pathetic fallacy: the excess of literary motifs could be seen to undermine the scientific 'reality' of the protagonists' intoxication, or ironically to reflect it.

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[82] Porter, 'Mythic Imagery in Flaubert's *œuvres de jeunesse*', pp.159–60.
[83] See note 4 above.
[84] E.T.A. Hoffmann, *L'Élixir du diable: histoire tirée des papiers du frère Médard, capucin*, trans. by Jean Cohen (Paris: Mame et Delaunay-Vallée, 1829).

Whereas 'conventional' Romantic heroes might become drunk or take drugs in order to enjoy particular, heightened sensations,[85] from the outset Hugues and Rymbaud are 'poussés par la vanité et la gloire' (p.453): one could argue that they seek elevated social status solely from their excesses because neither possesses artistic talent or genius. The narrator suggests that such motivations are not dissimilar to those of 'respectable' figures within society: like Homais in *Madame Bovary*, the philanthropist here 'fait mettre son nom dans les journaux' (p.451) in order to achieve a particular social standing, while the noblewoman's husband 'n'avait eu d'autre mérite que d'avoir peu de conscience, un bon tailleur, une belle chaîne à sa montre' (p.450). These external trappings of wealth clearly represent inner social value in their owners' eyes. Beyond the level of the individual, the cabaret's 'atmosphère chaude, grise, odorante, son plafond noirci de tabac' (p.448) suggests a degree of unstoppable decay and infernal corruption – like 'Auerbachs Keller' in *Faust* – permeating from those who have patronised it in the past and will continue to visit in the future. A darkened ceiling bears down on the room and ostensibly prevents the elevation of the spirit, while the oppressive atmosphere would appear to constrict rather than liberate the mindsets of those who drink there. With her 'triple menton' and skin like a 'canard incuit' (pp.448–9), the cabaret's owner is the incarnation of the provincial decadence which characterises her establishment: the description encompasses her simultaneous comic appeal and grotesque repulsiveness. For example, her physically monstrous 'triple menton' is exaggerated to match the excess fostered in the cabaret owner's premises. While a taste for both physical and emotional excess is often a characteristic of the Romantic hero, when enjoyed by the 'foule' rather than a sensitive, beautiful elite, such gratuitous over-consumption tends to expose negative human qualities. As 'specimens' of the society in which they live, the antiheroes Hugues and Rymbaud may be applauded by those around them, but Flaubert's irony lies in the reversal of such applause and encouragement of the reader to condemn their wanton excesses.

Rymbaud's death marks a return to the peaceful, trance-like state enjoyed by the protagonists earlier in the evening: 'l'un avait passé de l'ivresse au sommeil et l'autre de l'ivresse à la tombe, autre sommeil aussi, mais plus tranquille et plus profonde' (p.457). The association of death with deep sleep is a popular Romantic motif: in the tale by Hoffmann translated as 'Un cœur de pierre', Max's headstone is engraved with the words

[85] Such motivations are made explicit in De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, for example.

'Il repose'[86] while his equally unflinching opposite number, Rixendorf, survives. However, despite the tale's obvious inclinations in this German Romantic direction, the narrator of Flaubert's tale also adopts a clinical, axiomatic stance in describing Rymbaud's death: 'l'ivresse l'avait tué; pas de plaisir sans épuisement, où a passé le feu sont les cendres' (p.459). This deflationary, 'anti-Romantic' juxtaposition of cause and effect strengthens the case for the 'contes bacchiques' being regarded as Flaubert's exploration of the way in which the Romantic tendency towards excess leads to untimely demise, but not an ennobled one.[87] Even after his drinking rival is dead, Hugues' inherent 'bêtise' continues unabated, as he shouts insults at the corpse. Still too drunk to follow the funeral procession to the cemetery, Hugues is quickly branded 'un démon et un sorcier' (p.460) by those who once revered his excesses,[88] while Rymbaud is given an almost saintly burial in a plot which suggests a high degree of social respectability, next to the former schoolmaster, indicating yet further 'bêtise' on the part of society. Like Giacomo and the narrator in *MF*, Hugues becomes a 'prisoner' of his own excessive mindset: the tale's ending provides its 'moralité', since he continues to live in his isolated cottage with 'une vigne tapissant la muraille de plâtre' (p.457), with this final image of man enclosed by his environment demonstrating Flaubert's emerging German Romantic aesthetic.

As in *Bibliomanie*, the anonymous narrator wastes no opportunity to comment on the attitudes adopted by the 'foule'. Rymbaud's funeral procession stops twice, at which the narrator remarks that 'les hommes sont si faibles qu'ils peuvent à peine mener un mort en terre' (p.458). With its profusion of deep reds and purples, the holy procession bears similarities to the description of the debauched cabaret with which the tale begins. By encapsulating the tale's plot in this way, *IM* suggests that all sections of human society possess the same, base characteristics to link excess almost inextricably with death. The description of the cemetery, with its 'mur blanc, ses jeunes cyprès verts et ses treillages noirs qui entouraient des pierres couvertes d'herbe' (p.460) allows Flaubert to capitalise on the Romantic irony of the pure, natural surroundings in which Rymbaud will be buried, contrasted with the deep reds and blues of his earthly life. While other Romantic pieces may dwell on the allure of death, in *IM* death is made attractive by the baseness of life, and the lack of control of the individual over his fate and final resting place is emphasised. Just

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[86] Hoffmann, 'Un cœur de pierre', in *Contes fantastiques*, III, 376.

[87] This is the implication of Starkie's association of these two tales with Le Poittevin's death (see note 78 above), and may also be the result of Flaubert reading Balzac's *La Peau de chagrin*.

[88] The tendency of society to associate outsiders with the supernatural in this way echoes the description of Giacomo's as 'un savant ou un sorcier' (p.163).

as Werther feels that his excessive emotions are 'eingeschränkt' by existence, *IM* presents the way in which physical excess attempts to escape such confines. Rymbaud may thus be perceived as the 'victor' in this tale since he is no longer confined to society and the frenetic competition between individuals for glory: throughout Flaubert's *EJ*, death is ultimately presented as 'le grand vainqueur'.[89]

The notions of 'escape' and death are at the forefront of Flaubert's later 'conte bacchique', *Les Funérailles du docteur Mathurin*. Like Hugues and Rymbaud, Mathurin is clearly different from those around him: the accumulation of human types, or 'physiologies',[90] to which he does not conform, lends him a certain superiority over the 'foule' and thus makes him appear an archetypal Romantic hero from the outset. Just as Dumesnil asserts that Flaubert suffers from 'la platitude des temps présents',[91] Mathurin also displays a Goethean style of *Weltschmerz*: the simple statement 'Mathurin voulut mourir' (p.621) suggests a type of non-specific world-weariness that is characteristic of both Wertherian and Faustian Romantic heroes. With clear vision and a sensitive palate, he is still able to enjoy life, although wishes to control the time and circumstances of his inevitable death amid his earthly suffering. His desire for power over his destiny – 'il aima mieux prévenir la mort que de se sentir arraché par elle' (p.621) – renders his demise through excessive drinking different from 'conventional' alcohol-related deaths: Mathurin's decision to poison himself is made to seem individual, calculated and rational. The almost mocking observation that 'un poète romantique aurait acheté un banneau de charbon de terre et serait mort au bout d'une heure en faisant de mauvais vers et en avalant de la fumée' (p.622) typifies the Romantic irony used in describing Mathurin: he quite clearly seeks to be 'different', but in achieving this he is almost a concentration of many of the stock attributes of the conventional Romantic hero, including an excessive desire for distinctiveness, 'refinement' in tastes and ideas and so on.

With Jacques and André as his 'disciples', Mathurin leads a singular, even saintly lifestyle. Set apart from society and its ills, which the narrator enumerates and contrasts

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[89] The importance of death as 'the great leveller' will be explored further in chapter 3 of the present study.
[90] Douchin, among others, identifies the young Flaubert's obvious attraction to the popular 'physiologie': while *Une leçon d'histoire naturelle, genre 'commis'* (1837) is the only *EJ* to exemplify this genre *per se*, vignettes describing human appearances and attitudes such as these demonstrate his 'scientific' desire 'd'étudier tel ou tel type d'humanité à la manière des «naturalistes» comme Buffon'. Jacques-Louis Douchin, 'L'Influence des publications populaires sur l'œuvre de Flaubert', in *Flaubert et Maupassant: Ecrivains normands* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1981), pp.27–38 (p.36). Perhaps Flaubert's interest in human 'types' extends beyond this, however, with his use of such figures being akin to Balzac's *La Comédie humaine*, especially the fragmentary 'Contes drolatiques' of 1832–37.
[91] René Dumesnil, *Flaubert: son hérédité–son milieu–sa méthode*, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), p.304.

with the men's serenity by repeating the structure 'pendant que' (p.625), they achieve an apparently superior state of mind. In a deft reversal of the (German) Romantic preference for isolation, we are told that 'le monde vivait loin d'eux' (p.625) and the distance established from the world's 'bêtise' may be linked directly to Mathurin's status as 'un savant des plus savants, en toutes les sciences possibles' (p.622). Flaubert's 'overuse' of Romantic characteristics in such descriptions could be seen to hollow out his protagonists as shells of those on which they are modelled, but it seems more probable that it is precisely in their derivative status that they find their pathos. For all his 'generically Romantic' attributes, however, Mathurin's ability to see through human facades, to the point that 'souvent sur des corps sains, [il] vous découvrait un horrible gangrène' (p.623), suggests a degree of insight beyond that of rational medical science, this 'spiritual gift' could almost be seen as a prefiguring X-rays, and also qualities of the 'sorcier',[92] which may explain his social distance and reticence. Although he is hardly a man of nature, Mathurin does have a special affinity to natural cycles: he chooses to die in autumn – 'la saison dorée où les blés sont murs' (p.624) – a time when, after the warmth and activity of summer, it seems 'natural' to harvest the fruits of one's labours prior to the decrepitude of winter. Equally, as in *IM*, weather conditions reflect the peaceful beginnings of his intoxication: 'tout était paix, calme et joie tranquille' (p.624). When he dies, his 'resting place' is 'un lit d'herbe' (p.637), between a river and forest, echoing the peaceful, 'natural' qualities used in the description of Rymbaud's death.

As in *IM*, the stages of intoxication follow a conventional, almost scientific, pattern: initially, Mathurin and his companions experience 'une ivresse calme et *logique*, une ivresse douce et prolongée à loisir' (p.626) [emphasis added], though later the narrator remarks 'entre ces trois hommes, il se passa quelque chose de monstrueux et de magnifique' (p.633). The various alliterations which surround the notion of the monstrous and diabolical being awakened in Mathurin at a particular point ('tous ses traits étaient plissés par un sourire diabolique' (p.633)), may be compared to the description of Hugues and Rymbaud: there is a clear suggestion of the presence of evil within all humans, even – or perhaps especially – those who live an almost monastic existence, away from society. Like the speech of a drunk, the sentences are long, rambling and sometimes incomplete, as if to foster the reader's appreciation of Mathurin's sensations. Contrasting with the heightened expression assumed in the outpourings of Romantic characters' thoughts, the

[92] See note 88 above.

narrator reveals his lack of omniscience by speculating about his protagonist's mental activity – 'Quels étaient ses songes? Sans doute comme sa vie, calmes et purs' (p.624), the 'sans doute' inviting the reader to take the opposite view. Equally, the narrator is quick to emphasise that 'il n'y avait pas de sang dans le punch, comme il arrive dans les romans du dernier ordre' (p.633), as though like its protagonist, the tale is 'pure' and free of the corruption of literary convention, in this case the motif of omnipresent blood as a feature of the gothic. However, the figure of the inebriated 'doctor' appears in both Hoffmann's *Die Elixiere des Teufels* or Goethe's *Faust*, while comparisons with other Romantic motifs (such as the spiritually uplifting properties of alcohol), and Mathurin's obvious *mal du siècle* would appear to make many aspects of the tale conform to Romantic sentiments.

The reactions of 'other people' to Mathurin's demise distinguish the narrative from other bacchic tales of the Romantic period (which might concentrate solely on the individual who had consumed alcohol), and illustrate the human characteristics from which Mathurin sought escape. Onlookers fight to see the procession of the corpse: 'on voulait voir, voir à toutes forces (bien peu savaient quoi)' (p.635), suggesting collective boredom (or a love of the macabre), and the monotony of existence. Just as death causes Rymbaud to be revered while Hugues is vilified, the demise of Mathurin provides a further opportunity for the narrator to demonstrate the way in which people are quick to judge others. They presume that Jacques and André are 'prêtres indiens' as they sit with Mathurin's corpse, and make all manner of assumptions about how and why he died: the mentality of those represented by the disembodied 'voices' in the town evokes a world from which one might well wish to escape. Figures representing more sinister aspects of humanity 'judge' the actions of Jacques and André – 'un valet de bourreau trouva que c'était dégoûtant et un voleur soutint que c'était immoral' (p.636) – the irony of such social outcasts expressing opinions of this nature invites the reader to question what is considered socially acceptable. Further 'negative' human characteristics are also presented by the actions of anonymous figures: 'un homme tendre ouvrit de suite une souscription, et garda l'argent' (p.636), while the narrator adds the 'petit détail' that the only person to listen to the speech of the 'moraliste' is 'un sourd' (p.636). The impersonal way in which such observations are made leads Dumesnil to refer to Flaubert as a 'peintre scrupuleux de l'humanité vraie qu'il observe et qu'il voit avec l'acuité visuelle d'un clinicien fort habile et d'un déterministe sincère, son œuvre porte en elle-même sa moralité et son

enseignement'.[93] Flaubert's 'moralité' could thus be seen through the place of Realism within a Romantic setting. While this is not a conventional Romantic model (the English Lake poets sought to escape industrialised society, for example), juxtaposition of Romantic idealism with harsh reality is particularly evocative of *Faust*.

While Mathurin's excesses are not directly condoned by the narrator, his death through alcohol consumption is hailed as a mark of 'success', like that of Rymbaud: the three men sought 'le bonheur dans l'ivresse et l'éternité dans la mort. Mathurin seul trouva la dernière' (p.632). After his death, only the empty bottles remain, described as 'ruines', which 'rappelaient des joies, et montraient un vide' (p.637), perhaps also alluding to the Flaubertian perception of Classical civilisations, as well as debunking the Romantic cliché of 'l'éternité dans la mort'. While a 'conventional' Romantic tale might promise ennoblement in the afterlife, the nothingness of the void which represents the eternity found by Mathurin suggests that although the Flaubertian Romantic hero may long for death, it represents only an escape *from* humanity, not an escape *to* a higher spiritual plane. Such 'anti-theological' (and seemingly anti-Romantic) sentiments are echoed by the way in which Mathurin's burial is made to seem natural and free from the 'interference' of Christian religious ceremony: the wind takes away the words spoken by the mourners, while leaves fall onto Mathurin's corpse. With Bacchanalian overtones, supported by a carnivalesque atmosphere, the mourners sing 'un hymne au vin, à la nature, au bonheur, à la mort' (p.637) – linking these four aspects of the tale in the religious context of a hymn strengthens the sentiment expressed in the tale that Mathurin's choice to die through excess is a rational one: this is indicative of Flaubert's departure from traditional bacchic tales and scenes, which are characterised by a loss of rational control. Both *IM* and *FdM* demonstrate the medical fact that excessive consumption of alcohol can lead to death, and although such excess scandalises many stock characters in the narratives, the heroes' orgiastic tendencies are implicitly caused by the attitudes of the anti-Romantic society from which they feel so removed, and the hypocrisy of figures from varying social backgrounds is implied to be as extreme as the egotistical excesses portrayed.

Rage et impuissance, subtitled a 'conte malsain pour les nerfs sensibles et les âmes dévotes', owes much to Sade and Gothic horror stories for its depiction of a protagonist being buried alive, although it may also reflect the horrific consequences of many misdiagnoses of death during the 1832 cholera epidemic. Bonwit notes that 'fear of burial

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[93] Dumesnil, *Flaubert: son hérédité – son milieu – sa méthode*, p.191.

alive, an acute form of claustrophobia, may stem from ghost stories; it found a ready soil in Flaubert's mind',[94] and while such subject matter may echo contemporary concerns and literary tastes,[95] the extremes of claustrophobia to which Bonwit refers appear to be aspects of the Romantic mindset which Flaubert found very alluring. However, Flaubert may have been much more overtly following the German Romantic *Kunstmärchen* genre,[96] especially as his tale is set in the remote village of Mussen rather than in the French provincial settings of his two *contes bacchiques*. The isolation of M. Ohmlyn's dwelling is not unlike the backdrop of the Harz Mountains in Tieck's *Der blonde Eckbert*[97] and Heine's *Harzreise*,[98] or the castle on the Baltic Sea in Hoffmann's tale translated as 'Le Majorat', which is surrounded by 'un méchant bois de pins attristé d'un deuil éternel'.[99] As in Hoffmann's tale, nature is personified, but as a threat: images such as 'le vent qui sifflait dans la serrure' (p.176) epitomise the 'Dämonisierung der Natur'[100] which is characteristic of the *Kunstmärchen*: Jens Tismar claims that such portrayal of a malevolent environment (as an 'eigenständige Gegenmacht') is a defintive feature of the *Kunstmärchen* genre.[101] In composing this horror story, with its depiction of mental torture and ultimate cannibalism as a result of M. Ohmlyn's use of opium to enable him to sleep during a storm, Flaubert thus clearly drew on many ideas and motifs translated from German Romantic fiction. In the 'notice' following *RI*, Sagnes notes Flaubert's apparent imitation of 'comment, selon lui [Flaubert], Goethe et Byron avaient entraîné de pauvres créatures dans «l'abime du doute universel»',[102] sentiments which will be explored further in chapter 3 of the present study.

M. Ohmlyn is characterised by his gentleness and sensitivity. While his servant Berthe can only tell his dog Fox to stop howling, he asks 'Pauvre bête, qu'as-tu?' (p.177), and he claims that 'cet air froid des montagnes me fait souffrir' (p.176). Physically, he appears otherworldly and reflective – 'sa barbe noire lui donnait un aspect triste et sombre', while

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[94] Marianne Bonwit, 'A Prefiguration of the "Défilé de la Hache" Episode in Flaubert's *Salammbô*: His Juvenile Tale *Rage et Impuissance*', *Romanic Review*, 38 (1947), 340–7 (p.347).
[95] Guy Sagnes notes the similarity of the misdiagnoses to those in *La Peau de chagrin*. Sagnes, 'Notice: *RI*', p.1265.
[96] Along with other quintessentially German Romantic genres, the significance of the *Kunstmärchen* within Flaubert's aesthetic will be examined in chapter 4 of the present study.
[97] Ludwig Tieck, 'Egbert le blond', in *Deux nouvelles et une pièce, tirées de l'œuvre de Ludwig Tieck*, trans. by J.-F. Fontallard (Paris: Barrois et Duprat, 1829).
[98] Although an exact date of the first translation into French of Heine's *Harzreise* is unclear, its publication in the *Gesellschafter* in 1826 and subsequent popularity ensured its renown in French literary circles.
[99] Hoffmann, 'Le Majorat', in *Contes fantastiques*, II, 93.
[100] Jens Tismar, *Kunstmärchen* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1983), p.41.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Sagnes, 'Notice: *RI*', p.1266.

his 'crâne large et blanc' (p.176) echoes the 'crâne de lune' belonging to Giacomo, and drawing on this distinguishing feature reflects contemporary interests in craniology. However, amid the pallid, sombre surroundings of his German village, M. Ohmlyn (whose name, of course, contains elements of 'homme' and 'lune'), is far from being considered a monster figure. He clearly lives a solitary existence with a servant who has known him since birth, but beyond being a respected local doctor, he is also regarded by the village as 'son père, son bienfaiteur' (p.178), so there is a universal sense of mourning when he is presumed dead. At no point does M. Ohmlyn derive any great pleasure from his social standing; he finds happiness only in the escapist realm of dream accessed by opium, not unlike Romantics such as De Quincey. Such otherworldly behaviour is atypical of doctor figures in Flaubert's *œuvre*: while wealth and bourgeois respectability are stock attributes of the medic[103] – and are epitomised by M. Ohmlyn's physician colleagues who misdiagnose his death – the isolation and perceptiveness with which M. Ohmlyn combines these traits are more akin to those of the German Romantic hero. Gans observes that 'in endowing his protagonist with such good fortune, Flaubert also demonstrates even before he depicts the awakening in the tomb, the ultimate valuelessness of such worldly advancements',[104] emphasising that for the young Flaubert, Romantic art (with its range of tones / expression and 'dark' preference for the macabre, sadism, frenzy and passion), offered greater and more enduring allure than riches and social or professional standing.

Berthe, whose lack of life experience may be likened to that of Bertha in *Der blonde Eckbert*, is ostensibly an early incarnation of Félicité in *Un cœur simple*. The narrator remarks that her life 's'était passée monotone et uniforme' (p.176), and she is referred to as 'la vieille fille' (p.176), reinforcing the notion of her unerring dedication to M. Ohmlyn. She clearly lacks her master's affinity to the natural world, given the 'terreur' (p.176) with which she listens to the wind, and her failure to appreciate why the dog is howling, but demonstrates the pure, naïve attributes of the 'reiner Tor' figure portrayed in many canonical German Romantic works (such as the student Anselmus in Hoffmann's *Der goldne Topf*). Living in such isolation from society appears to have preserved her devotion to M. Ohmlyn – while waiting for him to arrive home 'aussi tremblait-elle alors pour son pauvre maître' (p.175) – and she does not exhibit the selfishness which characterises so many other figures who interact with the Romantic protagonists elsewhere in Flaubert's

[103] The esteem in which Charles Bovary and his contemporaries Canivet and Larivière are held by respectable society in *Madame Bovary* provides fitting illustration of this.
[104] Gans, p.125.

œuvre. As Brombert explains, Flaubert's depiction of this type of 'servant figure' may have its origins in a trend identified in Germany: 'Hegel suggested that the death of tragedy and the tragic hero coincided with the emergence of the Slave as a protagonist, the Slave being by nature incapable of understanding [...] his fate'.[105] Rather than dismiss Berthe as a marginal character, then, it seems that *RI* may be perceived as much as a study of her fearful nature which leads to her inevitable (yet unforeseen), state of madness, as a study of the mental torture of M. Ohmlyn on discovering that he has been buried alive, hence the similarities between the two figures.

Characters surrounding the protagonist in *RI* are undoubtedly responsible for the tale's horrific, macabre ending: without the misdiagnoses of his fellow physicians, M. Ohmlyn would not be buried alive. The fearful reactions of Bernardo to the 'dead' body is somewhat unexpected for a doctor – 'Il était pâle et ses lèvres étaient blanches' (p.178) – and this is echoed by the dozen colleagues who express 'horreur et dégoût' (p.178) on seeing the body. The narrator remarks that although one of these supposed men of science 'osa croire' (p.178) that M. Ohmlyn might simply be asleep, he quickly agrees with the others' diagnoses of death when unable to justify his claim. While these men might reasonably be seen to represent the contemporary medical debate about what symptoms constitute death and possess a facade of bourgeois respectability, the narrator wastes no time in revealing the amateurish approach and their lack of understanding (or inherent 'bêtise'), which cause the downfall of the principal, 'pure' characters. The narrative voice encourages us to admire the gravedigger's humanity when he sees Fox: 'au lieu de le tuer comme tout autre eût fait à sa place, il se contenta de le repousser du pied' (p.182), although this reaction is very different from that of M. Ohmlyn when he heard Fox howling at the storm. As an unflinching, insensitive figure, it is perhaps unsurprising that the gravedigger – in an echo of the 'Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead' announcement in *Hamlet* – is one of the few characters for whom the tale has a 'positive' ending: he is able to 'sell his story', which 'il racontait plus tard, lorsqu'il voulait se faire passer pour brave' (p.184). In an echo of nineteenth-century suspicions regarding the animal in man, as well as older, folkloric works such as the fables of Lafontaine, Fox is presented as possessing a greater degree of humanity than many of the human characters: initially, his cries are 'comme quelqu'un qui souffre ou qui pleure' (p.177), while his tears at the funeral

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[105] Victor Brombert, *In Praise of Antiheroes. Figures and Themes in Modern European Literature 1830–1980* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), p.45.

procession are described as 'aussi grosses que celles d'un homme' (p.179): his spirit is superior to that of the 'anti-Romantics' in the tale.

Rather than being a 'pure' force to contrast with human debauchery as in Flaubert's 'contes bacchiques', the natural world in *RI* is something of a hindrance, and even at times a malevolent force working against the Romantic hero. Water, found in abundance throughout the narrative, quickly combines with earth to produce the mud which causes the funeral party difficulties at the graveside. Porter defines such 'boue' as 'a sort of primeval slush to which all things tend' and 'the antithesis of all that is spiritual'.[106] The ever-present rain thus bears intrinsic menace, emphasised by alliteration in 'la pluie tombait par torrents' (p.175) and the undercurrents of the 'grotesque rire' in the aggressive natural image evoked when 'la pluie redoublait de violence' (p.176). Shortly after the 'boue' has enveloped Fox and suffocated M. Ohmlyn in his struggle to escape from the coffin, the insane Berthe drowns herself, as the elements overwhelm the Romantic protagonists. From the outset, the snow-laden mountains surrounding Mussen and the cold, dank atmosphere lend the tale a tomb-like quality, in which there is little colour or warmth. M. Ohmlyn's subsequent awakening in the coffin may thus be seen as compounding the heavy, restrictive reality with which he is already acquainted, and from which death provides the only lasting escape. Brombert notes that 'the link between enclosure and inner freedom is at the heart of the Romantic sensibility':[107] perhaps this is why Flaubert chooses the isolated, oppressive setting of an 'exotically northern' (that is, German), mountain village to show the possible consequences of a Romantic spirit's need for freedom. Equally, Flaubert's depiction of Mussen, with its bleak weather and remote location, exploits French Romantic clichés about the Rhine being a boundary to 'elsewhere', far removed from the landscape and 'southern' mentalities of France, echoing Staël's portrayal of 'northern' Germanic exoticism in *De l'Allemagne*, and inflecting notions of French Romantic isolation.

Like Hugues and Rymbaud or Mathurin and his companions, M. Ohmlyn resorts to the use of drugs to escape everyday mundanity. Following his consumption of opium, he enjoys visions comprising an abundance of oriental clichés, which the narrator describes as 'des rêves d'or' (p.177). Such colour and nether-worldly imagery are the antithesis of his bleak, worldly existence, and his dreams exemplify the 'extases mystiques' that are among

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[106] Porter, 'Mythic Imagery in Flaubert's *œuvres de jeunesse*', p.155.
[107] Brombert, *The Romantic Prison*, p.4.

phenomena which, as Castex observes, fascinated the French audience during the early 1830s,[108] and had already been popular among Romantics elsewhere.[109] Reflecting the contemporary taste for orientalism, these visions offer the reader an insight into M. Ohmlyn's subconscious and his desire for escape, implying that he is not content with his secure, socially respectable, 'northern' *milieu*. However, as Castex explains, they invariably have a more sinister side: 'nées dans le brouillard de la conscience, [ces visions] demeurent à mi-chemin entre le cauchemar du dormeur qui associe des formes vaines et le rêve éveillé de l'halluciné qui déforme une réalité sensible'.[110] The notion of a waking dream is, therefore, rapidly superseded by M. Ohmlyn's realisation that his actual situation is more horrific than nightmare. The way in which his ideal, unsullied world collapses into a dark reality upon awakening does, however, bear clear similarities to the King of Ophioc's disillusionment in Hoffmann's *La Princesse Brambilla*.[111] The polarity of the oriental world and the cold, dark tomb in which M. Ohmlyn finds himself suggest, echoing other *EJ*, that only death can provide permanent release from the confines of existence. The claustrophobic terror emphasised by this contrast, supports Bonwit's assertion that Flaubert made his nightmares (and those of his contemporaries), subservient to his art.[112]

The macabre, nightmarish atmosphere of *RI* is used to explore metaphysical problems: reduced to the status of a trapped, ghoulish animal ('il se tordait dans sa tombe comme le serpent sous les griffes du tigre'.(p.181)), M. Ohmlyn is helpless and puts all his faith in Divine assistance, only to find that his hopes are repeatedly crushed. When he hears scraping above the tomb, 'il crut à Dieu, qu'il blasphémait tout à l'heure' (p.181), although such optimism is shown to be in vain when the footsteps recede. By way of explanation, the narrator remarks that 'le doute augmente et vous ronge l'âme' (p.183), subsequently asserting that 'le désespoir rend fou' (p.184) as M. Ohmlyn's insanity intensifies. Like Giacomo, his derangement manifests itself in physical self-destruction – he 'se déchirait le visage avec les ongles' (p.182); later it is revealed that he even eats part of his own forearm in despair, an observation described in exaggerated, macabre detail. In his later *œuvre*, notably in *Salammbô*, Flaubert 'treats the metaphysical suffering of his heroes as a phase

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[108] Alongside animal magnetism, somnambulism, sorcery and trances, such phenomena could be attributed directly to the influence of German authors such as Hoffmann. See Castex, p.57.
[109] For example, De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-eater* (1822) was translated into French just six years after its publication: *L'Anglais mangeur d'opium*, trans. by Alfred de Musset (Paris: Mame et Delaunay-Vallée, 1828). Given this work's translator, it is likely that Flaubert was aware of it.
[110] Castex, p.74.
[111] Hoffmann, 'La Princesse Brambilla', in *Œuvres complètes*, II.
[112] Bonwit, p.347.

of their physical torture':[113] the metaphysical torture of M. Ohmlyn is used here to prompt his self-destruction and encourages the reader to question his/her own faith. Although the setting and characters in *RI* may resemble those of *Der blonde Eckbert*, in the latter 'Tieck creates a dreamlike atmosphere [...] to lull to sleep the intellectual sense of reason'[114] before introducing various irrational aspects to the plot. Flaubert, however, shatters any dreamlike qualities of his tale when M. Ohmlyn awakens in the tomb, and depicts reality as being worse than nightmare for the Romantic spirit: insanity and death are made to seem inevitable, almost welcome consequences of this situation.

Following M. Ohmlyn's death, other characters – whose 'bêtise' caused his initial downfall – remain unchanged. Although his death is mourned by the natural world as much as by his village (the funeral takes place on 'un de ces jours d'hiver tristes et pluvieux [...] ce jour-là il était triste aussi, le village' (p.178)), the grief does not appear to abate the continuation of human normality. Children are quick to designate M. Ohmlyn's faithful but now master-less servant 'Berthe la folle' (p.184): the impersonal assertion that 'les soirs [...] on voyait une vieille femme qui parcourait le chemin du cimitière en pleurant' (p.184) evokes not only her insanity as a result of her enduring loyalty to her master, but also the many unseen onlookers who do not intervene to assist her. Berthe's insanity and eventual suicide as a result of being ostracised in this way might therefore be seen as inevitable: now that she is unable to fulfil the stock role of the devoted, elderly servant, she becomes a target for victimisation, and this leads to her downfall. The appellation 'Berthe la folle' contributes to the tale's medieval ambience, which is similar to that in *Der blonde Eckbert* (translated as 'Egbert le blond'), although the use of cruel epithets is found throughout Flaubert's *EJ* (for example 'Marguerite la laide' in *PS*); of course, her insights regarding M. Ohmlyn's death are shown to be superior to the mis-diagnoses of his colleagues, but society's 'bêtise' focuses only on her insanity. Perhaps as a mark of Fox's 'humanity', he fares no better than Berthe when their master is dead; for the simple reason that a group of hunters 'n'avaient rien tué et [...] lui lâchèrent un coup de fusil par passe-temps' (p.184), he is killed needlessly. The bitter, (German) Romantic irony, of course, is that the gravedigger spared his life only to allow the dog to live for a worse end.

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[113] Ibid., p.342.

[114] Margaret E. Atkinson, *Tieck: 'Der blonde Eckbert' and Brentano: 'Geschichte vom braven Kasperl und dem schönen Annerl'* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), p.xvii.

Despite its German aesthetic exoticism, therefore, the world in *RI* is strikingly similar in many respects to that described in *IM* and *FdM*: a place from which the use of narcotics or alcohol may provide only temporary relief. Flaubert's portrayal of Mussen clearly undermines the clichéd French view of Germany as a bastion of 'northern' exoticism, promoted by Staël among others,[115] and suggests that the excesses of his Romantic heroes are merely symptomatic of universal human behaviours, values and attitudes. Equally, in contrast to the stereotypical French view of the Romantic hero as an intellectually and spiritually superior being, whose sensitivity marks him out from the 'foule', Flaubert's inebriated protagonists in *IM* are notable only for their grotesque endeavours, and are thus more suited to the designation of 'antiheroes'. Even protagonists such as M. Ohmlyn, who are apparently different from those around them, are overcome by the 'bêtise' of their surroundings: repeatedly, the morals of Flaubert's *EJ* seem to return to 'anti-fairytale' endings, in which life simply continues unhindered. Moreover, in all three tales considered here, the distinction between 'invited' and 'uninvited' death is shown to be minimal, since the end result and continuation of life elsewhere is the same. However, attention will now be turned to the way in which death may also be seen either as a 'downfall' or as passage to a higher spiritual plane.

III Romantic Downfalls

For the majority of Flaubert's Romantic heroes, death is the ultimate relief from the trials of wordly existence. Self-immolation is a common – even clichéd – feature of Romantic texts across Europe, although this trend has its origins in Germany. This Germanic notion of freedom for the artistic spirit is epitomised by the work of Goethe: throughout *Werther*, the protagonist is aware of being 'eingeschränkt' or confined by his own existence, and suicide offers a means of transcending such boundaries. It is interesting to note that it is not until 1779, the year after the publication of *Werther*, that the term 'suicide' first enters the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*.[116] The cases of suicide presented in Flaubert's *EJ*, while owing a significant debt to Goethe, differ in certain respects from the suicide of Werther. While the French author's protagonists possess many attributes of the Romantic hero, often fulfilling the role of the 'alienated and tormented idealist, who establishes his passionate

[115] See, for example, note 6 in chapter 1 above.
[116] See Morand, pp.41–3.

involvement in his dreams from the very beginning',[117] the focus of the narrative is seldom solely on the character who commits suicide, nor is the story written from his/her perspective. The Romantic hero's inferior place in society and the way in which 'anti-Romantic' figures prosper while their more sensitive counterparts come to grief, is invariably of equal significance to the plot, while love is not always the predominant trigger for self-immolation.

In studies on suicide, differences between male and female self-destruction are frequently identified and emphasised. Westcott, for example, summarises his findings that 'the more prominent causes of male suicide are the vices, money troubles and *tædium vitae*; whilst females are more often driven to take their lives by the passions, mental weaknesses, remorse, and shame'.[118] It thus appears that just as insanity or excess among males was often indicative of a superior state of mind – or Romantic *génie* – in the examples discussed above, male suicide was seen as a reasonable response to certain predicaments, while self-destruction by females was frequently attributed to mental deficiency, as illustrated by characters such as Berthe (*RI*). Such distinctions are endorsed by Flaubert's presentation of suicide in *Quidquid volueris* and *Un parfum à sentir*: in the former, a frustrated Romantic hero seeks escape from the bonds of existence when inundated with feelings of passion, while in the latter the heroine is driven to insanity and self-immolation following rejection by her husband and society. However, Flaubert's treatment of suicide could equally be seen as evidence of the way in which he blurs the boundaries imposed by the nineteenth-century tendency to ascribe certain behaviours to gender stereotypes.

Djalioh, the human – orang-utan crossbreed in *QV*, embodies many nineteenth-century pseudo-scientific fantasies. His bestial appearance and his inability to speak place him on the margins of the bourgeois *milieu* to which he has been brought from Brazil, by the urbanely named Paul de Monville. As a quintessential 'outsider', Djalioh combines traits of many established Romantic heroes,[119] while the narrative bears hallmarks of several

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[117] Pasco, p.153.

[118] W. Wynn Westcott, *Suicide. Its History, Literature, Jurisprudence, Causation and Prevention* (London: Lewis, 1885), p.108. This definition might be better understood as a masculine approach to suicide: Emma Bovary's death fits these apparently 'male' criteria neatly, for example.

[119] Similarities may be observed between Djalioh and Frankenstein's monster (Shelley, *Frankenstein*), Sylvanus (Scott, *Count Robert of Paris*) and Quasimodo (Hugo, *Notre Dame de Paris*), among others.

contemporary reports of atrocities apparently committed by primates,[120] as well as biographical elements.[121] In his 'otherness', Djalioh is one stage below the mulatto in the 'racial hierarchy', and embodies the concept of miscegenation which fascinated the nineteenth-century audience.[122] His appearance is horrific: 'ses lèvres étaient grosses et laissaient voir deux rangées de longues dents blanches, comme celles des singes et des nègres' (p.249), cementing his ambivalent status somewhere between man and beast. Moreover, the narrator observes that he 'semblait né pour la tombe' (p.249), suggesting that death is the only purpose in his life. He is ridiculed by Paul de Monville's friends at the ball because he fails to fulfil their criteria for being 'human' (he does not smoke, hunt, work, read, write, or show interest in horses or women), but the narrator contrasts him at every opportunity with the apparent 'civilisation' of his bourgeois master. In all, his 'otherness' exemplifies nineteenth-century race theory: in one of many treatises addressing the concept of racial hierarchy, Virey claims that 'every thing [*sic*] serves to prove that negroes form not only a *race*, but undoubtedly a *distinct species*, from the beginning of the world'.[123] Perrone-Moisés observes, however, that 'for Flaubert, and like Flaubert, Djalioh is the anti-bourgeois par excellence'[124] – amid the superficial, middle-class world inhabited by Paul, Djalioh is ostracised for his unusual appearance and inability to conform to social norms.

Despite his brutish appearance, however, Djalioh's sensitivity is clearly greater than that of the 'humans' around him: we are told that 'les fibres de son cœur étaient plus molles et plus sonores que celles des autres, la douleur se convertissait en des spasmes convulsifs et

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[120] Enid Starkie identifies a story entitled 'Jack en bonne fortune' from *Le Colibri* (24 November 1836), in which an orang-utan from the Jardin des Plantes in Paris was found unconscious near a woman's body, 'à moitié ivre de cidre et d'amour', see Starkie, *Flaubert: The Making of the Master*, p.28. An equally likely source is an account entitled 'Toby', which precedes an article on the assassination of the Duc de Guise, written by an anonymous English author and illustrated with three engravings of a *very* human-looking orang-utan by 'M. Werner, artiste attaché au Jardin des Plantes'. Given his interest in this subject (*Mort du duc de Guise* was completed in 1835), Flaubert is likely to have been drawn to this article and his eye may have been caught by that which followed. See *Musée des familles, lectures du soir*, 4 (1836–37), 273–81.

[121] Starkie suggests that the ball scene could be that held by the Marquis de Pomereau at the end of the summer holidays in 1836 (Starkie, *The Making of the Master*, p.27), while Bosquet suggests that the boat ride is probably that undertaken by Flaubert with the Schlesingers and described retrospectively in his letter of 24 November 1853 (Gaston Bosquet, '«Quidquid volueris» et l'aventure de Trouville', *Les Amis de Flaubert*, 29 (1966), 5–7 (p.7)).

[122] For a comprehensive treatment of nineteenth-century race theory, see *Race. The Origins of an Idea, 1760–1890*, ed. by Hannah Franziska Augstein (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1996).

[123] Julien-Joseph Virey, 'Natural history of the Negro Species Particularly', trans. by J.H. Guenebault, in *Race. The Origins of an Idea*, pp.163–80 (p.177).

[124] Leyla Perrone-Moisés, '*Quidquid volueris*: The Scriptural Education', in *Flaubert and Postmodernism*, ed. by Naomi Schor and Henry F. Majewski (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), pp.139–59 (p.144).

les jouissances en voluptés inouïes' (p.249). His sombre, reflective demeanour during the ball scene, in which the men jump about like carps and the women's voices buzz like bees, invites the reader to question whether the bourgeois characters are in fact more bestial than Djalioh. In the same way as Werther feels 'eingeschränkt' by his existence, Djalioh seeks to express his feelings when he picks up a violin yet is able to produce only a torrid cacophony, which is described by Bismut as 'une transposition polyphonique du texte hugolien'.[125] Like Quasimodo, Djalioh is painfully aware of his ugliness and inability to conform to the expectations of those around him, though his emotional pain at the unrequited love he feels for Adèle is perhaps more akin to that of Werther than any Romantic hero from French literature. Rather than being a 'pet' figure over whom 'M. Paul' has control, Djalioh's frustration renders him a threat to the conventional family unit. Flaubert's use of free indirect style explains to the reader Djalioh's internal turmoil: 'Quoi! ne pouvoir lui dire un mot! ne pouvoir énumérer ses tortures et ses douleurs, et n'avoir que lui offrir que les larmes d'un animal et les soupirs d'un monstre!' (p.269). The whirlwind of violence in which Djalioh kills the child, Adèle and himself thus serves as a crescendo to the passion which has been building up inside him; such frenetic activity is evocative of the 'vampiric' works by Nodier, which were a major contributor to France's Romantic movement.[126]

Like Giacomo and other monster figures in Flaubert's *EJ*, Djalioh's monstrosity is brought to the fore by the characters with whom he interacts. Thus in the tale's designation 'études psychologiques', Flaubert is examining not only the psychology of the monster figure, but also that of those who surround him. Bismut observes that 'Djalioh, comme Quasimodo, est un disgracié de la nature; mais, chez l'un comme chez l'autre, la laideur n'a pas étouffé le sentiment'.[127] Djalioh's monstrosity, if anything, *enhances* his sensitivity, which is contrasted with the brash, unflinching bourgeois mentality with which he comes into contact. Those who mock him seem to represent the ethnocentric *idées reçues* of contemporary society:[128] since *QV* was written prior to Darwin's *Origin of Species* (albeit at a time when the animal in man was beginning to be suspected), the narrative could be seen as an early questioning of the validity of such ethnocentric

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[125] Roger Bismut, '«Quidquid volueris»: exercice de style? pastiche? ou réservoir d'images?', *Les Lettres romanes*, 41 (1987), 35–43 (p.39).
[126] It is interesting to note that in 1820, Nodier published a narrative entitled *Adèle*. See Charles Nodier, *Adèle* (Paris: Gide fils, 1820).
[127] Bismut, '«Quidquid volueris»: exercice de style? pastiche? ou réservoir d'images?', p.37.
[128] See note 122 above.

attitudes.[129] The contrast between Djalioh and his master, 'M. Paul, cet autre monstre, ou plutôt, cette merveille de la civilisation et qui en portait tous les symboles' (p.250), is made clear from the outset: Ernest Sellière asserts that the grotesque is used to a point that 'on n'a plus devant soi qu'une *conception*, c'est-à-dire des êtres fantastiques donnés pour humains, mais en opposition avec l'humanité. Et on croirait lire une phrase tirée de quelque esthétique allemande'.[130] The fantastic, Germanic element in Djalioh's character is akin to that of the protagonist in Hoffmann's tale 'Le Majorat': Théodore, the narrator, is invited to play the piano in front of the beautiful Mademoiselle Adélaïde,[131] but 'à peine eus-je ouvert le couvercle que plusieurs cordes rompues rajaillirent vers moi, et dès que j'eus touché le clavier, une affreuse cacophonie nous déchira les oreilles'[132] – with clear links to Djalioh's attempts to play the violin, the cacophony which results when a 'monster' transgresses the boundaries into the apparently civilised, harmonious human world, cannot be made more plain.

Paul de Monville contains all the stock attributes one would expect of any male, bourgeois figure in Flaubert's *œuvre*: he is 'un homme sensé par excellence, et je comprends dans cette catégorie tous ceux qui n'aiment point la poésie, qui ont un bon estomac et un cœur sec' (p.245). He appears destined for worldly success, having been awarded the 'croix d'honneur' (p.257) for mating an orang-utan with his negress servant while in Brazil, and deciding to marry Adèle, 'sans amour, et par la raison que ce mariage-là doublerait sa fortune' (p.245). Adèle, meanwhile, is characterised by a 'northern', childlike beauty, rather than the exotic, Mediterranean features of desirable women elsewhere in Flaubert's *œuvre*: Sellière notes that she is the type of figure found 'dans les ballades écossaises, une fée scandinave au cou d'alabâtre'.[133] References to her 'tête d'enfant' (p.247) and Paul's inability to say any more about her than 'elle est gentille' (p.247), reinforce the suggestion of a bourgeois marriage of convenience: like Djalioh, she is not portrayed as a 'fully formed' human being either. Adèle is described using all the attributes which she lacks: 'son œil n'était pas noir, sa peau n'avait point un velouté d'Andalouse' (p.244), and her childlike pleasures (feeding monkeys etc.), seem to make her correspond well to Paul's expectations of a wife being merely 'une petite poupée à

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[129] Leyla Perrone-Moisés asserts that at this time, animal characteristics were seen 'no longer as the symbolic existence of evil in a foreign body, but as an essential coexistence'. Perrone-Moisés, p.143.
[130] Ernest Sellière, *Le Romantisme des Réalistes. Gustave Flaubert* (Paris: Plon, 1914), pp.64–5.
[131] Again, it is unlikely to be coincidence that Flaubert chooses the name 'Adèle' for the character who becomes the object of Djalioh's affections.
[132] Hoffmann, 'Le Majorat', in *Contes fantastiques*, II, 224.
[133] Sellière, p.72.

habiller' (p.251) – a considerable contrast to the type of passion felt for her by Djalioh. At every turn, it would appear that Flaubert is parodying the conventional love story, in which Paul's 'Virginie'-figure is viewed purely in bourgeois, pragmatic terms, while the true incarnation of Romantic sensitivity takes the form of a being who appears as monstrous to the bourgeois Paul as the latter appeared to the negress slave who rejected his advances.[134] In his assessment of *QV*, Bosquet asserts that Djalioh's function is as a representation of Flaubert: 'sous le masque d'un anthropoïde hideux, il n'avait fait qu'esquisser son propre portrait d'adolescent, émotif, solitaire, passionné et sceptique à la fois'.[135] This analysis, however, fails to take account of the myriad sources for Djalioh which extend well beyond the biographical. As a result, Flaubert uses Djalioh to break down the neat demarcation between the 'civilised' and the 'uncivilised'.

Be that as it may, Perrone-Moisés is surely correct in her assertion that 'suicide is the definitive proof of Djalioh's humanity'.[136] Like Werther, his inundation with passion, or *Ichschmerz*, overwhelms him, and ending his own life appears the only means by which he may transcend the cruelty of *human* existence. Rather than declare himself an enemy of life in the manner of suicidal French Romantic heroes such as René or Adolphe,[137] life – and fate in particular – seems intent on making Djalioh unhappy. In the carriage scene, 'Djalioh était encore placé en face d'Adèle, comme si la fatalité se plaisait perpétuellement à rire de ses douleurs' (p.266).[138] In the language of twentieth-century psychologists such as Moreau de Tours, this renders Djalioh an 'aliéné', i.e. one whose suicide is inevitable. It is noteworthy, however, that he is of considerably more interest to society in death than when he was alive. Just as the author of 'Toby' bequeathed the orang-utan's corpse to London's Natural History Museum,[139] the narrator comments on the reverence shown to Djalioh's skeleton: 'il est superbe, verni, poli, soigné' (p.272), and exhibited to an admiring public rather than a scornful peer group. By contrast, when the body of Adèle is exhumed, 'elle avait bien perdu sa beauté' (p.272) – although her beauty was an object of

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[134] At no time does Djalioh's monstrosity detract from his humanity, however, thus Flaubert could be seen as challenging received ideas about what is 'normal', as well as demonstrating his own sense of misanthropy as an adolescent.

[135] Bosquet, p.7.

[136] Perrone-Moisés, p.146.

[137] See Morand, p.48. In the French works considered by Morand, 'les héros se déclarent ennemis de la vie et la quittent en la maudissant': Djalioh's suicide seems forced upon him in a situation where life (or at least society) has turned against him, i.e. a reversal of Morand's literary 'norm'.

[138] The way in which 'la fatalité' is blamed for misfortune recurs throughout Flaubert's *œuvre*: see note 51 above.

[139] See note 120 above.

bourgeois desire in life, the only effect her corpse has ultimately is to turn a gravedigger's stomach.

At times, the narrator in *QV* seems at pains to undermine the Romantic elements of his tale: for example, he exclaims 'encore la lune! [...] C'est le *sine qua non* de toute œuvre lugubre, comme les claquements de dents et les cheveux hérissés' (p.244). Equally, he passes cynical comment on particular elements of the narrative: when Adèle is feeding Madame de Lansac's monkeys, he observes that next to one who resembles a king, a monkey is 'assis dans un coin, les yeux baissés d'un air modeste comme un prêtre, et prenant par-derrière tout ce qu'il ne pouvait pas voler en face' (p.266). The narrator also 'defends' Djalioh's homicidal actions, explaining to the reader that 'il y a à côté de la femme qu'on aime une atmosphère embaumée qui vous enivre' (p.268), almost advocating that in similar circumstances the reader might also be capable of horrific acts. Such comments make the narrative substantially different from the sincere, emotional style which is characteristic of 'conventional' Romantic texts (including *Werther*), and suggest that as well as exploring the Romantic agony experienced by Djalioh, Flaubert is keen to study humanity at a broader level. Perhaps it is for this reason that he evokes a scene of bourgeois respectability in the penultimate chapter, in which a family of grocers discuss the murder, 'réunis patriarcalement autour d'un énorme gigot dont le fumet chatouillait l'odorat' (p.271): the adolescent son ventures that 'je crois que c'est l'effet de la passion' (p.271), although he is soon distracted when someone comes into the shop, and returns to the world of commerce, providing a final contrast between the Romantic spirit and its dominant, economic, realist counterpart.

Flaubert's representation of ostensibly 'male' suicide in *QV* is therefore based on the Romantic hero overflowing with unrequited passion. Just as Werther believes that self-destruction provides the natural means for escaping his misery,[140] and for which he has divine approval (he believes that fate is on his side when Albert gives him the pistols), it could be argued that Djalioh's suicide is predetermined. As a cross-breed 'monster' figure whose human sensitivity is as great as that of Werther but who lacks the ability to articulate this on account of his bestial heritage, taking his own life offers Djalioh the means to transcend the boundaries imposed by his physical being. However, the narrator's presentation of this monster and his actions suggests that Djalioh's monstrosity merely reflects the environment into which he has been born, and the 'civilisation' which this

[140] 'Ich seh' dieses Elendes kein Ende als das Grab', *Werther*, p.63.

environment is supposed to represent. The pathos evoked in the description of Djalioh's frustrated mindset[141] and the way in which he is ridiculed in his bourgeois *milieu* encourage the reader to understand his plight and the reasons for his actions. Although Djalioh's is hardly a noble death, the 'dialogue' established between the narrator and his (male) reader suggests that one does not have to be a 'monster' figure to pursue a similar course of action, and that Djalioh cannot be blamed solely for his crimes. This representation of 'male' suicide as a result of unrequited Romantic love may be contrasted with that of the heroine's self-immolation in *PS*.

Like Djalioh, the hag-like Marguerite is also considered a monster in her *milieu*. From the outset, her impoverished appearance is made clear: the narrator describes her merely as 'une femme en haillons, dont l'aspect était misérable' (p.84). This description is evocative of Hoffmann's portrayal of the character 'Mère Lise' in his tale translated as 'Petit Zacharie, surnommé Cinabre', who is 'une pauvre paysanne couverte de haillons'.[142] Marguerite's surroundings are far removed from the bourgeois world depicted in *QV*. As a member of a troupe of travelling entertainers, she is part of a marginalised social group which was of great interest to the Romantics: the opening of Hoffmann's fantastic tale 'L'Enchainement des choses',[143] in which a blindfolded gypsy girl dances a furious flamenco around eggs, desperately trying not to break them, bears many similarities to the way in which Marguerite's husband, Pedrillo, persuades his family to perform with the threat of violence. Although the 'artist as clown' motif later became popular with writers such as Baudelaire, Flaubert's depiction of a circus here is indicative of an interest in less well known subject matter. Critics have identified possible sources of aspects of the tale which include Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* and Balzac's *La Peau de chagrin*,[144] yet the underlying core of the narrative would appear to come from German Romanticism.

When a 'love-rival' is introduced to *PS* in the form of the superlatively beautiful and hyperbolically named Isabellada,[145] Pedrillo's adultery almost seems inevitable. Descriptions of the two women are juxtaposed, and Isabellada's exotic, Carmenesque

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[141] It could be argued that during the course of the story, Djalioh becomes aware of his impossible state of being between the two incompatible worlds of the animal and the human. Equally, he appears aware of the 'predetermined' nature of his life and is thus frustrated by the lack of free will – perhaps suicide is the only way in which he can assert his humanity and liberty.

[142] Hoffmann, 'Petit Zacharie, surnommé Cinabre', in *Contes fantastiques*, III, 65.

[143] Hoffmann, 'L'Enchainement des choses', in *Contes fantastiques*, III.

[144] Marshall C. Olds, '*PS*', in *A Gustave Flaubert Encylopedia*, pp.264–5 (p.264).

[145] Hyperbolic, exotic names are also a feature of many of Hoffmann's narratives: for example, the spiritually gifted 'Rosebeauvert' predicts the downfall of the simple 'Mère Lise' in *Le Petit Zacharie*.

beauty is contrasted with Marguerite's more Celtic, warrior-like appearance:

> Isabellada était jeune, jolie, elle avait vingt ans, ses dents étaient blanches, ses yeux beaux, ses cheveux noirs, sa taille fine, son pied mignon, et Marguerite était laide, elle avait quarante ans, les yeux gris, les cheveux rouges, la taille grosse, le pied large; l'une était la femme, et l'autre l'amante. (p.98)

In short, Isabellada fits society's 'template' of clichéd desirability while Marguerite does not: one is aesthetically acceptable to society while the other is not.[146] The designation of the two women as 'the wife' and 'the lover' evokes a sense of the inevitable: in his recent study, Overton reiterates the nineteenth-century belief that '[prostitution and suicide are] almost inevitable consequences of wifely adultery'.[147] Pedrillo's callous rejection of Marguerite is reinforced by the response of 'le peuple', who are described in homogenised, threatening terms as 'cette foule curieuse et barbare' (p.88) as people ignore her pleas for assistance. When individuals do notice her, they make cruel remarks such as 'Qu'elle est laide!' (p.90), before continuing on their way.

Like that of Djalioh and M. Paul, the relationship between Marguerite and Pedrillo rapidly becomes one of master and slave: the Flaubertian 'petit détail qui fait vrai' indicates the cruelty with which Pedrillo treats his wife (with his stick, he forces her onto the high wire from which she falls, and the narrator remarks that 'la baguette était rompue en morceaux' (p.85)), while the audience's 'rire moqueur, de ce rire féroce que l'on donne à l'homme qui tombe' (p.85) shows how such cruelty is the norm. As the narrator in *QV* evokes pity for Djalioh by suggesting that the reader would also be capable of reacting in a similar way, we are made to pity Marguerite by the narrator's almost Baudelairean accusation that the reader could also have been in the crowd at such an event, 'et vous avez ri comme les autres' (p.82). Thus although at first consideration, events leading to the suicide in *PS* may appear to bear little resemblance to that in *QV*, similarities between the ways in which the two protagonists are ostracised make their motives for self-destruction less disparate. Using a broad definition of '*Werther-Fieber*', such as that by Jost, the downfalls of both Djalioh and Marguerite may be compared with that of Goethe's Romantic hero, and therefore appear to reflect contemporary social trends: 'le chagrin

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[146] Marguerite's 'pied large' is reminiscent of Héloïse Bovary's contrast with Emma's dainty feet: Flaubert emphasises such traits of appearance and their role in fulfilling fickle human criteria of 'attractiveness' throughout his *œuvre*.

[147] See Hippolyte Lucas, 'La Femme adultère', in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes: encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle*, 8 vols (Paris: Curmer, 1840–42), III, 265–72, cited by Bill Overton, *Fictions of Female Adultery, 1684–1890: Theories and Circumtexts* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p.162.

d'amour, le mal de Werther sous toutes ses formes – déceptions et jalousies, indifférences et trahisons – demeure, dans la vie pratique, le motif le plus clairement reconnu'.[148]

Like the narrator in *QV*, the narrative voice passes comment on the action and invites the reader to pity Marguerite. Perhaps because the protagonist is female, the reader interestingly is also made feminine: the narrator addresses his 'aimable lectrice' (p.92), shortly after describing the 'jeune fille couchée sur le pavé et liée avec des cordes' (p.92) – this reminds the reader that (s)he is as much a part of humanity as the characters described. The narrator suggests that the downfall of Marguerite (and, to an extent, Pedrillo), is the fault of circumstances rather than of individuals. Like the narrator in Hoffmann's tale 'Bonheur au jeu', who comments that the 'chevalier' is 'aveuglé par l'excès et de son bonheur'[149] and therefore loses his fortune in a gambling scene, the reader of *PS* is encouraged, 'plaignez-le, ce joueur, ce baladin, cet homme de mauvaise vie' (p.93), as Pedrillo gambles his last remaining assets. The narrator also observes that while individuals fail to help Marguerite, 'l'État [...] n'a point d'argent à lui donner, ne faut-il pas qu'il paye les quatre-vingt-six bourreaux?' (p.89). It is thus made to seem that the 'baladins' have little control over their fate.

Throughout *PS*, as elsewhere in the *EJ*, a respectable façade frequently conceals the horrors of reality. Marguerite's children are dressed in a 'chemisette rose et bordée d'argent' (p.82) in an attempt to conceal 'des membres amaigris, des joues creusées par la faim' (p.82). Equally, Isabellada's underlying selfishness becomes clear when, not content with having stolen Marguerite's husband, she also takes Ernesto's blanket to cover her own child. Unlike the bourgeois festivities in *QV*, the masked ball in *PS* is described as 'un bal du peuple', at which 'on est heureux sans vertus' (p.101).[150] Amid this decadence, the mask of 'une tête de boeuf' (p.101) conceals the cruel Isambart, who continues to torment Marguerite: when she asks him what she has done to deserve this, he replies, 'Rien, mais tu me déplais'. This shameless answer suggests that cruelty is innate in certain individuals, and indicates the Gretchen-like precariousness and helplessness of Marguerite's situation, thus explaining her insanity and eventual suicide. While Djalioh, like Werther, 'builds up' to committing suicide as a result of an inundation with passion, Marguerite's self-immolation could be seen more like that of Gretchen in *Faust*, as the culmination of a

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[148] Jost, p.171.
[149] Hoffmann, 'Bonheur au jeu', in *Œuvres complètes*, II, 35.
[150] These two contrasting ball scenes are evocative of the 'Bal du Vaubyessard' and the 'bal masqué' in *Madame Bovary*, once again illustrating how motifs from his early works translate into Flaubert's later *œuvre*.

downward spiral, into which she has been 'kicked' by society. In this respect, hers may be considered a 'suicide physiologique',[151] or one which society was capable of preventing: Moreau de Tours notes that 'le suicide peut s'accomplir alors que le malade est dans un état maniaque franc; il s'exécute au milieu de l'agitation [...] sous l'empire des idées délirantes'.[152] Flaubert's portrayal of female suicide is thus perhaps more indicative of this type of loss of control and desire for self-destruction rather than the 'male' suicides' tendency to seek in death freedom from the constraints of human existence. However, like Djalioh, Marguerite's suicide could be seen as a final, defiant act of free will which *confirms* her greater humanity and superior sensibility to those around her. Echoing Novalis's appraisal of the metaphysical and 'noble' merits of suicide, this conscious act of self-destruction allows the Romantic hero to 'rise above' lesser mortals.

While in the Goethean intertexts discussed above, the cases of suicide mark the end of the narrative's treatment of the character, both Marguerite and Djalioh become more attractive to society in death than they were in life. When the former's corpse is pulled from the Seine and described in nauseating detail – 'ce corps couvert de balafres, de marques de griffes, gonflé, verdâtre, déposé ainsi sur la dalle humide, était hideux et faisait mal à voir' (p.111) – two medical students consider whether it nonetheless has economic value as a cadaver and is therefore worth purchasing. The medics' pragmatism indicates a Realistic inflection of Flaubert's translation of the German, and reminds us how life continues unhindered following the death of a Romantic hero, with monetary value readily ascribed to everything amid scant consideration of spiritual worth. The interest shown by society in the activity of the morgue reflects the contemporary appetite for the macabre, and while Marguerite may lack the mystique of the 'Inconnue de la Seine' whose popularity among visitors to Paris was renowned,[153] in death she is no longer ridiculed by those around her. However, just as the arrival of a customer ends the shopkeepers' consideration of the case of Djalioh in *QV*, a return to mundane matters such as the breaking of a pipe – 'la troisième que je casse de la journée' (p.111) – marks the bourgeoisie's inability to comprehend the plight of the Romantic spirit. As in *Werther*, the unflinching, materialistic bourgeois figure appears destined to prosper, while the more sensitive soul will inevitably come to grief, although while for Goethe suicide appeared to

[151] Moreau de Tours, p.6.
[152] Ibid., p.20.
[153] See Jost, p.198.

lead to freedom of the Romantic spirit, in Flaubert's work suicide leads to destruction of the individual, with society continuing along its unwavering course.

In summary, many of Flaubert's male protagonists possess the otherworldly, poetic, introspective mindsets which are characteristic of both French and German Romantic heroes. However, rather than concentrate purely on the psychology of these 'special' characters in the manner of many French Romantic narratives, Flaubert also explores the philosophical aspects of their 'mindscapes': concepts of madness, dream and death may all be linked to the metaphysical tradition prevalent in German Romantic work. Flaubert's focus on the 'dark' side of these concepts (mental torture, physical excess, nightmare, suicide), shows a distinct particularisation of those aspects of Romanticism which were clearly alluring to the young author and concurred with his emerging aesthetic. As outlined in the introduction, prioritising the metaphysical in this way is associated more readily with German rather than French Romanticism, thus the infernal atmosphere of *RI*, for example, is more akin to the work of Hoffmann than that of any 'pre-Baudelairean' tendencies among French authors, who might depict opium use as a means to ascend to a higher aesthetic plane. However, rather than examine solely the psychology of one protagonist in the manner of 'conventional' Romantic works such as *René* or *Werther*, Flaubert's focus is as much on the individual in the surrounding 'human landscape': the way in which the Romantic hero is treated by those around him is of equal interest to the Flaubertian narrator. It thus appears once again that Flaubert works with the German Romantic ideas derived from his reading, yet draws away from them in the development of his own aesthetic. Beyond examination of the place of the Romantic spirit in society, however, consideration of metaphysical questions posed by the German Romantics provides a further means to assess the broader influences of German Romanticism on Flaubert's *EJ*. While the role of the artist in exploring the mindscapes of individuals was important to German Romantics, the philosophical was also of prime significance. Attention will therefore now be turned towards Flaubert's treatment of mind, spirit and metaphysics in his *EJ*.

Chapter 3: Romantic Manicheanism

The overwhelming atmosphere of 'darkness' in the environments and mindsets of the young Flaubert's protagonists inevitably penetrates the metaphysical aspects of his *EJ*. The role played by German Romantic writers in shaping this 'dark' world view will now be addressed, particularly regarding the place of good and evil within Flaubert's aesthetic. Previous studies such as Marie Diamond's 1975 monograph, cited above, have focused on dualism as illustrative of Flaubertian 'aesthetic discontinuity', whereby circumstances are often shown to be at once good and bad for a protagonist. While such examinations of dualism are useful in furthering the debate regarding Flaubert's position between the poles of Romanticism and Realism, for example, they often overlook the more fundamental issue of apparent equality of power between good and evil for Flaubert. Rather than write fiction in which an omnipotent force for good ultimately triumphs over evil in the manner of French authors such as Perrault, and which corresponds to the separation of the two forces promoted by French philosophers such as Descartes, from the *EJ* onwards, Flaubert's *œuvre* is characterised by a lack of 'happy endings'. Eschewing both the Roman Catholic and Cartesian principles of his fellow countrymen, therefore, Flaubert's outlook tends towards Manicheanism.[1] While Flaubert fictionalises Mani overtly in his mature *œuvre*,[2] it appears that his affinity to the Manichean world view, in which good and evil are equal powers and the individual can only struggle against pre-determined orders, takes root in his metaphysical outlook at a much earlier stage in his career. This suggestion of equally matched forces for good and evil (or at least more balanced than in the Christian tradition), indeed exemplifies the broader tendency of (German) Romantic literature towards Manicheanism.[3] Rather than depicting a universe in which God is central to creation, this German tendency shapes the literary climate in which Flaubert began writing. Since it is beyond the scope of the present study to examine in detail the philosophical influences on Flaubert's *EJ*, the focus is on the way in which the German Romantic metaphysical context

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[1] In the present study, the following definition of Manicheanism will be used: 'a radical dualism of good and evil that is metaphysically grounded in coeternal and independent cosmic powers of Light and Darkness. The world was regarded as a mixture of good and evil in which spirit represents Light and matter represents Darkness'. *Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, ed. by Ted Honderich (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.519.

[2] Mani is the opening 'heretic' in the fourth tableau of *La Tentation de Saint Antoine* (1874), demonstrating Flaubert's enduring interest in Mani as a historical figure, as well as his teaching.

[3] The importance of Manicheanism to Romantic writers as an alternative philosophical system to the prevailing Roman Catholic doctrine is explored succinctly in Patrick C. Hogan, *Philosophical Approaches to the Study of Literature* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), pp.63–8.

contributes to the aesthetic qualities which represent Flaubert's ostensibly Manichean world view.

Previous studies of the philosophical in Flaubert's *œuvre* have addressed the role of pantheism in his writing,[4] although from the texts discussed in preceding chapters of the present study, it appears that in the *EJ*, Flaubert is less concerned with pantheist notions of the omnipresence of God in the natural world, than with the aesthetic problem of good and evil. Rather than speculate further on Flaubert's philosophy as an adolescent, therefore, this chapter seeks to explore his creative imitation of German Romantic metaphysics in fiction. With an interest in folklore, demons and earth spirits ostensibly constituting the popular expression of 'Germanic metaphysics', German Romanticism confronts this aesthetic. In Goethe's mystery play *Faust*, discussed further below, the Devil figure possesses neither the visual attributes (a forked tail, horns, hooves etc.[5]), nor the ultimately inferior power of the Devil to God in the Roman Catholic tradition, tending instead towards a more Manichean stance in which he appears to exist on an equal footing with forces for good. While the rationalism of the eighteenth century may have suppressed the role of folkloric motifs in French literature, German Romantic writers sought to revive treatments of the diabolic. Observing this trend, Madame de Staël asserts that 'il est beaucoup moins ridicule en Allemagne, que cela ne serait en France, de se servir du diable dans les fictions'.[6] Staël's interpretation of *Faust* also plays a role in bringing the demonic and the infernal (rather than the Roman Catholic concepts of the Devil and Hell), to the fore in French literary circles: Isbell notes that 'Staël begins with 64 lines on Mephistopheles before any word on Faust, who then only rates 15 lines [...] the centre of Goethe's multiform play is Faust himself; Staël's central theme is the conflict between good and evil'.[7] However, she also plays a (perhaps unwitting) role in promoting the importance of the spiritual realm: in her translation of *Faust*, for example, the lines 'muß ich [...] in den Äther greifen über mir / Mit freiem Geist'[8] become 'Il faut [...] que je m'unisse avec *les esprits libres de l'air*' [emphasis added].[9] While such (mis)translations of *Faust* made a significant impact on French culture, further representations of the German Romantic view of the diabolic, such as the 'chasse infernale' in Weber's *Der*

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[4] See, for example, Timothy A. Unwin, 'Flaubert and Pantheism', *French Studies*, 35 (1981), 394–406.
[5] For a comprehensive treatment of the Devil in Western European literature and iconography, see Robert Muchenbled, *A History of the Devil, from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Cambridge: Polity, 2003).
[6] *De l'Allemagne*, p.141.
[7] Isbell, p.75.
[8] *Faust*, ll.2725–7.
[9] *De l'Allemagne*, p.137. Cited in Isbell, p.68.

Freischütz (1821),[10] must also be remembered. The far-reaching impact of Faustian themes and values on Flaubert should not, however, be underestimated: Porter, for example, is able to make generic statements such as 'pride in intellect is often responsible for the downfall of protagonists to the Devil', in his pan-European survey of the diabolic.[11]

Although the focus of this chapter is the use of metaphysics in Flaubert's fiction, an understanding of the metaphysical context in which he began writing is required. One of the most influential philosophers on French thought of the 1830s was Spinoza.[12] Flaubert completed his baccalauréat with heavy reliance on Mallet's *Manuel de philosophie* (1835), the author of which is known to have admired the Dutch philosopher,[13] whose work was in turn influenced heavily by German thinkers such as Leibniz. Furthermore, the role of Alfred Le Poittevin, and especially his reading of Spinoza prior to an untimely death, also had a significant impact on Flaubert's philosophical outlook. Bruneau advises caution, however, when assessing the extent of Flaubert's Spinozism: while Flaubert's ideal was for the artist to show the totality of existence, both good and bad, cause and effect without distinction, this is the only regard in which Flaubert can properly be considered a 'spinoziste'.[14] A more comprehensive analysis of Spinozist themes in his *œuvre* is beyond the scope of the present study, although notions such as the one and the many, infinite unity and infinite diversity,[15] and the need for a 'cool, "scientific" appraisal of human behaviour'[16] are further aspects of the Dutch philosopher's thought which also characterise Flaubert's prose. However, Bruneau's detailed research concludes that Flaubert's earliest 'first hand' experience of Spinoza takes place in 1843,[17] a year after he had written the latest *EJ* considered here. Nonetheless, Flaubert's awareness of Spinozist concepts need not come solely from his own reading:[18] beyond their discussion in contemporary French literary circles and periodicals, Brown observes that 'Heine, acting as a mediator for

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[10] This play enjoyed success when staged at the Odéon, Paris, in 1824. Castex, p.59.

[11] Laurence M. Porter, 'Devil as Double in Nineteenth-Century Literature – Goethe, Dostoyevsky and Flaubert', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 15 (1978), 316–35 (p.330).

[12] Andrew Brown remarks, for example, that 'the nineteenth century saw Spinoza's influence spread unstoppably'. Andrew Brown, '"Un assez vague spinozisme": Flaubert and Spinoza', *Modern Language Review*, 91 (1996), 848–65 (p.849).

[13] See Bruneau, p.273.

[14] See ibid., p.453.

[15] For a more detailed consideration of this theme, see Unwin, 'Flaubert and Pantheism', especially pp.398–404.

[16] Brown, p.852.

[17] See Bruneau, pp.444–54.

[18] The role of friends such as Le Poittevin in shaping Flaubert's 'literary diet', discussed above in the introduction to the present study, clearly extends beyond discussions of fiction to the discussion of ideas. Equally, Romantic writers such as Byron played a role in communicating Spinozist ideas through their work.

German philosophy for a French audience, produces an impressionistic pastiche of what "nature"-loving Spinozists felt about their mentor'.[19] The translation of Spinozism into the French mindset therefore unavoidably involves a certain degree of variation from the original, and Sartre's assessment of Flaubert's *EJ* as the embodiment of 'un assez vague spinozisme'[20] is therefore perhaps as close as any study may come to describing the extent of the young author's creative imitation of the Dutch metaphysician.

Of course, Spinoza was by no means the only foreign philosopher to enjoy popularity in nineteenth-century France. An essay on Hegel appeared in the *Revue germanique* (to which Flaubert subscribed) in 1835,[21] while works by Kant are cited extensively in *De l'Allemagne*.[22] In general, Germanic metaphysics was presented as being more accessible than the work of French philosophers. When exploring possible reasons for the lack of a French equivalent of *Faust*, for example, Baldensperger observes that 'les Français n'ont pas la tête métaphysique; le goût des symboles, la sympathie et l'intelligence pour les abstractions personnifiées et pour le langage des choses inanimées restent chez nous le privilège de l'élite'.[23] As well as echoing this suggestion of philosophy's popular appeal in Germany, Staël presents further methodological distinctions between German and French thought in *De l'Allemagne*:

> les romans philosophiques ont pris depuis quelque temps, en Allemagne, le pas sur tous les autres: ils ne ressemblent point à ceux des Français: ce n'est pas, comme dans Voltaire, une idée générale qu'on exprime par un fait en forme d'apologue, mais c'est un tableau de la vie humaine tout à fait impartial, un tableau dans lequel aucun intérêt passionné ne domine.[24]

Germanic metaphysics, therefore, is clearly perceived as being significantly different from the work of France's indigenous thinkers such as Voltaire or Descartes. Dictionary definitions of the terms for 'metaphysics' in each language appear to support this view: in German, *Metaphysik* is described as a 'Wissenschaft von den Gründen und Prinzipien des Seins',[25] while its French equivalent involves simply 'toute spéculation sur le sens du

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[19] Brown, p.853. Of course, Heine also plays a more general role in providing an overview of the intellectual climate in Germany: the titles of works such *as Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* (1834) and *Zur Geschichte der neuen schönen Literatur in Deutschland* (1833) would suggest that they were conceived with a foreign audience in mind.

[20] Sartre, I, 514.

[21] J. Willm, 'Essai sur la philosophie de Hegel', *Revue germanique*, 3 (April 1835), 119–33.

[22] Although a full translation of Kant was not published in French until 1845 (Immanuel Kant, *Critique de la raison pure*, trans. by Joseph Tissot, 2 vols (Paris: Ladrange, 1845)), many of his ideas reached a French-speaking audience by other means, including the *Revue germanique* and *De l'Allemagne*.

[23] Baldensperger, p.150.

[24] *De l'Allemagne*, p.150.

[25] See *Kant*, ed. by Hans-Georg Gadamer (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1960), p.213.

monde'.[26] The notion of scientific method (involving, for example, the 'impartial' observation of 'laws' or facts), rather than hypotheses exploring more abstract ideas, has clear links to Flaubert's early aesthetic principles,[27] while the relative accessibility of German philosophical treatises conforms to the '*Volk*-centred' ideals promoted by Herder and broadly adopted by the Romantic movement.[28] More specifically, the concerns of many German philosophers also appear to be reflected in Flaubert's *EJ*: the 'anti-omniscience' stance of Kant in *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781), for example, may be linked to Flaubert's belief that no single perspective is the 'true' one, and that several narrative viewpoints are preferable to a single 'omniscient' one. Equally, Hegel's readiness to challenge received ideas in *Wissen und Glaube* (1802), could be seen to be echoed in Flaubert's fiction.

The critical gaze has invariably sought to identify points of comparison between Flaubert and specific philosophers,[29] often overlooking the broader issue of Flaubert's 'religious' sensibilities being inflected by (German) Romantic aesthetic understandings of worlds beyond the human or rational realm. Many German Romantic writers display an increased interest in the fantastic and irrational, linked to the workings of the human subconscious, especially as revealed in dream. The night, described as being 'pour l'âme romantique [...] un moment priviligié',[30] is a central theme in German Romantic works such as Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht* (1800). Such interests in the nocturnal and the spirit world clearly fed the development of vampirism during the 1820s, in particular works such as Nodier's *Smarra ou les démons de la nuit* (1821). Moreover, the role of superstition in this apparent age of reason is a significant one: Nodier defined it as a 'science', while Joseph de Maistre considered it a high religious form.[31] Perhaps most significant, however, are the bizarre, irrational occurrences found in the work of writers such as E.T.A. 'Gespenster' Hoffmann, which appear to embody a specifically German Romantic interest in the unexplained. A number of scientific treatises attempted to account for such phenomena: Maury, for example, states that 'dans les hallucinations

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[26] 'Métaphysique', *Larousse de poche* (Paris: Larousse, 1998), p.493.
[27] The sense of 'scientific' inevitability in the destinies of Ernest and Mazza (*PV*) sets a clear example, with overtones of the 'race, milieu et moment' concept popularised by Taine, which will be discussed further in chapter 4 of the present study.
[28] See note 22 in chapter 1 above.
[29] The narrow focus of Andrew Brown's article 'Un assez vague spinozisme', for example, neglects the broader 'Romantic Manichean' standpoint regarding greater equality between good and evil which underpins his apparently vague Spinozism.
[30] Chelebourg, p.104.
[31] See *The French Romantics*, I, 88.

hypnagogiques, il nous paraît incontestable que la réflexion n'agit plus, que l'imagination est seule en action, tandis que la faculté de réflexion est réduite à un rôle purement passif'.[32] A growing interest among contemporary French writers in Hoffmannesque themes such as the subconscious, trance and somnambulism, demonstrated by such treatises, and the growing popularity of the 'conte fantastique' as a literary genre, are ostensibly the result of Germanic influence. The irrational experiences associated with lapses of the critical faculties and which Maury seeks to understand are also those which rendered works such as Hoffmann's *Songes* so popular upon their translation into French: Bowman classifies themes including 'rêve, folie, hallucinations, philosophie de l'histoire, cosmogenie, mythologie' as 'tout ce qui était cher aux Romantiques'.[33]

These uncanny, bizarre phenomena which lie outside rational (or 'daytime') explanation are perhaps best described using the German noun 'Unheimlichkeit': for ease of reference, this term will be adopted by the present study and forms the core concept for the remainder of this chapter. While the German adjective 'unheimlich' may have both positive and negative associations of the fantastic,[34] 'Unheimlichkeit' is concerned solely with the uncanny and inexplicable.[35] As a result, the Hoffmannesque theme of *Unheimlichkeit* embodies the (very) 'dark' German Romantic aesthetic with which Flaubert's *EJ* appear to engage. In its assessment of the extent to which the 'dark' side of the German metaphysical imagination translates into particular aspects of Flaubert's ostensibly Manichean world view, this chapter will examine three *EJ* which are categorised as 'écrits mystiques',[36] for their treatment of *Unheimlichkeit* rather than predominantly moral subject matter: *La Danse des morts* (1838), *Smarh* (1839) and *Rêve d'enfer* (1837). Linked to the German Romantic attraction to death, explored in the previous chapter, the version of the 'afterlife' presented in *DM* confronts perhaps the most pressing metaphysical question for the (Romantic) individual: existence beyond the grave. While Flaubert advocates an afterlife of sorts in *DM*, this is not necessarily a reason for optimism: far from being a simple pastiche of a popular medieval motif revived by both French and German

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[32] L.F. Alfred Maury, *Des Hallucinations hypnagogiques, ou des erreurs des sens dans l'état intermédiare entre la veille et le sommeil* (Paris: L. Martinet, 1848), p.11.

[33] Bowman, 'Flaubert dans l'intertexte du discours sur le mythe', pp.35–6.

[34] French synonyms for 'unheimlich' offered by online dictionaries range from 'sinistre' to 'énorme' and 'vachement'. See http://woerterbuch.reverso.net/deutsch-franzosisch [accessed 01.04.2008].

[35] Online dictionaries consistently offer only 'caractère inquiétant' as a French translation of 'Unheimlichkeit'. See, for example, http://woerterbuch.reverso.net/deutsch-franzosisch; http://dict.leo.org/frde; http://www.linguatec.net/onlineservices/linguadictfr [accessed 01.04.2008].

[36] The opening section of Unwin's *Art et infini*, for example, is entitled 'les écrits mystiques', and deals with texts from *Voyage en enfer* (1835) to *La Tentation de saint Antoine* (1849).

Romantics, the Flaubertian dance of death is a vehicle for developing the author's own philosophical stance. Drawing heavily on folkloric clichés regarding the realm of the dead, *DM* possesses the 'consciously fictitious' attributes of the *Märchen* genre, discussed further in the first section of chapter 4 below, although these clichés are used in such abundance that the portrayal of death becomes humorous. However, while Flaubert may use stereotypical German Romantic motifs and genres for his own ends, ostensibly the better to criticise received metaphysical values, *DM* also expresses the German Romantic heritage of many of his *EJ*.

The atmosphere of *Unheimlichkeit* fostered in *DM* is developed further, with a growing focus on the individual, in Flaubert's early mystery play, *Smarh*. An overwhelming sense of 'dark' forces within both the human and supernatural spheres, combined with a notion of spiritual development akin to the *Bildungsroman* in the German tradition, characterises this depiction of a Manichean struggle between good and evil for an individual's soul. The second section of this chapter will thus focus on Flaubert's *Smarh* and Goethe's *Faust*, in which both protagonists are visited by the Devil and led on quests for infinite knowledge. While there are many similarities between the two works, Flaubert's early mystery play clearly does not constitute the mere replication of a Goethean plot: his narrative contains no Gretchen figure, but 'doubles' the role of the Devil (and disperses diabolic power), by creating a Satanic henchman, for example. Attention will thus be paid to differences between the works as much as to points of correspondence. There can be little doubt, however, that *Faust* plays an important role in defining Flaubert's metaphysics: Gans asserts that 'French Romanticism [...] does not believe in the possibility of grasping the universe as a whole through adult experience',[37] supporting the view that Flaubert's concept of the infinite, as presented in *Smarh*, owes much to the work of Goethe, as well as broader German Romantic traditions. In *Smarh*, therefore, Flaubert is getting closer to the problem of *knowledge* of good and evil.

While *Faust* is obviously not alone in forming Flaubert's early world view, it is clear that the darker aspects of the German metaphysical imagination provide a means to articulate Flaubert's philosophical ideas in the *EJ*. The role of German writers in exploring the Romantic subconscious cannot be underestimated, and undoubtedly informed the French Romantic outlook. Baldensperger suggests that French Romantic metaphysical tastes evolved during Flaubert's childhood: 'le romantisme de 1820 avait surtout goûté

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[37] Gans, p.6.

l'évocation du transcendant et du suprasensible [mais] aux approches de 1830 l'affabulation fantastique, le pittoresque étrange étaient ce qu'on devait surtout goûter'.[38] Within this framework, therefore, a distinction must be made between the 'Unheimlichkeit' of Goethean 'spiritual transcendence' which Baldensperger associates with the 1820s, and the unsettling, inexplicable, bizarre landscapes and atmospheres of *Unheimlichkeit* associated most readily with the work of Hoffmann. To investigate the Hoffmannesque metaphysical qualities of Flaubert's *EJ*, the final section of this chapter addresses Flaubert's portrayal of human experiences upon entering the supernatural realm in *RE*. Far from evoking the 'dream world' as an escapist utopia, the nightmarish qualities of *RE* appear to reinforce many of the 'dark' associations of earthly human existence investigated in the preceding chapters of the present study. While many of the motifs in *RE* are indicative of generic nineteenth-century interests (the automaton as protagonist, for example), repeated instances of the uncanny and the tale's propensity towards the bizarre are features associated readily with both Goethe's *Faust* and the tales of Hoffmann, rather than the work of any French writer. The sense of all-embracing darkness in Flaubert's world view could be seen to render *RE* a metaphysical *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the final German Romantic form considered in the subsequent chapter. While the extent of Flaubert's pantheism has been the subject of previous studies, in the *EJ* considered throughout this thesis, it is clear that his focus is primarily on the individual, and that one of his aesthetic concerns is the way in which art may be used to understand the world.

In her consideration of the *EJ* as a whole, Aouicha Hilliard summarises that:

> comme *Smarh*, chaque ouvrage de Flaubert n'est qu'une autre tentative avortée de se modifier, chaque fois vouée à l'échec. Comme l'ermite, la plupart des héros flaubertiens vont à la dérive, puis meurent. Mais leur mort n'a pas de valeur rédemptrice.[39]

Jean-Baptiste Baronian concurs with this view, suggesting that in the 'écrits mystiques', Flaubert 'cherche moins à créer un effet de panique ou une bizarrerie à la manière d'Hoffmann qu'à faire état de quelques idées philosophiques qui lui tiennent au cœur'.[40] Many of these 'idées philosophiques' correspond to the Manichean world view, with individuals able only to struggle against predetermined orders, thus constituting rejection of the Roman Catholic, dualist ideas of his *milieu*. As a whole, therefore, this chapter will

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[38] Baldensperger, p.122.
[39] Aouicha E. Hilliard, 'Le Rythme de *Smarh*: Deux modes contrastés du vœu de désintégration chez Gustave Flaubert', *Romanic Review*, 77 (1986), 56–70 (p.70).
[40] Jean-Baptiste Baronian, 'Flaubert, petit romantique', *Magazine Littéraire*, 108 (1976), 17–8 (pp.17–8).

concentrate on the importance of German Romantic metaphysics in nurturing Flaubert's aesthetic need to reach beyond received or 'conventional' wisdom as well as individual points of view, echoing Sartre's assertion that while Flaubert was not a philosopher *per se*, he was keen to impress that 'il faut respecter toutes lès opinions pourvu qu'elles soient sincères'.[41]

I *La Danse des morts*

In both France and Germany, many writers of the early nineteenth century revitalised the medieval motif of the dance of death, and there is little doubt that Flaubert read several of the resulting works: a two-volume narrative entitled *La Danse des morts* by Hyacinthe Langlois is listed in the inventory of Flaubert's library,[42] while a short story of the same title appears in the *Revue de Rouen* of 1833,[43] for example. In Germany, meanwhile, both Goethe's poem 'Der Totentanz' (1813) and Eichendorff's *Ahnung und Gegenwart* (1815), with its ball scene featuring a skeleton, enjoyed considerable literary success. Medieval representations of this long-established motif are generally considered to finish with Holbein's 'Dance of death' (1538), but the subject experienced a resurgence in popularity among the Romantics, with the German tale *Léonore* (1773) by Gottfried August Bürger being translated across Europe and becoming 'in its unabashed plundering of folk art [...] a prototype for Romantic kitsch'.[44] Further to this exemplar, it appears that the dance of death has a particularly rich heritage in Germany: in Henri Stegemeier's analysis of folk-songs involving the subject, twenty-five of the thirty-seven texts cited are in German, while none are in French.[45] The contemporary popularity of the dance of death across the arts thus offers a plethora of potential intertexts for Flaubert's work, although as Sagnes emphasises, 'il s'agit moins d'isoler une source de Flaubert, qui justement déborde le genre, que de nous représenter comment il a pu se faire qu'une œuvre de ce titre lui vienne à l'esprit'.[46]

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[41] Sartre, I, 164.
[42] See Roualt de la Vigne, p.82.
[43] Alphonse Etienne, 'La Danse des morts', *Revue de Rouen*, 1 (1833), 298–300.
[44] Sarah Goodwin, *Kitsch and Culture: the Dance of Death in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Graphic Arts* (New York: Garland, 1988), p.68.
[45] See Henri Stegemeier, *The Dance of Death in Folk-Song* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).
[46] Sagnes, 'Notice: *DM*', p.1335.

Flaubert's life-long interest in visual representations of the legendary is well known,[47] and the dance of death undoubtedly offers similarly visual appeal, with its contemporary popularity providing ample opportunity for pastiche. Equally, just as his inspiration for other 'mystical' *EJ* has been suggested to lie in work of German origin, the 'dark' aspects of Romanticism explored by both Hoffmann and Goethe may have fuelled Flaubert's interest in the macabre and Gothic aspects of the dance of death. In her appraisal of *DM*, Goodwin mentions explicitly 'Goethe's "Der Totentanz", to which Flaubert's opening scene bears precise resemblance',[48] although it is perhaps unsurprising that several of the scenes in *DM* are comparable with one or more treatments of this theme by other authors. More significantly, however, *DM* shows a development in Flaubert's metaphysical outlook beyond that of other *EJ* (such as *QV* or *PF*), since rather than depicting an ending in which life simply continues after a protagonist's death, it shows a continuation of the spirit and a 'nocturnal afterlife'. In this regard, the metaphysical implications of *DM* are less pessimistic than those of earlier *EJ*. Nevertheless, on closer consideration this work bears similarly 'dark' theological content to that of the other 'écrits mystiques', discussed below: for example, Satan is given a more prominent role here than in many alternative depictions of the dance of death, while 'God' has implicitly authorised the sinister presence of 'La Mort' within creation. Equally, the contrasting powerlessness of Jesus invites the reader to question the earthly value of Christian faith, and seems to advocate a Manichean stance in which good and evil are forces of similar strength. In this section of the present study, therefore, attention will be focused on the way in which *DM* represents Flaubert's creative imitation of broader German ideas concerning the relation of good and evil to death and the spirit world, as well as that of particular motifs.

The opening paragraphs of *DM* contain many stock (German) Romantic images: a distant narrative voice evokes the spirit world while 'le ciel se couvre de nuages noirs, les hiboux volent sur les ruines et l'immensité se peuple de fantômes et de démons' (p.403). This initial focus on ruins, phantoms and demons supports the narrative's promotion of the 'dark' aspects of the spirit world. Such sinister nocturnal associations are not unique to Flaubert's *œuvre*, however. Alphonse Étienne's 'La Danse des morts', for example, begins with the observation that 'à peine la nuit, de ses sombres ailes, a-t-elle secoué les ténèbres

[47] His enduring attraction to stained-glass windows, for example, culminates in his re-telling of 'La Légende de saint Julien l'hospitalier' in *Trois contes* (1877), following an earlier (unpublished) draft in 1856–57.
[48] Goodwin, p.174.

sur la terre, que la peur vient à moi et me glace au cœur'[49] – the image of night enveloping the world and chilling the human heart suggests similarly malevolent pre-conditions for the dance of death. While several characters in Étienne's version regret aspects of their lives ('Loyse', for example, bemoans the infidelity of her former lover), the Flaubertian narrator suggests once again that death provides a welcome release from worldly bonds, inviting the dead to dance, 'maintenant que la vie et le malheur sont partis avec vos chairs' (p.404). Such suggestions of pleasure beyond the grave are at odds with Roman Catholic views of Hell, and advocate the older, '*Volk*-centred' religious traditions which interested the German Romantics. Furthermore, Flaubert uses such traditions, in conjunction with the macabre, as an aesthetic mode to examine the moral dimensions of eternal evil. This clearly does not promise contentment in the afterlife: contented spirits should not need to be implored to dance, while the very act of dancing itself evokes the uncontrolled, 'dangerous' overtones of masked balls in both Flaubert's *EJ* and later *œuvre* (*PS* and *Madame Bovary*, for example), and broader Romantic concerns: the waltz, in particular, has sinister associations in both *Werther* and Byron's poem 'The Waltz' (1812). The 'Évocation' in *DM* thus at once exploits well-worn Romantic images and injects a sinister Flaubertian undercurrent of *Unheimlichkeit*.

Flaubert's introduction of Jesus and Satan to *DM* marks a further departure from other Romantic treatments of this subject matter. Existing alongside the spirit world and observing it from a position, 'debout sur une comète, à quelques centaines de pieds plus bas' (p.405), it is implied that they appear somewhere beneath the dead within the metaphysical hierarchy. Their cosmic position is, however, reminiscent of the *conte philosophique* genre (notably Voltaire's *Micromégas*, which was written, interestingly, during the author's visit to Prussia), and this lends *DM* a more pronounced air of the unreal, similar to that of *RE*. Having been informed that the Holy Ghost died 'il y a quelques siècles d'une fluxion de poitrine' (p.405), the 'equal' footing of Jesus and Satan in the cosmos could be seen to suggest the Devil's accession to a place in the Trinity.[50] Moreover, Flaubert's portrayal of Jesus could even invite the reader to question the earthly use of religious faith: Christianity is represented simply by an 'être faible et impuissant' who, according to Unwin, 'renforce donc le sens de l'incompréhensibilité de l'infini'.[51]

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[49] Etienne, p.298.
[50] It could also be argued that in fact, in *DM* the Trinity is replaced by a dualistic relationship between Jesus and Satan. God, as in the other 'écrits mystiques', has a noticeably diminished role here.
[51] Unwin, *Art et infini*, p.46.

Even from a distance, both Jesus and Satan perceive the Earth as 'un point noir plein de ténèbres' (p.408), reminding the reader of the inescapable 'darkness' which occupies Flaubert's world view. The notion of such shadowy plenitude being visible from across the universe reinforces the association of earthly life with unhappiness, as implied in the 'Évocation'. On closer inspection, Satan and Jesus observe these worldly 'ténèbres' at first hand: as Porter summarises, they see initially 'the still, radiant beauty of a summer night, but as soon as they look more closely, they see that the reality is war, pestilence, suffering, vice and blasphemy'.[52] Such suggestion of inherent evil underlying a veneer of harmony is at odds with Roman Catholic theology of sin. Moreover, the changing perspectives of both the Devil and Christ in *DM* reinforce Flaubert's suggestion that no single perspective is the 'true' one.

Extrapolating the anticlerical aspects of *DM*, critics have suggested that the apparent equal footing of Satan and Jesus represents a struggle in which forces for 'good' will not necessarily always emerge victorious over evil,[53] although they invariably fail to explore this seemingly obvious evidence of Flaubert's Manichean world view. Perhaps in a nod to convention, Satan refers to Jesus as 'mon maître' (p.405), although this deference is shown to be hollow by the latter's child-like questions such as 'tu triomphes vraiment?' (p.405). Repeated allusions to the power of the diabolic serve to sustain the notion that the struggle between 'good' and 'evil' is more equally matched than in the Roman Catholic tradition: the figure representing history, for example, admits to Satan that 'tu m'occupes tout entier' (p.442), while Jesus simply looks on with a 'mélancholie sublime, pleine de mélodie et de chants de l'âme' (p.427), claiming simply that 'aucun ne pense à moi' (p.434). Jesus's demeanour is akin to that of the Romantic hero, whose Faustian discovery of the difference between 'Schein' and 'Sein' leaves him disheartened and powerless. Equally, Satan's adoption of Faustian sentiments is demonstrated further when he boasts that 'j'ai l'or aussi, l'or qui brille, l'or qui fait plus que le ciel, qui donne tout' (p.406); this claim (and its allusions to the motivations of alchemists), bears striking similarity to Gretchen's assertion that 'Nach Golde drängt / am Golde hängt / doch alles'.[54] Extending the traditional notion of the Devil as 'Prince of the World', Satan calls himself a 'puissant empereur' (p.413), and claims that 'je domine dans les affaires de l'État et du cœur' (p.425). In this respect, as an all-pervading dominator of both the public and private spheres, he differs from many of

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[52] Porter, 'Mythic Imagery in Flaubert's *œuvres de jeunesse*', p.157.
[53] See Unwin, *Art et infini*, p.46.
[54] *Faust*, ll.2802–4.

the devils found elsewhere in Romantic literature: in Bürger's tale, for example, Léonore is punished by a demonic lover for her transgressions, demonstrating a more traditional, moral role for the diabolic forces. Flaubert, by contrast, is suggesting once again that 'dark' (or even Satanic) sentiments are present in every human protagonist. Both the 'Évocation' and the metaphysical framework of *DM* therefore suggest an overwhelming sense of diabolic power, even before the dance of death *per se* has commenced.

Having been roused by the distant voice of the 'Évocation', the skeletons perform an increasingly frantic dance, until ultimately 'tout cela allait en rond et se perdait dans un tourbillon sans limites' (p.441). This infinite, circular motion, which lacks both progress and direction, could be seen to imitate the spinning of the earth and the way in which 'la vie continue', regardless of events or attempted human intervention. Unlike many of the socially exclusive 'living' dances described elsewhere in Flaubert's *œuvre*, the role of death in this dance as 'the great leveller', and even as the source from which life springs, soon becomes apparent. The narrator observes that 'le roi donnait la main au mendiant, le prêtre au bourreau' (p.418), demonstrating the new-found equality between skeletons once they have been stripped of their social rank. Goodwin observes that 'the nineteenth-century dance of death is a bourgeois motif which embodies an anti-bourgeois esthetic'.[55] Indeed, the number of publications involving the dance of death indicates an appetite for this subject matter among the middle classes, their protagonists' antipathy to hierarchy and 'proper' behaviour frequently render them the antithesis of bourgeois values, strengthening the theme's appeal to Flaubert beyond his attraction to the macabre. The notion of extraordinary equality in dance is, however, strikingly similar to an advertisement for a masked ball which appeared in *Le Colibri* in January 1837, and includes the line 'tous sont égaux: la femme tutoie le jeune homme, le jeune homme tutoie la femme; la femme a compris sa liberté, elle a échappé à la tutelle masculine; elle est émancipée'.[56] While a masked ball therefore permits temporary escape from the 'artificial' constraints imposed by society, it appears that Flaubert is attracted to the more permanent emancipation offered by death, and delights in demonstrating the ways in which previously rich and powerful figures are reduced to the same level as the pauper.

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[55] Goodwin, p.22.

[56] Advertisement in *Le Colibri* (29 January 1837), 4. The notion of emancipation is evocative of that felt by Emma at the 'bal masqué' in *Madame Bovary*.

Like many dances of death, the social hierarchy in *DM* is somewhat 'top-heavy',[57] with a skeletal king, emperor, pope and poet being represented prior to a single pauper. This demographic reversal, combined with sudden and unexpected social equality, suggests that the removal of worldly orders provides a new way of seeing the deeper, universal orders of humanity. Flaubert's narrator makes a number of close observations of the skeletons' behaviour (such as the former king reaching for a crown atop his skull), to create a visual, 'humanised' scenario comparable with Goethe's 'Totentanz'. Just as the night watchman sees a skeleton climb up a clock tower to retrieve its shroud in Goethe's poem, Flaubert chooses to describe a number of concrete, 'human' actions to illustrate these universal 'orders' rather than the more surreal, mystical festivities which are found in other representations of the dance of death.[58] Moreover, the skeletons in *DM* continue to exhibit trappings of 'la bêtise humaine' long after their deaths. The Pope, for example, is described as appearing 'usé par l'âge, corrompu de débauche' (p.433), while Nero claims that 'à peine ai-je vécu!' (p.430), their depiction in the same dance as the 'foule' appearing to advocate the lack of 'special treatment' in the afterlife for Roman Catholics. Furthermore, the meaninglessness of social rank is explored in the figures' dialogues with death: the king claims that 'je suis le maître du monde', at which death delights in having observed 'des rois engraisser d'orgeuil sous leur manteau royal' (p.422), and states that his throne has been used to make the boards for his coffin. The pauper's simple appeal for survival ('laisse-moi la nature; le pauvre n'a qu'elle, mais il l'aime comme une mère' (p.436)), appears more reasonable than the protestations of those higher up the social hierarchy, but death's rhetorical question 'peux-tu prier le Dieu qui te fait souffrir?' (p.434) once again suggests the futility of religious faith. Only the poet appears unperturbed by death. Noted for not joining in the dance, he celebrates having 'quitté cette prison de chair où j'étais ensevelie' (p.441), reinforcing Romantic notions of art as a more 'eternal' force than religious faith or spiritual power.

Flaubert's use of 'generic' figures representing death and history, for example, offers the reader further insights into his early world view. The dialogue between Satan and death is particularly rich in this regard: the former claims that 'le monde doit finir, excepté

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[57] See Goodwin, p.56.

[58] In the *Revue de Rouen* piece, for example, Etienne evokes a mystical atmosphere in which the actions of the dead are distinct from those of the living: 'Par une veillée d'hiver, quand la flamme pétillante vous réunit en demi-cercle autour du feu [...] si vous tournez vos regards vers la fenêtre qui donne sur la campagne, peut-être alors pourrez-vous y apercevoir comme une ombre qui se glisse – c'est quelque mort de vos parens [...] qui vient vous rendre sa visite'. Etienne, p.298.

moi. Je serai plus éternel que Dieu' (p.425), to which 'la Mort' replies that 'tu n'as pas comme moi ce vide et ce froid de mort qui me glace' (p.425). The exclusion of Jesus from this exchange, as well as the characters' own assertions, implicitly relegates 'God' and forces for good to an equal or inferior position, inverting Christian belief in an omnipotent supreme being. Moreover, the resigned tone of history's assertion to Satan that 'je sens toujours tes deux griffes qui m'appuient sur les épaules' (p.442) offers little future prospect of alteration in this Manichean relationship. While the poet's earlier assertion that he had 'tombé du ciel sur la terre comme une fleur sur la boue' (p.409) might be illustrative of the eternal Romantic artistic superiority mentioned above, sustained references to the *Unheimlichkeit* surrounding earth and earthly existence in *DM* contribute to an overwhelming sense of 'darkness' in Flaubert's philosophical outlook, which is fostered by his reading of German Romantic work. The moral and social implications of *DM* are therefore far beyond those traditionally depicted in the dance of death, and capture at once Flaubert's ostensibly Manichean world view, and perception of inherent social values.

While Flaubert thus extends 'traditional' representations of a well-worn motif which was popular among Romantics, *DM* also possesses a greater degree of *Unheimlichkeit* than many of its intertextual precursors. Such a concentration of *Unheimlichkeit* is ostensibly the result of Flaubert's reading of Hoffmann. A tale by Hoffmann which was translated as 'Le Vampire' offers a similarly distinctive reworking of various themes often associated with the dance of death: Aurélia takes on 'l'apparence cadavéreuse de ce vieux corps semblable à un fantôme',[59] for example, and one night her husband observes her in a cemetery amid 'un cercle effroyable de fantômes ou de vieilles femmes'.[60] Unlike Flaubert's interpretation of the dance of death, however, Hoffmann's characters are situated firmly in the spirit world, free of the social values and beliefs which remain in *DM*. The sinister associations of dance are a recurrent theme in both Flaubert's and Hoffmann's tales, however: in 'La Vision', discussed above, Adelgonde's 'danses bizarres' are noted as a key feature of her possession by spirits, for example.[61] Flaubert's representation of death as an omniscient, omnipresent figure circulating within an otherwise 'human' ball scene is comparable with Eichendorff's *Ahnung und Gegenwart*. While the 'dance' in *DM* may possess characteristics associated with human, earthly existence, therefore, the deistic degree of control exercised by 'dark' forces renders this situation far from the promised

[59] Hoffmann, 'Le Vampire', in *Contes fantastiques*, II, 174.
[60] Ibid., 189.
[61] Hoffmann, 'La Vision', in *Contes fantastiques*, II, 414.

'afterlife' awaited by followers of Christianity. In summary, Flaubert's juxtaposition of the human and spirit worlds rather than portrayal of an exclusively fantastic 'realm of the dead' extends the work of significant German Romantics, as well as developing his own Manichean stance.

Despite obvious departures from 'traditional' versions of the dance of death and tendencies towards the Germanic, however, Flaubert clearly saw the subject matter of *DM* as rich ground for visual parody, perhaps to deflate the cynical sureties of powerful Satan figures. The image of Nero arriving for the ball in a coach drawn by twelve skeleton horses alludes to the apparently ingrained 'bêtise' and desire for grotesque displays of wealth in such characters, as well as reversing the type of metamorphosis usually associated with *Cinderella*. At the onset of morning, for example, death leaps onto its horse and Satan shrouds himself in bat-like wings, echoing popular iconography and suggesting a voluntary retreat from the world, rather than being driven out by forces for good. This suggests a more enduring quality to the 'dark' figures than in comparable works: for example, in Goethe's 'Totentanz', the skeleton observed climbing up a clock tower falls and shatters when the clock strikes one, leaving the (human) onlooker alive, and suggesting a degree of power of the living over the dead. In *DM*, by contrast, the 'observers' (Jesus and Satan) withdraw like the dead at the onset of morning: the former, despairing, surrounds himself in a 'nuage blanc' (p.443), which may be considered symbolic of his insubstantial, temporary presence on earth, while the latter utters 'un plus horrible rire que celui de la Mort' (p.443), leaving the reader in little doubt that the balance of power is more Manichean than Roman Catholic. Sagnes summarises the importance of *DM* in Flaubert's emerging metaphysics: 'dans six mois [*Smarh*], puis dix ans [*La Tentation* (1849)], il mettra de nouveau en scène, avec Satan pour régisseur, le spectacle trompeur de la vie et des religions'.[62] Rather than simply being a parody of a well-worn Romantic motifs, therefore, *DM* clearly has a place in demonstrating Flaubert's world view, and once again this is informed – at least in part – by his creative imitation of German Romantic sources which deal with similar subject matter.

DM therefore clearly affirms the place of Manicheanism in forming Flaubert's metaphysics. The Biblical overtones of assertions such as 'Et ce cri-là n'eut pas de fin [...] Et ce cri n'eut pas d'écho' (p.418) allude to the unseen metaphysical forces which drive the *Unheimlichkeit* of the works of many German Romantics: human 'powers' in the form of

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[62] Sagnes, 'Notice: *DM*', p.1340.

love, reason or civilisation are clearly not enough to overcome these broader and more enduring forces. While the place of Christian faith is undermined, the overwhelming presence of 'evil' (in the forms of Satan and death), offers little hope for a desirable 'afterlife' or spiritual regeneration, advocating a much more equal balance of power between good and evil than in the Roman Catholic tradition. While this 'afterlife' may not be a reason for optimism, in *DM* Flaubert is at least representing an escape from the trials of existence which does not involve only the void, even though the 'morts' of this tale represent an ending to life which is far from satisfactory. Flaubert is thus one of the nineteenth-century artists who, according to Goodwin, saw the dance of death 'not as an empty cliché but as a form for thought'.[63] Rather than simply portraying a 'danse macabre', therefore, Flaubert adopts this form in order to depict a 'danse métaphysique'.

II *Smarh*

Subtitled 'vieux mystère', *Smarh* perhaps bears the closest relation to Flaubert's mature *œuvre*, for its depiction of a struggle between good and evil that results in the downfall of its human protagonist. The prominence given to 'dark' metaphysical forces, including themes of temptation and Satanic power, has invited critical comparisons with *La Tentation de Saint Antoine*, the first version of which was written just twelve years later in 1849. Unwin, for example, emphasises the evident development between the two works, which leads from the infinite being a source of confusion to the human mind in *Smarh*, towards a less pessimistic view of infinity in *La Tentation*.[64] Rather than exploring *Smarh*'s relationship to later works, however, it appears more useful to the present study to consider the German Romantic influences on Flaubert which culminate in this exploration of the origins of human knowledge of good and evil. The genre of the mystery play, as a vehicle for such explorations, has a well-established pedigree in both France and Germany, and its status as a '*Volk*-centred' form renders it attractive to Romantics. Nonetheless, *Smarh* differs from 'traditional' mystery plays in a number of ways: Bruneau is quick to observe, for example, that 'Flaubert montre ici un irrespect total pour la mythologie chrétienne qui le distingue nettement des précédents auteurs de «mystères»'.[65] Despite Bruneau's insistence on its differences from other mystery plays, however, an overlooked

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[63] Goodwin, p.93.
[64] See Unwin, *Art et infini*, p.56.
[65] Bruneau, p.201.

precursor to *Smarh* is surely Goethe's *Faust*. With a protagonist who displays an unreasonable degree of reasonableness in his quest for total knowledge of a Creation in which an all-pervasive diabolic force plays a significant role, the German author's work will be shown to be echoed in Flaubert's prose.

It would be misleading to assert that *Smarh* represents the simple replication of a Goethean masterpiece: Bruneau notes that the chronological appearance of translations means that only *Faust I* might be a potential intertext,[66] and while he acknowledges similarities between the first two scenes of each work, he asserts that narratives by Byron and Quinet may also be considered intertextual precursors.[67] Further studies have suggested that *Smarh*'s origins may also lie partly in Classical literature.[68] Nevertheless, within this fusion of possible sources of Flaubert's tale, a clear German voice cannot be ignored. In *Smarh*, evidence of a deterministic, dualistic world view abounds: just as Faust comes to realise, circumstances may be simultaneously both good and bad for a protagonist, and such multiplicity of the narrative viewpoint is clearly an aspect of Goethe's play which appealed to Flaubert. The importance of the descriptions of *Faust* in *De l'Allemagne* cannot be underestimated. In describing the varying treatment of the dishonoured Gretchen to her French audience, for example, Madame de Staël suggests that 'Goethe saisit admirablement ces mœurs [...] il possède au suprême degré l'art d'être parfaitement naturel dans mille natures différentes'.[69] Equally, Staël's role in presenting the metaphysics of *Faust* to the French is emphasised by her assertion at the start of Nerval's translation: 'Il faut réfléchir sur *tout*, et même sur quelque chose de plus que tout'.[70] The concept of reflecting on an additional (or infinite) dimension would also have struck a chord with Flaubert, thus *Smarh* is clearly not so different from *all* earlier mystery plays, as Bruneau argues. However, Flaubert does not adopt every aspect of *Faust* in his own work: the present study will therefore focus on those aspects which are creatively imitated and those which are not, developing our understanding and appreciation of *Smarh* beyond that of Bruneau.

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[66] *Faust* was first translated in its entirety (by Nerval and Blaze de Bury) in 1840. Ibid., p.202.

[67] Bruneau's argument here appears very reasonable, since certain motifs from the work of these authors appear to be replicated in *Smarh*, for example the personified church in Quinet's *Ahasvérus* (1833). Once again, however, Bruneau focuses on direct correspondences at the expense of considering creative imitation or 'translation gain'.

[68] See, for example, Rea Keech, 'Flaubert's *Smarh* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', *Romance Notes*, 20 (1979–80), 202–6.

[69] *De l'Allemagne*, p.136.

[70] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust I*, trans. by Gérard de Nerval (Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1828).

The character of Smarh represents a 'blank canvas' upon which the struggle between good and evil can be depicted, yet he clearly possesses the 'divine spark' required to collaborate in a Manichean struggle.[71] As a hermit, Smarh lives away from society and 'progress': the narrator even asserts that '[il] vit comme une relique' (p.541), attributing a degree of pre-industrial, worshipful purity to Smarh's existence which is lacking in his contemporaries. His status as 'un homme saint entre les saints' (p.541) demonstrates his devotion and piety, yet also reminds us of the inescapable humanity which ultimately leads to his downfall. Rather than having spiritual, saintly qualities, therefore, Smarh bears all the characteristics of the 'reiner Tor' figure, found extensively in German Romantic literature and discussed above.[72] Faust, meanwhile, is described as a 'guter Mensch'[73] and 'used' in the execution of a pact made between Mephistopheles and God during the 'Prolog im Himmel'. Like Smarh, however, Faust's curiosity causes him to seek to acquire total knowledge of good and evil, and both protagonists are used as mere pawns in a wider struggle between the two forces. Despite their apparent goodness, neither Smarh nor Faust is content with his earthly lot, and each embarks on a quest for infinite knowledge: Smarh believes that acquainting himself with 'la science du monde' will mark 'le commencement d'éternité bienheureuse promise aux saints' (p.548). Similarly, Faust abhors the possibility of limited knowledge, claiming '...daß wir nichts wissen können / Das will mir schier das Herz verbrennen'.[74] In both cases, it appears that inexplicable human as much as metaphysical forces drive the protagonists' quests, and both lead ultimately to their downfalls.

Smarh's picaresque 'journey of discovery', in which he experiences a variety of forms of human existence and behaviours as part of his metaphysical education, enables Flaubert to depict the relative power of good and evil from a number of social and moral perspectives. Keech remarks that

> there is an air of myth and a pagan extravagance of imagination as Smarh goes through his various metamorphoses from old hermit to lecher to glutton to warrior to

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[71] As a pious hermit, Smarh is not only a Romantic hero, but also spiritually 'different' from those around him: 'It is the special task of the Manichaean, the man who has been brought to the light, to collaborate in this separation [of good and evil]. Through the God-sent mind that is in him and sets him apart from the other creatures, he must become aware of the mixture present in all things'. R.M. Wilson, 'Mani and Manichaism', in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. by Paul Edwards, 8 vols (New York: Macmillan, 1967), V, 149–50 (p.149).

[72] See note 17 in chapter 2 above.

[73] *Faust*, l.328.

[74] Ibid., ll.364–5.

> child to poet to lover before being swallowed up by the void from which all things originally sprang.[75]

With the multiplicity of viewpoints afforded by these metamorphoses, however, the pessimistic notion of an ending in the void seems all the more inescapable. Nonetheless, to use such observations to support views such as Unwin's neat dichotomy that Flaubert's preferred manner of explaining 'la nature de l'infini n'est donc pas la démonstration philosophique, mais la représentation artistique',[76] glosses over the possibility that like the German Romantics, Flaubert perceived fiction as a medium for metaphysical demonstration. Furthermore, the 'philosophical discoveries' which Smarh makes in his expression of Flaubertian metaphysical ideas are comparable with those made by Faust. Showing a Germanic awareness of the 'unknowable', for example, Smarh is quick to identify the limitations of his pre-existing knowledge, for example in his admission to Satan that 'ce n'est point ainsi que je pensais: vous m'ouvrez un monde nouveau' (p.544) and declares that ultimately, his discoveries have left him none the wiser: 'l'infini s'est élargi, mais est devenu plus obscur' (p.556). Similarly, Faust claims that 'ich bin nicht um ein Haarbreit höher / bin dem Unendlichen nicht näher',[77] indicating a comparable awareness of increased obscurity accompanying increased knowledge. Furthermore, both narratives explore the problems of discerning the disparity between appearance and reality, or 'Schein' and 'Sein'. For example, Smarh becomes confused as his established beliefs are constantly undermined, eventually asking 'Dieu est donc méchant?' (p.557), the only logical conclusion following his dialogue with Satan. However, as Romantic, artistic individuals, both Faust and Smarh are better equipped than many to confront metaphysical questions and see beyond facades: while others see no more than a black poodle, for example, Faust is able to discern that this canine incarnation of the Devil will become a 'künft'ge[s] Band um unsre Füße'.[78] The Faustian, Romantic sensibilities of Smarh, however, also cause his anguish and alteration of mood between joy and despair. Hilliard argues that the dialectical movement between extremes in *Smarh* amid 'la futile poursuite d'équilibre' represents Flaubert's internal artistic turmoil between the poles of Romanticism and Realism,[79] demonstrating the narrative's importance for both his

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[75] Keech, p.205.
[76] Unwin, *Art et infini*, p.19.
[77] *Faust*, ll.1814–5.
[78] Ibid., l.1159. This is contrasted with the supposedly artistic Wagner's assertion that 'ich seh' nichts als einen schwarzen Pudel' (l.1156).
[79] See Hilliard, p.56.

metaphysical *and* aesthetic development,[80] and by extension, the significance of the German Romantic in shaping these.

While Smarh may be characterised by a sense of instability, Flaubert's portrayal of the Devil fosters an air of Manichean equality between forces for good and evil, leaving the reader in some doubt over which force will 'win' the struggle for Smarh's soul. The Devil in *Faust* enjoys similar status: Stäel claims that 'le Diable est le héros de cette pièce: l'auteur ne l'a pas conçu comme un fantôme hideux'.[81] Moreover, by Satan's own admission, 'traditional' representations of the diabolic[82] have not been immune to modernisation: 'Auch die Kultur, die alle Welt beleckt / hat auf den Teufel sich erstreckt',[83] rendering it more difficult to discern good from evil. From the outset in *Smarh*, Satan's almost regal status (as 'Prince of the World', as outlined above), is emphasised: when praising vanity, 'qui m'a livré les poètes, les femmes, les rois' (p.540), the implication is that rather than requiring proactive corruption on his part, human traits bring the Devil's 'subjects' to him, with all the predictability implied by the definite article. Flaubert's Satan is a skilled rhetorician, initially flattering Smarh (for example by calling him 'mon maître' (p.549), although this power relationship is quickly reversed), and using subtle means to challenge received ideas, for example when he asks Smarh 'n'as-tu pas l'âme immortelle?' (p.564). As in *DM*, Flaubert's use of humour to mock received ideas concerning the diabolic is made clear in Satan's assertion that 'pour moi, rien n'est obscur [à part] Tout est noir' (p.542). It could be argued, therefore, that Satan's role (as a representative of 'evil' in Flaubert's world view), is merely to uncover pre-existing 'dark' characteristics in apparently pure protagonists rather than carrying out evil deeds himself, much like Mephistopheles in *Faust*, whose role centres on fostering the corruption of individuals and delight in their transgressions. *Smarh* thus represents a significant milestone in Flaubert's thinking, and owes much to German Romanticism: Bowman suggests that 'à partir de *Smarh*, c'est souvent le contenu moral du mythe qui l'intéresse, contenu dont on parle peu, à l'époque, dans le discours des érudits'.[84]

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[80] From disparities between the intentions expressed in his correspondance and the actual content of *Smarh*, it is clear that Flaubert is exploring both aesthetic and philosophical possibilities in the narrative. For example, he writes to Chevalier that Smarh will be taken 'sur des chevaux ailés sur les bords du Gange. Là, orgies monstrueuses et fantastiques' (*Correspondance*, I, 40), yet Smarh never reaches the Ganges (or indeed the 'Orient') at all, perhaps to avoid distraction from the philosophical viewpoints under consideration.

[81] *De l'Allemagne*, p.126.

[82] See note 5 above.

[83] *Faust*, ll.2495–6.

[84] Bowman, 'Flaubert dans l'intertexte du discours sur le mythe', p.52.

As well as representing a force for evil in *Smarh*, Satan apears to play a broader role in demonstrating Flaubert's metaphysics. Unwin summarises this as follows:

> Evil is seen alternatively as a disruption of the harmony of creation, a Manichean force in opposition to the Good, and as a modification of the mystical infinite, a necessary phase of the morally neutral Absolute. Thus evil seems at once to oppose God and be a part of God.[85]

Constituting a part of creation, one might therefore expect Satan's evil powers to be 'balanced' by a benevolent deity (as in *Faust*), however it appears that while 'God' may have prevailed in the past, times are changing. Just as the Devil in Goethe's work remarks that 'von Zeit zur Zeit seh' ich den Alten gern',[86] suggesting an informal relationship with God in which the latter is considered out-moded and detached, Satan's 'génie' and dominant status are also made clear in *Smarh*. While Satan shuns sterotypical appearances and possesses the supernatural power to conjure up winged horses which take Smarh on a journey through the cosmos similar to that in Voltaire's *Micromégas* (1752), 'God' is represented contrastingly by a dilapidated church that is awaiting destruction and is described as 'vieille, toute ridée, toute grise' (p.593), ostensibly exploiting clichés of 'God' as a distant, old man with little direct power.[87] Such representations of the relative impotence of Christianity and recourse to cliché in description could be considered typical of nineteenth-century attitudes in France. However, while events during the Terror had caused many in France to question their faith and Napeoleon's Concordat (1801) had subjected the Church to the State, Porter argues that more systematised arguments for the death of God had their origins in Germany, beginning with Hegel's *Wissen und Glaube* (1802).[88] Like the Devil in *Faust*, following his initial seduction of Smarh, Satan asserts his power by dismissing the former's curiosity ('cette question d'enfant' (p.551)), demonstrating the unspoken, inescapable control which he exerts over the individual, and the apparent powerlessness of forces for good to counteract it.

One striking feature of *Smarh*, however, is that Satan is not the only representative of the diabolic: Dan-Ion Nasta observes that 'Flaubert se livre dans ce «mystère» au dédoublement du personnage satanique',[89] in his exploration of the character Yuk. As

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[85] Timothy A. Unwin, 'Flaubert's Early Philosophical Development: The Writing of *Smarh*', *Nottingham French Studies*, 21 (1982), 13–26 (p.18).
[86] *Faust*, l.350.
[87] In a manner directly comparable with a passage in Quinet's *Ahasvérus*, each part of the church building is personified and bemoans the ways in which 'on ne veut plus de moi' (p.587).
[88] See Porter, 'Devil as Double in Nineteenth-Century Literature', p.319.
[89] Dan-Ion Nasta, '*Smarh* et *La Danse des morts*. Les Masques grotesques de l'éternité', *Analelo Universitatii Bucurest, Limbi si literaturi straine*, 29 (1980), 93–100 (p.97).

Satan's self-proclaimed 'serviteur indigne' (p.567), Yuk inevitably invites comparison with the Homunculus in *Faust*, despite having greater worldly powers more akin to those of his Satanic master. Beyond taking a Homunculean delight in evil deeds, such as inciting a woman who seeks Smarh's counsel to commit adultery, Yuk is a grotesque incarnation of all the negative qualities which Flaubert perceived in human society: he even claims that 'le dieu du grotesque est un bon interprète pour expliquer le monde' (p.569). For this reason, Bruneau suggests that Yuk's character 'rappelle l'esprit cynique du «Garçon»',[90] although he hardly embodies the bourgeois values which were the targets of Flaubert's schoolboy caricature. Unwin, meanwhile, assigns Yuk a more metaphysical role, claiming that 'Flaubert a réussi, avec le personnage de Yuk, à envisager une manière d'interpréter le monde qui serait elle-même le monde'.[91] While Yuk clearly has much greater metaphysical significance in Flaubert's world view than that of a mere henchman figure, critics appear to have overlooked his Homunculean qualities. His consideration of life as 'un linceul taché de vin [...] une orgie où chacun se soûle' (p.567) suggests his advocacy of values based on the 'dark' human excesses explored in earlier chapters of the present study, lacking any cerebral or spiritual dimension. By doubling the diabolic in *Smarh* in this way, Flaubert not only spreads its impact, but also increases its range: Satan may be the figurehead for evil, but Yuk ensures its enduring and concrete presence in Flaubert's Manichean outlook. Perhaps Yuk's 'success' in corrupting others lies in his ability to blend into a corrupt (and corruptible) human society: in this respect, he conforms to Staël's portrayal of the Faustian Devil as 'un diable civilisé', who 'manie avec cette moquerie, légère en apparence, qui peut si bien s'accorder avec une grande profondeur de perversité'.[92] Yuk's grotesque, mocking laughter (a trait which would later become a key feature of Flaubert's *œuvre*), echoes throughout *Smarh*, becoming a *Leitmotif* for diabolic malfeasance and taking over the sixth scene of the 'petite comédie bourgeoise' entirely: for Hilliard, this justifies his self-proclaimed status as 'le dieu du grotesque', who uses laughter when he 'affirme sa victoire sur les autres'.[93] While Yuk may not possess the title or mythic pedigree of Satan, therefore, his role would appear to extend those of both Mephistopheles and the Homunculus in *Faust*, for his delight in promoting 'la bêtise humaine' and bolstering the forces for evil in Flaubert's Manichean world view.

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[90] Bruneau, p.201.
[91] Unwin, *Art et infini*, p.61.
[92] *De l'Allemagne*, p.127.
[93] Hilliard, p.63.

Yuk may thus take as much credit as Satan for revealing the infinite to Smarh. Nasta states that 'Yuk fait tourner la roue du monde sur le pivot du néant'.[94] By promoting his metaphysical world view, in which any spiritual or moral values are scorned and replaced by mocking laughter, Yuk (as the Devil's ostensible worldly agent, as outlined above), possesses a great deal of power. Yuk's scornful dismissal of an attempt by the narrative voice to express the inadequacy of language for explaining metaphysical concepts suggests even greater power and conviction than a supposedly omniscient narrator: 'le voilà qui s'établit comme un roi dans la volupté et qui la rend vénale, ignoble, crapuleuse et vraie' (p.599). This final assertion regarding the 'true', dark nature of human 'volupté' (and more generally the enduring disparity between 'Schein' and 'Sein'), summarises the philosophical perspective embodied by Yuk. In a similar way to Mephistopheles's promise to drag his victims 'durch flache Unbedeutenheit',[95] Yuk's role in the 'metaphysical education' of Smarh thus involves the revelation of life's meaninglessness. Between them, therefore, the two diabolic figures in Flaubert's narrative evoke a sense of the futility of life in both the microcosm and the macrocosm: Hilliard suggests that 'le mouvement entre deux extrêmes qui caractérise la futile poursuite d'équilibre chez Smarh entre Satan et Yuk ou, en d'autres termes, entre de vastes espaces et d'autres infiniment petits, constitue un paradigme essentiel de *Smarh*'.[96] It could be argued, therefore, that far from creating a diabolic henchman with less metaphysical significance than his Satanic master, Flaubert doubles the Devil's role in order to explore a broader range of the metaphysical perspectives inspired by his reading of German Romantic work or as Sagnes suggests, 'Flaubert [...] a voulu à la fois présenter l'inventaire des incarnations du grotesque et en exposer le fondement métaphysique'.[97]

While the diabolic forces in *Smarh* reveal a number of undesired metaphysical truths to a single protagonist, there is also a society-wide sense of discontent and despair. A 'dark' sense of industrial progress is alluded to by the way in which the poor man encountered by Satan, Smarh and Yuk, assumes that the three travellers are from Germany:[98] his praise of the 'northern' landscape (comparable with that evoked by Staël in *De l'Allemagne*[99]), as a

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[94] Nasta, p.97.
[95] *Faust*, l.1862.
[96] Hilliard, p.56.
[97] Sagnes, 'Notice: *Smarh*', p.1404.
[98] This apparently minor observation echoes the assumption of Altmeyer in the 'Auerbachs Keller' scene (*Faust*) that the strangers he encounters must be from the Rhineland, demonstrating one of many more subtle points of comparison between *Smarh* and Goethe's mystery play.
[99] See note 31 in chapter 1 above.

place of nature, purity and piety may be seen as a contrast to the industrialising backdrop of France. This 'mal du siècle' is interestingly expressed by the 'Sauvage': while nature satisfies his every need, in his heart he desires 'd'autres boissons, d'autres viandes, d'autres amours' (p.571). This concept of a human 'need' for more than earthly progress is also present in *Faust*: Mephistopheles claims that without diabolic intervention to reveal the dark 'truth', Faust '[wäre] von diesem Erdball abspaziert'.[100] Despite these sinister vignettes, however, the ultimate fate of Smarh has the greatest metaphysical significance. The inevitable frustration of Smarh's quest is comparable with that of Faust: Unwin summarises that 'as in *MF*, there is the implication that truth and madness might be both sides of the same coin'.[101] Once Yuk has revealed to him the nature of 'truth', therefore, Smarh's ultimate state of madness seems inevitable. The 'negativity' represented by Yuk (including cynicism, pessimism, and a belief that evil will always be victorious), will thus necessarily claim his soul, or as Hilliard puts it: 'après s'être débattu entre un infini qui l'engouffre et un centre qui le réduit à zéro, Smarh meurt, laissant, non pas Satan, mais Yuk, victorieux'.[102] The worldly power exercised by Yuk leaves him in a stronger position to affect human behaviour than his Satanic master or any other external force, furthering notions of Flaubert's anticlericalism for its negation of the concept of a superior Divine being. Moreover, the way in which Smarh's downfall appears pre-determined is suggested by his own assertion that he is 'attaché à cette lourde chaîne invisible' (p.604). This echoes Manichean principles of the individual only being able to live alongside pre-determined orders. Suggestions of an inescapable attraction towards and struggle against certain forces at the expense of others (in this case, the all-consuming power of the diabolic), thus reinforce the deterministic sense that Smarh's fate is sealed as soon as he embarks on his quest for knowledge. Orr's observation that 'temptation is a very strong, Don Juanesque and serial mode of seduction of rival equals in a relationship based on attraction and resistance',[103] originally made in relation to *La Tentation de Saint Antoine* (and with obvious overtones of Goethean ideas expressed in *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*), would therefore appear to be of equal relevance here. Goethean sentiments of a creation in which

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[100] *Faust*, l.3271.

[101] Unwin, 'Flaubert's Early Philosophical Development', p.15.

[102] Hilliard, p.65. However, from a Manichean perspective, Smarh's death signifies redemption: Wilson states that 'the death of the body is thus redemption; and true life is the release of the soul, which is light, from its imprisonment in the body and its return to its true abode'. See note 71 above.

[103] Mary Orr, *Flaubert's Temptation: Remapping Nineteenth-Century French Histories of Religion and Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2008), [no pagination].

a powerful, benevolent God is unable to protect His people are thus echoed at several levels within Flaubert's *Smarh*.

For its cumulative sense of metaphysical despair, *Smarh* is often seen as 'the summing up of the universal tragedy of mankind',[104] in which religious faith offers little comfort in the face of the Absolute. In *Faust*, it is suggested that the Church is ineffective and consumed with greed: we are told that 'die Kirche hat einen guten Magen / hat ganze Länder aufgefressen / und doch noch nie sich übergessen',[105] and clearly leaves Faust with an insatiable 'Wissensdrang'.[106] With similar motives to those of Faust, Smarh's desire for total knowledge causes him repeatedly to discover the disparity between idealism and empiricism and, ultimately, to be enveloped in the 'bras du monstre éternel' (p.614). The accumulation of these discoveries paints a bleak picture of religion: Sagnes argues that 'le christianisme dans *Smarh* ne subsiste qu'à travers le pathétique mis à annoncer sa disparition'.[107] While Flaubert's use of Satan *and* Yuk renders diabolic power somewhat more dilute than in *Faust*, Smarh is both outnumbered and overcome by the all-pervading darkness, with forces for good too weak to counterbalance this. Beyond this apparent strength of evil a sense of the sadistic is also evident in many of the vignettes presented within *Smarh*: after the beggar has been 'driven' to commit murder, for example, Satan claims that before he will surrender his soul, 'il faudra qu'il brûle sa prison, viole six religieuses et massacre une trentaine de personnes' (p.585). Such strength of darkness in Flaubert's world view is suggestive of Manicheanism, although the resulting metaphysical agony inflicted upon Smarh is compared to that of Christ – 'ce fut pire car sa croix, c'était son âme, qu'il avait peine à porter' (p.605) – without, of course, the promise of ultimate redemption. The philosophical standpoint at which he arrives therefore offers Smarh little alternative to madness: faced with the power of the diabolic, the only resolution to his plight involves abdication from the world.

Smarh's ultimate madness, in which his soul is 'rendue folle par tant de douleurs' (p.605), reflects the states to which the Romantic heroes of Flaubert's moral tales (such as Djalioh, *QV*) are reduced, although this is predominantly attributable to the 'metaphysical cruelty' of existence rather than the 'human cruelty' of other protagonists. Previously 'firm' beliefs based on Christian teaching are undermined to the extent that Smarh's

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[104] Starkie, *The Making of the Master*, p.164.
[105] *Faust*, ll.2836–8.
[106] Ibid., l.1768.
[107] Sagnes, 'Notice: *Smarh*', p.1406.

confusion when confronted with the infinite becomes overwhelming. The appearance of a plethora of new ways of looking at the world clearly marks a shift in Flaubert's aesthetic beyond that of the moral tales which form the bulk of his *EJ* prior to 1837, as well as demonstrating most overtly his early metaphysical outlook. Hilliard asserts that Smarh's 'tentative d'équilibre est donc doublement un échec: non seulement la division demeure, mais elle est encore plus profonde du fait que la balance penche plus d'un côté que de l'autre':[108] not only are his religious beliefs undermined, but his 'goodness' is unable to withstand forces for evil. While Smarh does not enter into a pact with the Devil voluntarily like Faust,[109] the sensitive nature and ability to see beyond face value of each protagonist lead to their realisation of the strength of evil forces in relation to good. In Goethe's mystery play, the voice of the Devil has the last word by calling to Faust 'Her zu mir!'[110] – this appears to have had a substantial impact on the metaphysical outlook of the young Flaubert. Although the struggle between good and evil in *Smarh* is depicted before an earthly backdrop, attention will now be turned to the way in which Flaubert's Manicheanism extends to the realm of dream in *Rêve d'enfer*.

III *Rêve d'enfer*

Emphasising the sense of overwhelming power attributed to forces for evil in certain *EJ*, Jean-Baptiste Baronian argues that Flaubert's 'écrits mystiques' express 'en quelque sorte une métaphysique négative, un anathème sur la Création'.[111] More recently, Unwin has summarised this 'métaphysique négative' in his assertion that 'les écrits mystiques affirment vigoreusement l'absence de Dieu, l'omniprésence du mal, la puissance de Satan et les caprices du destin'.[112] Perhaps because of its relative brevity and a tendency among critics to prioritise *Smarh*, *RE* has often been overlooked in such examinations of Flaubert's metaphysics prior to *La Tentation* (1849). However, *RE* clearly permits further insights into both Flaubert's Manicheanism and his creative imitation of German Romantic works, not least for its qualities of *Unheimlichkeit*. Most strikingly, an atmosphere of mystery is fostered by recurring instances of the unexplained: while *Smarh* demonstrates

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[108] Hilliard, p.65.
[109] Faust's all-consuming desire for knowledge causes him to exclaim delightedly: 'Die Hölle selbst hat ihre Rechte? / Das find'ich gut! Da ließe sich ein Pakt / [...] schließen?' *Faust*, ll.1413–5.
[110] *Faust*, l.4613.
[111] Baronian, p.18.
[112] Unwin, *Art et infini*, p.28.

such *Unheimlichkeit* within a more plausible, 'human' setting, the protagonists of *RE* appear to inhabit an almost exclusively supernatural sphere. Their sense of irrational incompleteness is not found in *Smarh*: in this tale, Satan's 'victim' possesses a body without a soul rather than simply representing a diminutive force for 'good' within an ostensibly Manichean world view, for example. Moreover, the sinister, dreamlike associations of the narrative's title are sustained by unexplained occurrences (such as milk turning to blood), an improbable timescale (within the space of a few lines 'plusieurs siècles passèrent' (p.238), for example), and narrative uncertainty (the narrator himself admits that 'je ne sais si c'est un songe' (p.237)). Although the imagery and plot of *RE* clearly owe a debt to the English Gothic novel (which enjoyed significant popularity in France prior to the arrival of the Romantic movement[113]), at a more general level its *Unheimlichkeit* is therefore comparable with the work of certain German Romantics, notably Hoffmann, whose *Songes* appeared in French translation from 1836.[114]

RE may therefore be considered an important indicator of Flaubert's relationship with German Romanticism: while Bruneau asserts that 'le conte de Flaubert combine deux grandes tendances du romantisme, la recherche du pittoresque historique et l'ambition métaphysique',[115] for example, he does not mention that these can be identified as specifically German tendencies. The metaphysical 'ambition' of *RE*, written two years before the more overtly philosophical *Smarh*, provides a useful insight into the beginnings of Flaubert's Manichean leanings – the multi-faceted power with which he associates the diabolic and the contrasting impotence of Christian religious faith confirm his early attraction to the 'dark' aspects of those Romantic works which are creatively imitated throughout his *EJ*. Unlike many critics, Baldensperger identifies similarities to *Faust* in both *Smarh* and *RE*: 'les œuvres de jeunesse de Flaubert, son *RE*, son *Smarh*, sont inspirées de *Faust*, mais d'un *Faust* encore byronien et grimaçant'.[116] Baldensperger's argument that the Byronic 'edge' to Flaubert's metaphysics becomes tempered as he moves towards writing *La Tentation* is persuasive: *RE* contains a sense of inevitability and all-pervasive diabolic power, whereas *La Tentation* suggests a greater degree of free will on the part of its protagonist. While the similarities between *RE* and Goethe's *Faust* are

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[113] For a detailed survey of this genre in France immediately prior to the nineteenth century, see Daniel Hall, 'Gothic Fiction in France and Germany (1790–1800)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2000).

[114] See E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Contes fantastiques*, trans. by Henry Egmont, 4 vols (Paris: [n. pub.], 1836).

[115] Bruneau, p.174.

[116] Baldensperger, p.238.

significant, however, Flaubert clearly chooses to structure his narrative as a short story rather than as a mystery play: fiction rather than drama is his preferred medium, and his choice of genres will be explored in the subseqent chapter. In this section of the present study, however, attention will be focused primarily on points of comparison between *RE* and Hoffmann's translated *contes*.

Like so many of the *EJ* discussed in chapter 1, the backdrop of *RE* from its outset is clearly removed from the reader's *milieu*. As in *RI*, Flaubert chooses the 'northern', Romantic isolation of Germany as a location for the castle, identifying its situation simply as 'un village d'Allemagne, loin du séjour des hommes' (p.216). The lack of human protagonists in *RE* is complemented by personification of the physical environment, enhancing the tale's supernatural qualities. As one might expect of a 'dream', the action takes place at night, although there is no hint of nocturnal peace or moonlit serenity in the natural world: we are told that 'la terre dormait d'un sommeil léthargique' (p.211), and only a small number of cold-blooded creatures with sinister associations (such as lizards), are active. Flaubert also pays uncharacteristically close attention to the inhospitable weather, which evokes a similar sense of bleakness to that associated with Germany in *De l'Allemagne*.[117] The overwhelming description of climatic conditions reaches a peak when 'une pluie abondante obscurcissait la lumière douteuse de la lune, sur laquelle roulaient, roulaient et roulaient encore les nuages gris' (p.211), with Flaubert's use of 'encore' emphasising the laborious accumulation of 'dark', and almost clichéd, Romantic imagery in the preceding paragraph. Such details enhance the tale's nightmarish quality and infernal undercurrents: Gans summarises this rather vaguely as a 'Hoffmannesque rural atmosphere',[118] without exploring further this overt link to the German. The Gothic, windswept isolation of the castle is evocative of medieval times, in a manner comparable with Tieck's *Der blonde Eckbert*,[119] while its caretaker is described simply as 'un vieillard aussi décrépit que le château' (p.216), suggesting both temporal and geographical distance from the reader's 'normality'.

While isolated ruins abound in Hoffmann's tales, anthropomorphism of an historic building is particularly comparable with the tales translated as 'Un cœur de pierre', the fortress which is described as being 'pareil à un géant qui vous regarde à travers le sombre

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[117] In *De l'Allemagne*, Staël suggests that geography and temperament predispose German authors to the evocation of evil spirits: 'la croyance aux mauvais esprits se retrouve dans un grand nombre de poésies allemandes: la nature du nord s'accorde assez bien avec cette terreur', *De l'Allemagne*, pp.140–1.

[118] Gans, p.143.

[119] See note 97 in chapter 2 above.

feuillage des halliers',[120] and 'Le Majorat', described above.[121] A Hoffmannesque sense of malevolence amid the natural world is thus replicated here: in his appraisal of the elements in *RE*, Porter notes the absence of light and air, and observes that 'water is the kind which operates a sinister metamorphosis on even the most resistant materials'.[122] Perhaps the most memorable image involving water is a permanent presence on the castle walls: 'les murs du château étaient lézardés et couverts de mousse, il y avait à leur contact quelque chose d'humide et de gras, qui pressait sur la poitrine et qui faisait frissonner; on eût dit la trace gluante d'un reptile' (p.217). Repeated suggestions of the reptilian within this 'cold' environment lend the castle a menacing air, and support the notion of its existence partially beyond the human realm. Such imagery is undoubtedly central to the Gothic novel, and its cumulative effect within this relatively short narrative leads Annette Clamor to identify in *RE* 'das gesamte Inventar der im Kollektivimaginarium virulenten *gothic novels*'.[123] However, while Flaubert clearly uses particular aspects of the English Gothic tradition in setting the scene for *RE*, its focus on the supernatural within this environment is perhaps more indicative of the metaphysical interests of German Romanticism. The characters within the distant, German *milieu* possess a degree of *Unheimlichkeit* which goes beyond the more 'conventional' horror motifs (ruins, revenants and so on), associated with the Gothic.

Perhaps prefiguring some of the Goethean ideas which he would explore in *Smarh*, the protagonist of *RE* 'Le Duc Arthur d'Almaroës' embodies the Faustian problem of disparity between 'Schein' and 'Sein'. He possesses a title but enjoys no apparent social standing, while the narrator states that he is an alchemist, before adding 'ou du moins il passait pour tel' (p.212). The character of Arthur invites comparison with many of the titled but socially isolated figures in Hoffmann's tales, for example 'Le Baron Roderich de R***' in 'Le Majorat', of whom the narrator observes 'l'isolement du vieux manoir était bien plus conforme à son caractère sombre et mélancolique' and who is engaged in 'des travaux astrologiques' each night.[124] Using these parameters alone, it could be argued that despite his interests in the 'supernatural' (or at least the mystical associations of alchemy), Arthur is essentially little more than a Romantic hero akin to those presented elsewhere in

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[120] Hoffmann, 'Un cœur de pierre', in *Contes fantastiques*, III, 365.
[121] See note 99 in chapter 2 above.
[122] Porter, 'Mythic Imagery in Flaubert's *œuvres de jeunesse*', p.154.
[123] Annette Clamor, '*Rêve d'enfer* (1837) – Flauberts Märchen von der neuen Kunst(-produktion),' *Romanistische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, 28 (2004), 33–49 (p.37).
[124] Hoffmann, 'Le Majorat', in *Contes fantastiques*, II, 194.

Flaubert's *EJ*. However, while solitary characters such as M. Ohmlyn (*RI*) possess certain attributes of the 'reiner Tor' of Romantic literature, a sinister, vampiric air of *Unheimlichkeit* is associated with Arthur from the outset: the narrator describes him as 'lui dont les dents blanches exhalaient une odeur de chair humaine' (p.213). In many respects, therefore, Arthur could be seen as the antithesis of the 'reiner Tor'. His 'otherness' may give the impression of Romantic sentiments, but the reality is somewhat different: Sagnes claims, for example, that 'Almaroës est l'image en ce monde d'un ennuyé supérieur',[125] emphasising his detachment from humanity. Equally, this stance is confirmed by his Wertherian sense of confinement by existence and the narrator's observation that 'que de fois il contempla longtemps la gueule d'un pistolet, et puis, comme il le jetait avec rage, ne pouvant s'en servir, car il était condamné à vivre' (p.214): unlike the Flaubertian Romantic heroes explored in the previous chapter, therefore, his *in*humanity *prevents* his suicide.

The most striking feature of Arthur is unquestionably his lack of a soul, which renders him 'un automate qui pensait comme un homme' (p.212). The Romantic interest in automata is well documented: Hoffmann wrote a famous piece entitled 'Die Automate' (1827)[126] while Clamor explains that for Romantics, this type of 'creation' represents the 'uralte[r] Menschheitstraum der *Imitatio Dei*'.[127] Moreover, Flaubert's childhood fascination with Père Legrain's puppet shows might explain his particular attraction to this Romantic subject: while they are different from automata *per se*, the puppets have a similarly mechanistic operation and set of very fixed roles. While Flaubert's portrayal of Arthur's combination of automaton 'faultlessness' with the ability to think like a human has echoes of La Mettrie's concept of the perfected 'homme-machine', however, critics are quick to point out that for many contemporary thinkers, 'machines and automata did not mean something that functioned regularly and harmoniously, but something dull and deceptive, matter without soul'.[128] With his monstrous appearance and obvious aversion to human society – the narrator remarks that 'il était rétréci, usé, froissé par *nos* coutumes et par *nos* instincts' (p.214) [my emphases] – Arthur is clearly not as comfortable in the human world as La Mettrie might expect a 'perfected', thinking automaton to be. Perhaps

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[125] Sagnes, 'Notice: *RE*', p.1279.
[126] E.T.A. Hoffmann, 'Die Automate', in *Poetische Werke*, 12 vols (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1993), VI, 81–113 (p.104). Written in 1827, this was translated as 'Les Automates', in *Les Contes des frères Sérapion*, trans. by E. de la Bédollière (Paris: G. Barba, [n. d.]).
[127] Clamor, p.42.
[128] Liselotte Sauer, 'Romantic Automata', in *European Romanticism: Literary Cross-Currents, Modes and Models*, ed. by Gerhart Hoffmeister (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), pp.287–306 (p.288).

because Arthur belongs to the supernatural sphere, he does not fear the advances made by Satan: his declaration that 'je suis ton égal et peut-être ton maître' (p.221) echoes Faust's claim to the Devil that 'ich bin's, bin Faust, bin deinesgleichen'.[129] Arthur's repetition of the name 'Satan' and his use of the familiar form of address suggests much less distance than that between the Devil and Smarh, indeed the two 'adversaries' in *RE* are described simply as 'ces deux monstres de la création' (p.234). The 'dehumanised' character of Arthur, combined with a somewhat 'humanised' Devil, therefore introduces a supernatural degree of complexity to Flaubert's presentation of the struggle between apparent 'good' and 'evil'.

While Arthur lacks the naïve 'goodness' which characterises Romantic heroes or 'reiner Tor' figures elsewhere in Flaubert's *EJ*, Satan also appears deficient in some of the evil power with which he is conventionally associated. In a further image with Faustian resonance, his first appearance is in part-canine form – he has 'une tête de chien' (p.219) – yet lacks the body required to be a convincing dog like the sinister, black 'poodle' in *Faust*. While Arthur strides ahead in the storm, Satan 'hurlait plaintivement' (p.221), and is quick to admit his limitations, for example when he concedes that 'je n'ai de pouvoir que sur des âmes' (p.223). Therefore, while Arthur may be seen as an automaton who struggles to satisfy the expectations of the human world because of his supernatural qualities, Satan has difficulty fulfilling his role in the supernatural world owing to peculiarly 'human' weaknesses. Flaubert's presentation of Satan in *RE* is comparable with the weak, pathetic Devil who appears in a tattered, misshapen cloak at the start of Hoffmann's *Die Elixiere des Teufels*. Like Hoffmann's Devil in the latter work, Flaubert's Satan requires assistance from the human world in order to enhance his power, although his erroneous judgement about Arthur's possession of a soul undercuts any sense of supreme evil power. Clamor summarises this early incarnation of an uncertain, blundering Devil in Flaubert's *EJ* as follows:

> Der Satan des *RE* ist also eher eine resignative Figur, von einer „révolte" im Sinne Baudelaires noch ebenso weit entfernt wie von jenem Triumph des Lachens, jener anti-diskursiven „satire mordante et universelle", die als Allegorie erst 1839, im Mysterienspiel *Smarh*, Eingang ins Flaubertsche Frühwerk finden wird.[130]

The importance of *RE* as a measure of Flaubert's early metaphysical outlook should not, therefore, be underestimated. While the Devil (and the negative, 'dark' values which he

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[129] *Faust*, l.500.
[130] Clamor, p.35.

embodies), certainly become more distinct in *Smarh* and *La Tentation*, here Flaubert views the diabolic as a necessary part of human existence, and Satan is 'de-diabolised' accordingly. While there is obvious Flaubertian irony in an 'undevilish Devil', Gans claims that this portrayal of the diabolic has a broader role than this: 'Satan controls the soul (*âme*), which in Flaubert's terminology is simply the seat of worldly desires'.[131] For example, Satan is able to identify Arthur's *ennui* and rather than tempting him with abstract promises of knowledge (as in *Faust*), offers him worldly pleasures in return for Arthur's soul. Moreover, Satan possesses neither the cunning nor sophistication of the diabolic figure in *Faust*, although he does enjoy a degree of rhetorical skill: when talking to Julietta for example, his voice is described 'd'un son régulier comme un orgue' (p.228). Such use of ecclesiastical imagery summarises the almost imperceptible distinction between the Church and the Satanic as abstract forces within the human sphere in *RE*. By the same token, the similarities between Arthur and Satan invite the reader to question which figure is in fact the more diabolic: after all, the former inhabits a room whose 'plafond noirci par la fumée du charbon' (p.218), invites comparison with popular concepts of Hell, while the latter appears as a free 'spirit', whose feebleness might render him effective only within the supernatural world. The tendency to present such incarnations of 'evil' protagonists is perhaps the element of *RE* most reminiscent of characters in Hoffmann's work (the Archivist Lindhorst in *Der goldne Topf*, for example, possesses an uncanny ability to metamorphose into a salamander), and constitutes the essential *Unheimlichkeit* of *RE*, which makes the tale all the more terrifying.

Amid the supernatural and ostensibly evil figures of Arthur and Satan, the character of Julietta is conspicuous within *RE* for her 'human' (and specifically childlike), qualities, possessing all the Romantic innocence and sensitivity which Arthur lacks. Between them, Satan and Arthur contribute to her downfall and cement the notion that such apparent purity of spirit cannot be preserved in Flaubert's world view, and that a Manichean combination of good and evil must be present in all humans. Her attributes of innocence and vulnerability invite the comparison of Julietta with the Faustian Gretchen figure, although Julietta's role in *RE* is less directly connected to the downfall of the main protagonist. The motif of an 'innocent' young girl being corrupted by the supernatural may also be found in many of Hoffmann's tales: for example in 'La Vision', Adelgonde is

[131] Gans, p.145.

described as being previously 'la plus belle et la plus joyeuse enfant qu'on pût voir',[132] but on her fourteenth birthday begins 'dans la magique crépuscule toutes sortes de danses bizarres, en cherchant à représenter les sylphes agiles et les esprits follets'.[133] Moreover, Flaubert's choice of name has strong resonance of 'Giulietta' in Hoffmann's 'Les Aventures de la nuit de saint-Sylvestre', whose beauty is compared to that of a 'vierge de Rubens',[134] yet whose *Unheimlichkeit* includes not showing up in mirrors and theft of her lover's shadow. Julietta's naïvety is presented in contrast to the unexplained events which ultimately lead to her madness, from her vision of 'une vingtaine de petites flammes' (p.225) prior to Satan's appearance, to the transformation of her pail of cow's milk to blood. Gans claims that 'this type of naïve, "natural" supernatural, so characteristic of Hoffmann, is never found elsewhere in Flaubert's work',[135] suggesting Flaubert's imitation of a particular brand of German Romanticism at this point in his career. However, although such overt supernatural *Unheimlichkeit* might represent simply Flaubert's creative imitation of the work of authors such as Hoffmann, Nodier and Eugène Sue, and the strong blacks, reds and whites may be replicated from the Gothic tradition, their implications of inescapable corruption echo throughout his *œuvre*.[136] It could even be argued that Julietta's soul renders her vulnerable to the cynical power of the 'soul-less': such victims of powerful worldly figures are found throughout Flaubert's mature work.

The reader is left in little doubt that Satan is responsible for Julietta's downfall – the narrator remarks that 'c'était bien un amour inspiré par l'enfer [...] une passion satanique, toute convulsive, toute forcée' (p.232). The repetition of 'toute' emphasises the all-pervasive power which Satan holds over her and, like Adelgonde in Hoffmann's 'La Vision', she appears powerless to escape her predicament, echoing the importance of determinism in the Manichean world view. As though to cement this image in the reader's conscience, the single paragraph which constitutes Chapter VII begins 'elle courut comme une folle vers les falaises' and ends with the simple observation that 'Satan l'avait emportée' (p.232). Julietta's insanity and resulting ostracisation is, of course, similar to

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[132] Hoffmann, 'La Vision', in *Contes fantastiques*, II, 414.

[133] Ibid. Much critical attention has been devoted to the onset of hysteria among young women: see, for example, Jann Matlock, *Scenes of Seduction. Prostitution, Hysteria and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994). For a more recent survey, see Rebecca Munford, 'Re-visioning the Gothic: A Comparative Reading of Angela Carter and Pierrette Fleutiaux' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2003).

[134] Hoffmann, 'Les Aventures de la nuit de saint-Sylvestre', in *Contes fantastiques*, III, 34.

[135] Gans, p.143.

[136] Julietta's ultimate state of madness and hair turning grey overnight are repeated in the destiny of Marie Arnoux (*L'Éducation sentimentale*), for example.

that of Gretchen in *Faust*: like Gretchen, she is uneasy in Satan's company from the outset, although both characters appear unable to resist him – she attempts to leave 'l'étranger', while Gretchen even admits that 'hab' ich vor dem Menschen ein heimlich Grauen'.[137] Alongside their readers, these helpless female protagonists experience what Castex calls

> ces visions, nées dans le brouillard de la conscience, [qui] demeurent à mi-chemin entre le cauchemar du dormeur qui associe des formes vaines et le rêve éveillé de l'halluciné qui déforme une réalité sensible.[138]

The 'deformation' of sensory reality is arguably the principal effect of *Unheimlichkeit*, therefore *RE* furthers Flaubert's imitation of German Romantic portrayals of madness, as discussed in the previous chapter, albeit with supernatural rather than 'human' causes.

Although *RE* may be considered an interface between the human and the spirit world, therefore, its metaphysical implications are clearly much broader than this. As in *Smarh*, Satan is shown to encounter negligible Divine opposition. Porter asserts that 'such an *inactualité religieuse* amounts to the same thing as the death of God',[139] although just as the Devil appears as a 'de-diabolised' character, this analysis does not account for the possibility of a similarly 'de-deified' God figure. While the death of God is a concept often associated with later German thinkers (specifically Nietzsche), a complete absence of God is perhaps too extreme for Flaubert's work. Rather, the notion of a waning Divinity is also present in *Faust*,[140] and the dangers of believing only in phenomena which could be rationalised by science were a clear concern of the German Romantics.[141] Flaubert's position is therefore perhaps closer to advocacy of Kantian arguments for the necessity of uncertainty (as opposed to unquestioning religious faith). Rather than being at odds with the determinist principles associated with Manicheanism, such 'uncertainty' should be understood as a requirement for some phenomena to remain unexplained: for example, Flaubert's narrator states simply that 'le lendemain, quand le concierge fit sa tournée dans les corridors, il trouva que les dalles étaient dérangées et usées toutes, de place en place [...] Le brave homme en devint fou' (p.235). Instead of offering an explanation for such *Unheimlichkeit*, the narrator is content simply to report the human perception of events. Furthermore, the narrator himself is prepared to concede a lack of omniscience, the effect

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[137] *Faust*, l.3480.
[138] Castex, p.74.
[139] Porter, 'Mythic Imagery in Flaubert's *œuvres de jeunesse*', p.150.
[140] See note 7 above.
[141] See, for example, the Grimms' assertion that they wish to capture 'die ungetrübte Phantasie' before such rich mysteries become excluded by scientific progress. 'Vorrede', in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, p.22.

of which is to render his assertions more convincing – for example, he states that 'je ne sais si c'est un songe, mais Arthur lui apparut' (p.237). A sense of resigned (even dreamlike) reporting of extraordinary events by a non-omniscient narrator is a feature of many of Hoffmann's works: chapter headings in his tales such as 'Comme quoi Terpin voulait sortir à cheval sur un papillon'[142] have not only a comic effect, but also 'lull' the reader into acceptance of the irrational. The limitations of rational human understanding and human vulnerability in the face of *Unheimlichkeit* are thus narrated in a similar manner to the protagonist's realisation of the infinite in *Smarh*.

Ultimately, the way in which the 'voices' of heaven and earth reach a form of consensus at the end of *RE* summarises Flaubert's pessimistic and more pragmatic world view. As elsewhere in his *EJ*, the distinction between these two opposing forces is shown to be limited, since they come to agree that 'il n'y aura plus d'autre monde' (p.239). Instead, 'life' continues unchanged, signalled by the laborious, unspecific observation that 'Et plusieurs siècles se passèrent' (p.238) and repetition of the earth's 'sommeil léthargique' (p.238). This anti-climactic ending, which would later characterise Flaubert's *œuvre*,[143] has resonance with the work of Hoffmann: the final line of 'Les Aventures de la nuit de saint Sylvestre', for example, reads simply 'mais cela n'eut pas de suite'.[144] Like an unending nightmare, Flaubert offers little reason for optimism or the possibility of earthly regeneration. Clamor's analysis of the final position of *RE* echoes this view:

> der Duc d'Almaroës [...] als letzter Versuch einer auf Perfektibilität ausgerichteten Produktionsform, wird sich aufgrund seiner Sterilität erschöpfen: [...] „la voix du ciel" verzichtet, offenbar angesichts des ernüchternden Resultats, auf eine Neuauflage.[145]

This further reinforces the deistic implications of *RE* outlined above, in which 'God' is reduced to a presence somewhere beyond the (at least) equally powerful forces of the diabolic and the world. Nominal or superficial religious belief is thus unlikely to help the individual in the face of such opposition, since it does not offer any certainty regarding an afterlife and provides little to combat the supernatural powers which are described in *RE*. Just as Flaubert's *EJ* may appear to promote the Romantic notion that the insights of the insane could be more revealing than those of supposedly rational characters, in this

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[142] This precedes chapter 8 of 'Petit Zacharie, surnommé Cinabre', in *Contes fantastiques*, III, 199.
[143] See, *inter alia*, *L'Éducation sentimentale*.
[144] Hoffmann, 'Les Aventures de la nuit de saint Sylvestre', in *Contes fantastiques*, III, 57.
[145] Clamor, p.48.

narrative he is advocating the importance of the human subconscious in appreciating phenomena which exist beyond the rational sphere.

RE has been considered by some critics to represent a hiatus in Flaubert's *EJ*: Gans argues, for example, that 'for the Romantic, the protagonist's career is always at least a possible road to an ideal disalienation. Because it unveils the falseness of this possibility, *RE* thus marks the end of the unproblematically Romantic stage of Flaubert's development'.[146] However, this neat assertion overlooks the ongoing creative imitation of German Romantic work which spans Flaubert *EJ*: using Gans's criteria alone, in fact, it could be argued that *none* of Flaubert's *EJ* are 'unproblematically Romantic'. *RE* may thus be better considered further evidence of Flaubert's attraction to the work of German Romantic writers for its Hoffmannesque exploration of *Unheimlichkeit*, the metaphysical implications of which represent only the beginnings of concepts to be developed further in Flaubert's later *œuvre*.[147] Previous studies have argued that ideas in *RE* prefigure those expressed in *La Tentation*: Annette Clamor claims that 'on peut y voir Arthur, le concept de l'imitation du modèle «régulier et parfait» face au principe «chimérique» de l'imagination non refrénée – probablement une première anticipation du fameux dialogue entre le sphinx et la chimère dans *La Tentation*'.[148] Again, however, such assertions ignore the all-pervasive air of *Unheimlichkeit* in *RE*: Arthur's Hoffmannesque qualities surely cannot be compatible with notions of regularity or perfection, in the same way as the tale's metaphysical implications are so clearly different from those of *La Tentation*. While Sagnes is quick to emphasise that '*RE* pourrait en effet, comme *Smarh*, porter, à tous les sens du mot, le titre de «mystère»',[149] his all-embracing 'in every sense' is somewhat misleading, since the narrative's metaphysical content clearly owes a debt to more than one genre.

While the work of German Romantic writers may be considered as a stimulus to Flaubert's aesthetic experimentation in all his *EJ*, those identified as 'écrits mystiques' appear to have particularly strong links to the German Romantic attraction to *Unheimlichkeit*. From the works considered in this chapter it appears that, like both the French and English languages, Flaubert discovers his inability to 'translate' these seductive notions of *Unheimlichkeit*, and can only work with them when writing his own pieces.

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[146] Gans, pp.155–6.
[147] In *Trois contes*, for example, the ambiguity of Félicité's perception of the Holy Spirit in the climax of *Un cœur simple* suggests the instability of the foundations upon which religious belief is based.
[148] Clamor, p.49.
[149] Sagnes, 'Notice: *RE*', p.1278.

Moreover, this clearly has implications for his metaphysical development, which are summarised by Bruneau as follows: 'Flaubert cherche, en philosophe, une forme d'éternité qui ne soit pas le néant, mais il est incapable de le trouver encore: Yuk, et surtout dans *Saint Antoine*, la matière, seront des réponses plus claires et plus cohérentes à cette question'.[150] Far from being an 'empty' exercise in the indulgence or replication of Romantic clichés, therefore, all three works considered in this chapter clearly occupy a significant place in the demonstration of Flaubert's early philosophical outlook. On a broader level, however, as well as embracing several genres, the 'écrits mystiques' evoke wider aesthetic debates: in *Smarh*, for example, the narrator's comments such as 'est-ce que le mot rend la pensée entière?' (p.597) could be seen to prefigure some of Flaubert's broader, enduring concerns. Unwin observes Flaubert's enduring struggle against the limits imposed by language, and his realisation that in order to express all possibilities, the page would have to remain blank.[151] By exploring the metaphysical in his *EJ*, he is imitating a German Romantic interest in the infinite. The literary forms chosen for these aesthetic and metaphysical explorations also constitute a creative imitation of German Romantic interests and ideas, and will be discussed in the subsequent chapter to complete this analysis of the *EJ*.

[150] Bruneau, p.200.
[151] See Unwin, *Art et infini*, p.50.

Chapter 4: Romantic Genres

Critical attempts to 'order' or classify Flaubert's *EJ* have resulted in several, sometimes imprecise categories, such as Bruneau's three 'cycles',[1] or Jonathan Culler's classification based on 'narrative strategies',[2] which invariably require qualification or lengthy elucidation. Despite their disparate content and generic attributes, however, the analysis in the preceding chapters has argued that Flaubert's *EJ* are linked by aesthetic features inspired by their author's reading of German Romantic work, including irony and its use to challenge 'conventional' Romantic tropes, layering of narrative viewpoints and endings in which life simply continues regardless of events. Critics have often glossed over such features as being generic indicators of Flaubert's taste for pastiche: Culler begins his consideration of *MF* with the somewhat bland assertion that 'the form is a familiar one',[3] while Perronne-Moisés claims that *QV* 'has always been seen by the critics as an adolescent's extravagance',[4] for example. Rather than viewing the *EJ* as mere pastiches of existing genres, this thesis contends that Flaubert's artistic imitation of German Romantic forms contributes to his own creative development, and begins to shape the distinctive style of his later novels: such *use* of 'pastiches et mélanges' indicates not only astonishing authorial maturity, but is also ostensibly Proustian *avant la lettre*.[5]

Flaubert's style has, of course, been the object of much critical consideration. In her recent essay on this subject, Alison Finch attributes certain stylistic features of Flaubert's prose to his reading of great authors: she suggests that his preference for plurals and abstract nouns is inspired by Racine, while his characteristic use of free indirect style owes a debt to Jane Austen.[6] It is somewhat surprising, however, that despite the frequency with which great authors such as Shakespeare and Goethe are mentioned in Flaubert's correspondence,[7] Finch does not refer to either in her analysis. Perhaps the inaccessibility of the German to many critics is responsible for the comparative neglect of the multiplicity of stylistic devices associated with German Romanticism which appear to 'translate' into

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[1] See note 83 in the introduction above.
[2] See Jonathan Culler, *Flaubert: The Uses of Uncertainty* (London: Paul Elek, 1974), p.35.
[3] Ibid, p.41.
[4] Perronne-Moisés, pp.140–1.
[5] See Marcel Proust, *Contre Saint-Beuve, précédé de Pastiches et mélanges et suivi de Essais et articles*, ed. by Pierre Clarac and Yves Sandre (Paris: Gallimard, 1971).
[6] See Alison Finch, 'The Stylistic Achievements of Flaubert's Fiction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Flaubert*, ed. by Timothy A. Unwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.145–64 (p.146).
[7] See note 11 in the introduction above.

Flaubert's prose. The few studies which do consider the Germanic concentrate largely on Goethe, as outlined in the introduction to the present study:[8] Giersberg's assertion that 'in Flauberts Texten werden divergente Ansichten Werthers und *Werthers* präsentiert'[9] is, for example, rather limiting. In the present chapter, therefore, attention will be turned to the way in which Flaubert's creative imitation of German Romantic genres might be responsible for many of the aesthetic features of the *EJ*, and how these features offer a coherent structure to the corpus. To do this, Flaubert's *EJ* will be considered in relation to three specifically German forms developed by German Romantic writers: the *Märchen*, the *Bildungsroman* and the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. These terms cannot be translated satisfactorily into French, so will be retained in the source language throughout the present study to allow Flaubert's early appreciation of them in the *EJ* to become more apparent. Flaubert's creative imitation of particular German Romantic tropes has so far been explored with regard to individual *EJ*. Attributes of several different German Romantic genres are, however, especially prominent in *Novembre* (1842): this narrative will therefore be used as a starting point for the consideration of the three forms – the *Märchen*, the *Bildungsroman* and the *Gesamtkunstwerk* – in other *EJ* in this chapter.

As a product of a Romantic context, and portraying both a Romantic mindscape and a Romantic metaphysical outlook, *Novembre* may be seen as the culmination of Flaubert's *EJ*.[10] Claudine Gothot-Mersch, among others, remarks on the sense of both progress and aesthetic experimentation conveyed in this early piece, observing that 'Flaubert a progressé dans son apprentissage. *Novembre* nous le montre par exemple en train d'exercer son imagination',[11] yet despite such overt indications of his intellectual development, Gothot-Mersch fails to link this to the *Bildungsroman* genre. While Flaubert's 'imagination' is perhaps guided by his experience of a variety of genres, whose differences from 'traditional' French prose may have been accentuated by translation, the result of such experimentation is a fragmented narrative. The 'mosaic-like' quality of the fragments that constitute *Novembre*, in which multiple, at times disparate, sub-plots, styles, devices and perspectives combine to form a coherent whole, is strongly suggestive of the Germanic notion of *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Comparison of *Novembre* with the similarly fragmented works *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1802) by Novalis and *Herzensergiessungen eines*

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[8] See note 19 in the introduction above.
[9] Giersberg, p.246.
[10] Flaubert subsequently acknowledged the significance of *Novembre* as a 'marker' of the end of his youth. See note 94 in the introduction above.
[11] Gothot-Mersch, 'Notice: *Novembre*', p.1489.

kunstliebenden Klosterbruders (1799) by Wackenroder, has eluded critical attention until now, despite both structural and aesthetic parallels between the texts. Beyond such structural parallels, similarities between the ostensible roles of *Novembre* and *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* also appear to have gone unnoticed: since Flaubert's narrative is completed towards the end of October 1842, the title *Novembre* could be understood as a literary 'prediction' of the month ahead, while the intrigue of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* takes place on 'Johannisnacht', when – according to Germanic folklore – individuals can see the future.

Perhaps the greatest aesthetic value of *Novembre*, however, lies in its exploration of the vocation of the artist. For Unwin, 'the narrative presents itself predominantly as a workshop on language, a text at one remove from text [...] whereas the 1845 *Éducation* ends as a reflection on art, *Novembre* begins as one'.[12] The concept of *Novembre* as an artistic 'workshop' in which Flaubert experiments with different forms in order to approach the 'true' nature of art is a persuasive one, and his decision to present such attempts within the context of a single narrative (rather than several separate pieces exemplifying particular genres), is seemingly influenced by his awareness of German Romantic work, and the 'Bildung' of the artist. Since style would become a defining preoccupation of Flaubert's aesthetic,[13] examination of this 'workshop' and its early experimentation with various stylistic and generic features, provides a useful means by which to appraise Flaubert's artistic values, as well as to bring coherence to the otherwise disparate corpus of the *EJ*. Working from the shorter *Märchen* form, through the *Bildungsroman* to the broader concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the present chapter seeks to demonstrate that Flaubert's creative imitation of Romantic genres constitutes a significant element of his creative development, rather than representing mere pastiche, as has been suggested by previous studies.

The *Märchen*

Commonly associated with the Grimms and folklore in a German Romantic context, the *Märchen* is usually seen as the Germanic equivalent of the fairytale, whose 'basic structural features include a simple plot of mythic or moral import, with archetypal figures,

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[12] Timothy Unwin, '*Novembre* and the Paradox of the New in Flaubert's Early Work', in *New Approaches in Flaubert Studies*, pp.32–48 (p.42).

[13] From his earliest correspondence, Flaubert is at pains to produce a pleasing style: for example, he claims that 'le style, qui est une chose que je prends à cœur, m'agite les nerfs horriblement' (*Correspondance*, I, 475).

set in an unspecified time and place [...] a fairytale in the wider sense, containing a supernatural element'.[14] The *Märchen*'s apparent simplicity echoes that of the *conte*, a consciously 'unreal' genre which seeks 'délibérément à détruire l'illusion réaliste'.[15] While *Märchen* often take place in plausible settings, however, *contes* are more overtly fictitious, with the 'conteur' only offering details which are relevant to the storyline, and tend to culminate in a neat triumph of good over evil. Of course, within both these broad, 'national' genres, sub-categories exist which clearly offer greater creative potential for the expression of particular ideas: the *conte philosophique*, for example, with its 'style direct, clair et volontiers ironique, [son] audace irrespectueuse, [sa] signification symbolique',[16] is associated almost inextricably with French literature of the Enlightenment and authors such as Voltaire. Many of the apparently 'French' attributes of the *conte philosophique* may, however, also be observed in the equally adaptable *Märchen* tradition: a similarly 'conscious' use of irony, for example, in which protagonists pass direct comment on the action, is the basis for Tieck's dramatic interpretation of the *Märchen* genre, or 'Märchenstück' entitled *Der gestiefelte Kater*. Furthermore, the supernatural element of the *Märchen* need not involve the 'good fairies' of traditional folk tales or Perraultian *contes de fées*: Hoffmann's *Der goldne Topf*, for example, is subtitled 'Märchen aus der neuen Zeit', and its contemporary qualities (discussed in chapter 3 above), render it an example of the *Wirklichkeitsmärchen* form, despite the 'dark' supernatural forces which clearly exist beyond the rational sphere. Flaubert may therefore have perceived the *Märchen* form as an opportunity to combine the 'real' and the fantastic, compared to the more restrictive parameters of the *conte*.

While none of Flaubert's *EJ* might immediately be associated with the brief, often 'one-dimensional' genre of the *conte* (*de fées*), therefore, many specifically bear hallmarks of the Germanic *Märchen* form. Jack Zipes identifies two principal categories in this broader definition of the fairytale: while 'classical' fairytales conform to the beliefs and ideals of society (or in Flaubertian terms, social 'idées reçues'), 'innovative' fairytales resist cliché by provoking ideas which are not received.[17] In this respect, perhaps, episodes of

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[14] 'Märchen', in *The Oxford Companion to German Literature*, ed. by Mary Garland, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.557.

[15] For further discussion of the 'conte', see *Modern French Short Fiction*, ed. by Johnnie Gratton and Brigitte Le Juez (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p.14.

[16] Laurent Versini, *Littérature française. Le XVIII^e siècle* (Nantes: Presses universitaires de Nantes, 1988), p.38.

[17] See Jack David Zipes, *Fairy Tale as Myth – Myth as Fairy Tale* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984), p.3.

Novembre could be considered to represent the 'innovative fairytale': its hero undertakes a quest for love and worldly experience, while Marie, by the same token, possesses attributes of a Cinderella figure (albeit one whose Prince Charming ultimately disappoints). Marie's Romantic yearnings for 'un amant, un amant jeune et frais, qui m'aimât bien, qui ne pensât qu'à moi' (p.793) are perhaps more idealistic and 'worthy' of the fairytale genre than those of the narrator (who desires 'un amour dévorant qui fait peur' (p.783), for example), although from her actions it is clear that she possesses similarly 'realistic' potential to that of Emma Bovary. Unwin suggests that her 'fairytale' aspirations render Marie simply a 'depositaire de clichés risibles'.[18] Be that as it may, the 'simplified' natures of both Marie and the narrator, and the language which they use to express their emotions, have overtones of the 'partially realistic' fairytale, or *Wirklichkeitsmärchen*. John Ellis argues that 'the *Märchen* enables [authors] to create the same kind of symbolic fantasy which occurs in dreams, and it is therefore in its own way a powerful instrument of expression'.[19] The abstract, dreamlike nature of *Novembre* and its qualities of 'symbolic fantasy' thus appear to constitute at least a partial creative imitation of the *Märchen* tradition in its broader sense, with an underlying basis in reality akin to that of the *Wirklichkeitsmärchen*.

Hoffmannesque qualification of the basic *Märchen* form is found throughout Flaubert's *EJ*, perhaps most conspicuously in *RI*, which is subtitled 'conte malsain pour les nerfs sensibles', warning of its chillingly horrific content. In this tale, a simplistic, 'märchenhaft' form and protagonist are used to question received metaphysical ideas concerning the existence of a benevolent God: when describing M. Ohmlyn's predicament, the simplicity of 'il crut à Dieu, qu'il blasphémait tout à l'heure' (p.181) summarises succinctly the uncertain foundations upon which religious belief is based. Bowman argues that this distinctly Germanic presentation of metaphysical ideas is a defining feature of Flaubert's enduring aesthetic, when he argues that

> si Flaubert sape le syncrétisme religieux, c'est en tant qu'aspect d'un problème plus général et plus grave, sa mise en question de la théorie romantique des harmonies entre moi, mots, monde et transcendance; il y substitue une vision d'un chaos ironique.[20]

The 'chaos' which results from Flaubert's questioning, by means of irony, of Romantic theories concerning harmony between the individual and language, for example, is

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[18] Unwin, 'Mysticisme et langage', p.55.
[19] John M. Ellis, *Narration in the German Novelle. Theory and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p.80.
[20] Frank Bowman, 'Flaubert et le syncrétisme religieux', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* (1981), 621–36 (p.636).

presented more effectively by means of the impersonal narrative viewpoint associated with the *Märchen*. The implied presence and experience of the 'conteur' in the ostensible 'French equivalent' of this form restricts the narrative perspective. In this regard, the *Märchen* form offers Flaubert a greater degree of freedom, rather than restricting him to the single narrative viewpoint of a 'conteur'. As a result, detached and insincere statements throughout Flaubert's *EJ* (such as the narrator's exclamation 'encore la lune! [...] c'est le sine qua non de toute œuvre lugubre' (p.244) in *QV*), demonstrate the creative possibilities of the *Märchen* with regard to cliché, including Romantic cliché.

Central to the aesthetic of the *Märchen* is the role of nature. This reflects the wider importance of the natural world for German Romantics: in Wackenroder's *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, for example, nature and art are identified as 'zwei wunderbare Sprachen'.[21] In Tieck's *Der blonde Eckbert*, discussed above, 'nature is an active participant from beginning to end',[22] and the descriptions of the forest, the bird etc. lend the tale sufficient 'artistry' for it to be considered a *Kunstmärchen*.[23] Just as Marie's Romantic temperament in *Novembre* is demonstrated by her love of nature (she reminisces fondly about '*mon* ruisseau' (p.800) [emphasis added], for example), the narrative voice in *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* asserts that 'seit meiner frühen Jugend her [...] war mir die Natur immer das gründlichste und deutlichste Erklärungsbuch über sein Wesen und seine Eigenschaften'.[24] Echoing such suggestions of nature's direction of the artist, it could be argued that elements of *Novembre* are even inspired by natural phenomena, since in its opening line, the narrator declares that 'cette triste saison va bien aux souvenirs' (p.759). However, nature is also undeniably used in the exploitation of cliché, often as part of long, accumulated sentences such as 'rappelons-nous nos beaux jours [...] où le soleil brillait, où les oiseaux cachés chantaient après la pluie, les jours où nous nous sommes promenés dans le jardin; le sable des allées était mouillé, les corolles des roses étaient tombées dans les plates-bandes, l'air embaumait' (p.771). Such lengthy, almost laboured tableaux lack the sincerity of conventional Romantic works, and their frequency offers far more (hyperbolic) detail than would ordinarily be expected of the *Märchen*. However, when combined with

[21] See Heinrich Wilhelm Wackenroder, 'Von zwei wunderbaren Sprachen und deren geheimnisvoller Kraft', in *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, ed. by A. Gillies (London: Blackwell, 1948), pp.51–4.
[22] Atkinson, p.xiii.
[23] See note 100 in chapter 2 above.
[24] *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, p.52.

an imprecise timescale (the narrator begins time phrases simply with 'une fois', or 'un autre jour' (p.816)), the contribution of the environment to the overall 'Stimmungskunst' and somewhat unreal atmosphere has a similar effect to the place of nature in works such as *Der blonde Eckbert*. While Flaubert's treatment of natural phenomena is thus comparable with the grotesque 'pièces montées' of his later *œuvre*, such descriptions seem to contribute as much as the characterisation and style to the 'märchenhaft' attributes of *Novembre*.

Although certain elements of the *Märchen* are clearly evident in Flaubert's *EJ*, it appears that other, potentially conflicting (or 'anti-*Märchen*'), forms are also involved in their construction. In *Novembre* and elsewhere in the corpus of Flaubert's *EJ*, 'anti-fairytale endings' abound. Rather than a happy resolution in which good triumphs over evil, life invariably continues unhindered. As a result, scheming characters such as Arnould (*CNDS*) receive worldly recognition, while the rightful heir to a dukedom and his wise, protective tutor (Richard and Osmond) suffer. Such endings are echoed in the downfalls of characters ranging from 'monsters' (Djalioh, *QV*), to the mysterious death 'par la seule force de sa pensée' (p.831) of the narrator in *Novembre*. Other similarly unconventional representations of generic tropes are even more explicit – the way in which *RI* concludes with a 'Moralité (cynique)', for example, openly mocks the conventions of the fable. Perhaps such manipulation and negation of a variety of genres indicates simply an authorial attempt to find an artistic niche: Frank Hoffmann observes that 'der Vergleich ist also auch ein Ausleben des Sinnlichen auf stilistischer Ebene, ein lyrisches Ventil, das dem Künstler hilft, sein Leiden erträglicher zu gestalten'.[25] Creative imitation – rather than mere replication – of the work of German Romantic authors, therefore, offered Flaubert a means by which to express sentiments that did not fit neatly into the forms and genres offered by the literature of his *milieu*; this could be seen to echo the third-person narrator's assertion that his predecessor 'disait tout haut ce que l'on pense tout bas' (p.823). Moreover, the oral register fostered in *Novembre* (prior to the introduction of a third-person narrator), ostensibly offers the most direct insight into both Flaubert's early aesthetic principles and his emergent world view of all his *EJ*. Perhaps the apparent simplicity of the *Volksmärchen* form, and its proximity to representations of the *Volk*, render it the most 'helpful' Romantic genre in this regard: Zipes summarises that the 'allusions to the spoken word, and use of oral forms, serve to illustrate a fundamental tension [...] that is perhaps

[25] Frank Hoffmann, *Flaubert und der Vergleich* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), p.173.

most explicit in Flaubert's last, unfinished work'.[26] Such allusions to the repeated (re)discovery of cliché which characterises *Bouvard et Pécuchet* affirm the significance of *Novembre*, as well as Flaubert's other *EJ*, within his *œuvre*.

The *Bildungsroman*

Perhaps one of the most significant effects of Romantic, 'märchenhaft' irony in *Novembre* is the way in which the first-person narrator's repeated references to his past and present emotions are shown to be insincere. The introspective, Romantic despair of assertions such as 'dès le collège j'étais triste' (p.760) and 'je rêvais la douleur des poètes' (p.767) foster a similar atmosphere to that of Rousseau's *Confessions*, although 'petits détails' such as those mentioned above which suggest his 'true' – that is, trite – sentiments, undermine his emotionalism. The first-person narrator may assert that 'j'ai vécu en dehors de tout mouvement, de toute action, sans me remuer, ni pour la gloire, ni pour le plaisir, ni pour la science, ni pour l'argent' (p.760), implying that his motivations are superior to these pragmatic reasons for 'art'. However, his supposedly 'fresh' approach *does* bear hallmarks of (German) Romanticism, and attention will now be turned to the artistic and spiritual development of Flaubert's early characters.

Given the apparent hindsight with which the narrator in *Novembre* is able to view his life and its development, Flaubert's narrative owes much to the quintessentially German genre of the *Bildungsroman*. Throughout the narrative, a growing sense of experience (if not entirely 'progress') from the narrator's former, less worldly self is fostered by statements such as 'je fus bientôt pris du désir d'aimer' (p.764). Equally, the almost picaresque descriptions of the narrator's artistic and spiritual experiences following his encounter with Marie are similar to those found in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, which epitomises the *Bildungsroman* genre.[27] Like the first-person narrator in *Novembre*, Wilhelm Meister possesses a sense of (Romantic) artistic genius, although his 'education' centres on experience of the outer world and his attempts to establish a national theatre; in *Novembre*, meanwhile, the focus is predominantly on the inner world of the artist. While the narrator in *Novembre* may not have the benevolent support of the 'Turmgesellschaft' to assist him in realising his artistic potential, the lasting memory of his muse ('quelquefois

[26] Zipes, p.215.

[27] For a comprehensive overview of the *Bildungsroman* genre and the significance of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* within it, see Todd Kontje, *The German Bildungsroman: History of a National Genre* (Columbia: Camden House, 1993).

son souvenir me revient, si vif, si précis que tous les détails de sa figure m'apparaissent de nouveau' (p.790)), performs a similar function. In both narratives, the sense of formation or 'Bildung' provided by life experience, especially love and other extreme emotions, is essential to the plot. 'Bildung' of the artistic, 'inner' world also forms an important element of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*: only through experience does Heinrich come to realise the significance of the 'blaue Blume', for example. This specifically Germanic notion of spiritual progress is discussed at length in Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (1784–91): Todd Kontje summarises that 'for Herder [...] *Bildung* involves the development of innate genetic potential under the influence of a particular geographical or cultural setting'.[28]

Like that of so many of Flaubert's Romantic heroes, the experience or 'Bildung' of the narrator in *Novembre* occurs in isolation, amid an 'anti-Romantic' society: his own claim that 'je continuais ma route à travers les rues désertes' (p.767) would appear to support this. Rather than learn or develop as a result of his experience in the outer world in the manner of Wilhelm Meister, however, his 'Bildung' is the result of an emotional journey. Diamond argues that in *Novembre*, the essence of the narrator's experience lies in the 'movement from one extreme to another, from enthusiasm to despair, from spirituality to sensuality, from lyricism to irony, from idealism to materialism'.[29] Instead of culminating in a point of rest and artistic equilibrium (if such a state exists), these extremes of emotion result in the progressive *elimination* of the first-person narrator. Machteld Castelein even asserts that 'si le héros de *Novembre* est incapable d'assumer l'acte d'écrire, c'est précisement parce qu'il n'a jamais réussi à assumer sa vie'.[30] It could be argued, however, that this elimination of the 'je' narrator begins with his encounter with Marie: after lengthy Romantic speculations, his assertion that 'je n'avais plus rien à apprendre, rien à sentir, rien à désirer dans la vie' (p.791) marks a voluntary end to the protagonist's 'Bildung'. Robert Darby observes a turning point in *Novembre* which 'completes the process of objectification and de-realisation',[31] noting the abrupt way in which the narrator changes from a 'je' to a more distant 'il': such a change undermines the sincerity of the apparent memoir. Whereas heroes of the German *Bildungsroman* continue to progress in their

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[28] Ibid., p.2.
[29] Diamond, p.63.
[30] Machteld Castelein, '*Novembre* de Gustave Flaubert: Un récit funèbre', *Les Lettres romanes*, 40 (1986), 133–45 (p.145).
[31] Robert Darby, 'Flaubert and the Literary Absolute: The Emergence of a New Aesthetic in the Early Works' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2000), p.89.

intellectual journeys until the narrative's conclusion, the first-person narrator appears to cease his 'Bildung' mid-way through the narrative upon encountering a similarly artistic spirit. The 'Bildung' of Marie thus possesses an equal significance: on meeting the narrator, she undergoes the cathartic experience of telling her story, assuming the role of the conventional (male) Romantic hero, with dreams of the future and extremes of emotion. The (male) narrator's position, by contrast, is further undermined by his 'cold', objective response that 'je ne l'ai plus revue' (p.815). A similarly 'dark' ending, rich in Romantic irony, may be observed in *QV*: having experienced increasingly intense Romantic sentiments, Djalioh is overcome by the impenetrable bourgeois world which surrounds him.

An enduring theme of 'Bildung' therefore connects the otherwise disparate fragments of *Novembre* as much as it connects the *EJ*, demonstrating further evidence of Flaubert's *selective* creative imitation of German Romantic genres. It could also be argued that this notion of 'Bildung' lends *Novembre* qualities of the *Novelle*. While the narrative must fail Heyse's test of the *Novelle* owing to a lack of connection between its episodes,[32] it clearly possesses attributes of the *Novelle* form: Tieck and Heyse both agree on the need for a 'distinct turning point in the story' and a 'silhouette and distinctive symbol' in order for a work to be considered a *Novelle*.[33] If the narrator's encounter with Marie and subsequent objectification provides the turning point, then the concept of 'Bildung' of the artistic spirit may be seen as *Novembre*'s 'silhouette': its underlying theme is the development of a set of aesthetic principles. Perhaps in this regard, the narrative's purpose may be compared with that of *Das Erdbeben in Chili* (1810) by Heinrich von Kleist: Ellis suggests that 'the point of [this] story lies not in the meaning of the events themselves, but in the attempts made by the narrator and the characters to give them meaning'.[34] By the same token, the narrator in *Novembre* enumerates his forms of 'ennui' before asserting that 'c'est peut-être pour tout cela que je me suis cru poète' (p.775): the accumulation of his experiences and misanthropic sentiments leads him to recognition of his own artistic nature.

Within this predominantly artistic work, however, Flaubert repeatedly encounters the limitations imposed by language, and their seeming prevention of originality: Unwin observes in *Novembre* the 'recognition that language as degraded copy has its fascinations; but [that] the dominant note is one of defeat and despair, a failure to match up in language

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[32] For a succinct outline of characteristics of the *Novelle*, see Ellis, especially pp.3–4.
[33] See Ibid., p.4.
[34] Ibid., p.49.

to the vision of poetic splendour'.[35] The narrator's Romantic yearning is based on received ideas from books ('ces passions que j'aurais voulu avoir, je les étudiais dans les livres' (p.767)), and while he claims that the word 'maîtresse' is enough to induce 'de longues extases' (p.763), such sentiments could be seen as little more than Romantic clichés. Although certain segments of *Novembre* do appear to exhibit a degree of lyrical sincerity which transcends cliché – Unwin identifies a 'state akin to verbal ecstasy'[36] in which 'je me sentais le cœur grand, j'adorais quelque chose d'un étrange mouvement, j'aurais voulu m'absorber dans la lumière du soleil et me perdre dans cette immensité d'azur' (p.782), for example – many other passages contain an overriding sense of the hackneyed and the hollow. Whether debunking contemporary Oriental fantasies when the narrator longs for 'Inde! Inde surtout' (p.819), or mocking the Romantic tendency towards pathetic fallacy with exaggerated images (such as 'le pâle soleil d'hiver [...] est triste comme un souvenir heureux' (p.771)), *Novembre* suggests that language invariably provides a stumbling block, and that 'real', transcendental beauty may be found only in nature and art.

Beyond the (over-)use of certain Romantic motifs, the framing device of the 'manuscrit trouvé' also enjoyed popularity among Romantics on both sides of the Rhine. The motif of 'discovery' and subsequent comment on an intimate piece of writing has overtones of both German Romantic works (*Werther* / *Die Elixiere des Teufels*) and significant French counterparts (such as *Adolphe*). Far from being a stylistic novelty, therefore, the introduction of a narrator who claims that 'le manuscrit s'arrête ici' (p.821), constitutes replication of a well-worn Romantic formula. The ostensible lack of originality in the use of this genre constitutes an early indication of Flaubert approaching the notion of cliché, pre-empting the way in which he later seeks to ridicule any work which claims 'originality'.[37] Unwin observes that 'discovery of the new – a value which enters definitively into the collective artistic credo in the nineteenth century – is destined, by the very logic of its own belief-system, to be eclipsed in its turn by yet newer discoveries'.[38] Rather than represent the reader's insight into the thoughts of another, therefore, *Novembre* could be seen to adapt an established Romantic 'genre' in order to represent a greater variety of perspectives. Various 'sub-plots', such as Marie's story, are of course 'framed' within the 'manuscript', reinforcing the narrator's repeated attempts at discovering novelty

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[35] Unwin, '*Novembre* and the Paradox of the New', p.36.
[36] Ibid., p.39.
[37] See, for example, the entry 'Original' in the *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*: 'Rire de tout ce qui est original, le haïr, le bafouer, et l'exterminer si l'on peut' (p.544).
[38] Unwin, '*Novembre* and the Paradox of the New', p.34.

only to encounter cliché: for example, Marie's assertion that 'Dandys et rustauds, j'ai voulu voir si tous étaient de même' (p.807) echoes the sense of platitudinous 'ennui' which the narrator repeatedly experiences, and results in his ultimate admission that 'l'uniformité du plaisir me désespérait, et je courais à sa poursuite avec frénésie' (p.816).

However, while *Novembre* may imitate in part the 'stylistic perfection' which Flaubert perceived in Rousseau's *Confessions*,[39] Brombert observes that in *Novembre*, 'le contexte serait livresque dans la mesure où la confession est une fausse confession, qu'il s'agit de faire passer des motifs littéraires privilégiés tout en élaborant une stratégie parodique'.[40] Since the narrator in *Novembre* essentially narrates his own 'Bildung', however, structural comparisons with the confessional are perhaps inevitable, although the narrative does appear to offer the closest insight of any of the *EJ* into Flaubert's early aesthetic. Of course, first-person narration is a feature of many of the *EJ* (the mystery surrounding Ernest's letter to Mazza in which 'je ne sais ce qu'il y avait' (p.280) in *PV* represents a memorable example), nowhere else do the sentiments of an 'I-narrator' dominate a Flaubertian text to this extent. The narrator in *Novembre* asserts, for example, that 'vaguement je convoitais quelque chose de splendide que je n'aurais su formuler par aucun mot, ni préciser dans ma pensée sous aucune forme, mais dont j'avais néanmoins le désir positif, incessant' (p.761). Furthermore, as Unwin observes, the narrator's memoirs have an enduring relevance in the present, since 'l'idée que représente un souvenir, loin d'être une transposition statique du passé, devient un nouveau point de départ qui remet le passé en branle'.[41] The way in which recollections of the narrator's 'vie entière' (p.760) collude to form a stronger sense of identity in the present may be compared with Wackenroder's *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*. However, while the narrator of the latter is defined (and even strengthened) by his artistic spirit, Romantic sensibility is invariably a weakness for Flaubert's characters: Djalioh (*QV*), Rymbaud (*IM*) and Marguerite (*PS*) are all Romantic figures who come to grief while others prosper.

The self-appraising, confessional form assists the narrator's metaphysical development as well as his growing artistic awareness. The narrator's own questioning of its value ('à quoi bon écrire ceci?' (p.771)), conveys a sense that the narrative is an 'exercice de style',

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[39] From his earliest correspondence, Flaubert extols the virtues of the *Confessions*, 'cette œuvre admirable, c'est là la vraie école de style'. *Correspondance*, I, 475.
[40] Brombert, 'Usure et rupture', p.91.
[41] Unwin, 'Mysticisme et langage', p.50.

lacking the coherence or satisfactory resolution with which one might conventionally associate fiction. Brombert likens the progress and content of *Novembre* to those of the Seine: 'le chagrin, la désolation, la perte, la mort, le deuil – voilà en effet les associations permanentes [...] le fleuve coule ironiquement, cruel et indifférent aux souffrances humaines'.[42] Brombert's image of a river flowing 'ironically' encapsulates the growing sense of distancing and alienation of the narrative voice which Flaubert is attempting to convey. This summary of the overarching themes of *Novembre* acknowledges Flaubert's attraction to the 'dark' side of Romanticism in the *EJ* as a whole, as this thesis has argued throughout. The allure of death, described by the third-person narrator when he observes of his predecessor that 'il en sort et il y retourne, il ne fait qu'y songer tant qu'il vit' (p.777) is symptomatic of a particularly enduring, inescapable variety of melancholy, similar to that experienced by Werther. While the 'rational', third-person narrator attempts to link the protagonist's condition to his experience of art ('il s'est nourri de très mauvais auteurs' (p.822)), his first-person counterpart's ingrained sense of existential doubt ('est-ce moi maintenant?' (p.772)) perhaps more readily summarises Flaubert's selective mimicry (and ostensible mockery) of the Romantic temperament. In summary, therefore, while *Novembre* demonstrates attributes of both the *Bildungsroman* and the first-person confessional, as with comparisons involving the *Märchen*, Flaubert's *EJ* appear to constitute a selective creative imitation of German genres, from which he draws on only some stylistic and aesthetic forms in order to shape his own prose, the better to articulate his critique of French society.

The *Gesamtkunstkwerk*

The Germanic concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* is perhaps the broadest of the genres considered by the present study. Used to denote a 'work of art to which music, poetry, mime, painting (in décor) etc. all contribute',[43] it is often associated with the work of Richard Wagner. While Wagner may be among the first artists to use the term extensively, notions of a 'multi-sensory', encyclopaedic approach to art appear to span nineteenth-century German literature: Garland notes that 'Heinrich Mann affirmed in his autobiography that the true *Gesamtkunstwerk* is the nineteenth-century novel'.[44] This

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[42] Victor Brombert, 'De *Novembre* à *L'Education sentimentale*: Communication et voie publique', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 81 (1981), 561–72 (p.569).
[43] 'Gesamtkunstwerk', in *The Oxford Companion to German Literature*, p.278.
[44] Ibid.

broad, all-embracing form, while not a genre specifically associated with the Romantic movement to the same extent as the *Märchen*, inevitably translated into nineteenth-century European literature as a whole. While *Novembre* possesses a number of 'obvious' Romantic intertexts, including *Werther* and *Adolphe*, as well as a number of biographical aspects to which Bruneau alludes in his assertion that 'son héros, [est] à la fois lui-même et le représentant d'une génération',[45] it is also a mosaic of Romantic genres. Subtitled 'fragments de style quelconque', *Novembre* has a consciously disjointed quality from the outset, as though it seeks to differ from the more linear plots found elsewhere in Flaubert's *EJ*. 'Quelconque' is, of course, ambiguous, since it may indicate either a reluctance to adhere to pre-existing genres, or simply echo the negative self-appraisal found elsewhere in the *EJ* (for example at the end of *Smarh*). While many critics identify its fragmentary nature as a striking feature of the text – Gothot-Mersch draws attention to the repeated 'ruptures structurelles'[46] – the disjointed episodes here are distinct from the rhetorical stylistic exercise for their 'uncodified', less formal nature.[47] The resulting fragmented, multi-sensory text invites comparison with the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

An inability to classify *Novembre* neatly into any particular genre has prompted certain critics to argue for its strong resemblance to *Werther*: Giersberg claims that '*Novembre* kann von den Texten Flauberts als derjenige gelten, der – was sowohl den Inhalt als auch die Form betrifft – den *Leiden des jungen Werther* am ähnlichsten ist',[48] for example. While the first-person narrator possesses a similar tendency towards hyperbole to that of Werther (he claims that 'chaque minute de ma vie se trouve tout à coup separée de l'autre par un abîme' (p.772), for example), and conveys a conversational tone similar to that of Werther's correspondence (fostered by 'asides' such as 'avant d'aller plus loin, il faut que je vous raconte ceci' (p.779)), a lack of sincerity in *Novembre* divides the two protagonists. For the reasons explored in chapter 2 above, therefore, perhaps *MF* constitutes an equally, if not more, similar text to *Werther*: the narrator in *MF* does not, for example, qualify his emotions like his counterpart in *Novembre* (who claims that 'j'avais presque peur' (p.786)), nor does he use the doubting tone of 'il m'a semblé autrefois que j'avais du génie' (p.769). While both narratives clearly have points in common with Goethe's masterpiece, a more

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[45] Bruneau, p.329.
[46] Gothot-Mersch, 'Notice: *Novembre*', p.1492.
[47] *Novembre* marks a clear move away from the formal practices of the standard rhetoric textbook for schools, a revised edition of which was also published in 1842: Emile de Girardin, *De l'instruction publique* (Paris: Mairet et Fourer, 1842).
[48] Giersberg, p.27.

generic German tendency to combine literature and philosophy is at work here: the way in which the narrator of *Novembre* makes general statements by means of comment on his own 'action' / experiences (such as 'l'homme tourmenté remoue [...] comme si Dieu lui avait donné un esprit pour concevoir encore plus de maux qu'il n'en endure' (pp.817–8)), is perhaps more akin to the notion of 'Aus-der-Rolle-Fallen' (and its wider role in Romantic irony by undermining art from within), used extensively by Tieck in plays such as *Der gestiefelte Kater*, in which the actors leave their roles to offer the audience general maxims based on the preceding action.

Critics have suggested that the way in which the sincerity of *Novembre* is repeatedly debunked represents the beginnings of Flaubert's irony: Sherry Dranch even observes that 'c'est à partir de *Novembre* que l'auteur commence à employer, avec fréquence, le mot "ironie" lui-même'.[49] Since *Novembre* is so self-consciously literary, with explicit reference to the reader from the outset ('il y a un âge, vous le rappelez-vous, lecteur...' (p.765)), any willing suspension of disbelief is broken, and this offers Flaubert a greater range of authorial perspectives and expression. The inclusivity fostered by this type of direct address to the reader ('comme leurs regards nous pénètrent!' (p.766)), enables Flaubert to guide the response of his audience beyond the mere evocation of sympathy associated with first-person narrators in other 'manuscrits trouvés' such as *Adolphe*. Such notions of control over the artist's work are particularly evocative of German Romantic aesthetics: the deliberate use of irony in *Der gestiefelte Kater*, for example, illustrates neatly Tieck's belief that irony is 'die Kraft, die dem Dichter die Herrschaft über den Stoff erhält'.[50] In a manner comparable to the 'Zwischenakte' in *Der gestiefelte Kater*, 'conventional' Romantic sentiments are undermined by 'asides' from each of the narrators, for example the reference to 'la monotonie d'une rêverie douloureuse' (p.818) suggests boredom akin to that of Emma Bovary rather than the indulgent pleasures of dream and spiritual freedom usually associated with Romantic heroes. Unwin argues that 'la perspective de l'ironie est double: tout en dénonçant les illusions du personnage, elle s'en prend à elle-même et suggère la futilité de ses propres dénonciations'.[51] While irony is often associated with notions of undermining or 'destruction-from-within', like the German

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[49] Sherry Dranch, 'Flaubert. Portraits d'un ironiste', *Nineteenth Century French Studies*, 111–2 (1982), 106–16 (p.111).
[50] See Rudolf Anastasius Köpke, *Ludwig Tieck. Erinnerungen an dem Leben des Dichters nach dessen mündlichen und schriftlichen Mitheilungen*, 2 vols (Leipzig: [n. pub.], 1855), II, 239.
[51] Unwin, *Art et infini*, p.151.

Romantics Flaubert values its creative potential; its ability to offer alternative perspectives represents another means by which the artist can gain control over his subject.

Brombert thus suggests that the 'ironic and parodistic strategy that blurs genres' in *Novembre* is 'creatively deconstructive'.[52] In a similar way to that by which any artistic 'creation' or progress in *Der gestiefelte Kater* is undermined by the frequent appearance on stage of 'Der Dichter', and his invariably perplexing instructions to the cast, any Romantic aspirations of the first-person narrator in *Novembre* are destroyed by the trite and the commonplace. For example, following a lyrical passage in which the narrator claims 'l'humanité résonnait en moi avec tous ses échos' (p.776), the revelation that 'enfin la nuit arrivait et je me couchais' (p.776) makes the preceding Romantic sentiments appear artificial: given the importance of the night to the Romantic spirit, discussed in chapter 3 above, only a superficially Romantic protagonist could retire to bed with such immediacy. These notions of superficiality are reinforced by assertions such as 'je me forçais à aimer' (p.768): not only does *Novembre* appear to mark the beginnings of Flaubert's conscious use of irony, but also his increasing preference for 'le petit détail qui fait vrai' as a means by which to foster an ironic tone. Apparently minor details such as the narrator's professed love of the theatre being based on the 'bourdonnement des entr'actes, jusqu'aux couloirs' (p.763) provide a basis for the many 'superficially Romantic' temperaments portrayed in Flaubert's late *œuvre* such as Léon (*Madame Bovary*).[53]

Often connected to the preference for irony for which Flaubert would later become renowned,[54] theatrical or visual motifs are found throughout the *EJ*, and frequently oppose the reader's expectations in a similar manner to the notion of actors whose parts break the willing suspension of disbelief. The final scene of *DM*, for example, in which Satan exemplifies the cliché of a cloaked devil by enshrouding himself in bat wings, could be seen to represent the antithesis of fairytale metamorphoses (in which frogs turn into princes and so on). Such use of 'dramatic' elements and imagery within prose demonstrates not only Flaubert's appreciation of the principles behind the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, but also the possibilities which these ideas offer for stylistic experimentation within the *EJ*. As an ostensible exercise in style, therefore, *Novembre* could be seen to exemplify the Kantian

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[52] Victor Brombert, 'The Temptation of the Subject', in *The Hidden Reader. Balzac, Hugo, Baudelaire, Flaubert* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp.148–63 (p.153).

[53] For a comprehensive treatment of the relationship of Flaubert and his protagonists with the theatre, see Alan Raitt, *Flaubert et le théâtre* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1999).

[54] For a succinct overview of Flaubert's taste for irony, see Dranch.

principle of 'Zweckmässigkeit ohne Zweck':[55] Rose Egan asserts that 'what distinguishes a work of art from a work of fine art is purposiveness without a purpose'[56] – only works of art which possess no specific aim or ends are worthy of the Kantian designation 'schöne Kunst', and this is perhaps the inspiration for Flaubert's enduring desire to write 'un livre sur rien'.[57] While comparable aesthetic theories developed across Europe[58] in various forms, few French Romantic works possess the same disparate attributes or self-consciously artistic ambience of *Novembre*.

Although *Novembre* seeks to be a 'consciously' Romantic and artistic text, its nameless (and almost 'identity-less') protagonist distances himself from well-known or 'conventional' Romantic heroes, citing his own mediocrity: 'ce n'était point la douleur de René [...] je n'étais point chaste comme Werther ni débauché comme Don Juan; je n'étais, pour tout, ni assez pur ni assez fort' (p.770). However, like Novalis's Heinrich, he believes that cumulative experience of different aspects of life should ultimately open his soul to art: while Heinrich, like many German Romantic heroes, is attuned to 'Poesie',[59] Flaubert's narrator is also able to claim that 'l'art et la poésie semblaient ouvrir leurs horizons infinies' (p.768). Equally, Heinrich is 'von der Natur zum Dichter geboren',[60] while Flaubert's narrator also possesses an innate Romantic, poetic temperament which fosters his extremes of emotion and sensitivity to '[les] larmes les plus belles' (p.767) of the poets whose work he encounters. *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* states explicitly the almost spiritual importance of the poet's role: 'so erfüllt der Dichter das inwendige Heiligtum des Gemüts mit neuen, wunderbaren und gefälligen Gedanken'.[61]

The 'division' of *Novembre* between the narrator's sense of longing prior to meeting Marie, his experiences after the encounter and the narrative's conclusion by a third-person narrator, corresponds neatly with the 'Erwartung' (or expectation), 'Erfüllung' (or fulfilment), and the third-person conclusion of the tale (by Ludwig Tieck) in *Heinrich von*

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[55] For a useful introduction to this concept in relation to Flaubert's *œuvre*, see Culler, p.15.
[56] Rose Frances Egan, 'The Genesis of the Theory of "Art for Art's Sake" in Germany and in England', *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, 2 (1921), 5–61 (p.39).
[57] He first expresses this desire explicitly in a letter dated 3rd November 1851. See *Correspondance*, II, 31.
[58] One of the earliest uses of the phrase 'l'art pour l'art' is in an entry for 10 February 1804 in Constant's 'Journal intime', as described in Egan, pp.10–1. The exchange of artistic ideas through interpersonal contact and intellectual discussion was clearly a driving force behind the development of this movement and its 'transfer' from Germany to France. From Madame de Staël and the Coppet Circle to Constant's hosting of the Kantian propagandist Huber in 1797, personal contacts are the most likely cause of Constant's use of the phrase 'l'art pour l'art' in this instance.
[59] Anselmus, in Hoffmann's *Der goldne Topf*, also craves 'das Leben in der Poesie' (p.130), for example.
[60] Novalis, *Heinrich von Ofterdingen. Hymnen an die Nacht. Geistliche Lieder*, ed. by James Boyd (London: Blackwell, 1959), p.104.
[61] Ibid., p.45.

Ofterdingen, for example. Furthermore, in the final line of his conclusion, Tieck identifies the fragmentary nature of this incomplete work as an important artistic virtue, claiming:

> vielleicht rührt manchen Leser das Fragmentarische dieser Verse und Worte so wie mich, der nicht mit einer andächtigern Wehmut ein Stückchen von einem zertrümmerten Bilde des Raphael oder Corregio betrachten würde.[62]

Such praise for the painterly, high artistic qualities of the fragment (and its apparently timeless value), may have encouraged Flaubert's decision to structure his narrative in a similar manner to that of Novalis.[63] The conscious shift of perspective which occurs when a 'new', third-person narrator takes up the story offers a further wealth of insights into the role of the artist, and this enhances its all-embracing nature. By creatively imitating the 'unfinished manuscript' model of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, therefore, Flaubert is also able to present a more diverse range of fragments and perspectives than that which he uses elsewhere in his *EJ*. The process by which the narrator attributes meaning to events appears to decline from his initial reminiscence about 'ce qui naguère encore brûlait en vous' (p.759) before exploring moments of doubt ('est-ce moi maintenant?' (p.772)), and his ultimate 'disappearance' from the narrative, which pre-empts the conclusion by a third-person narrator. Interestingly, the third-person narrator suggests that 'son grand regret était de ne pas être peintre' (p.822), as though the expression of aesthetic principles via pictures appears less problematic to Flaubert than their expression in words.

An almost impressionistic, 'layering' effect of narrative viewpoints and registers occurs within *Novembre* and throughout the *EJ* as a whole, representing a mosaic of German Romantic tropes and Flaubert's growing aesthetic desire to depict the world from various points of view. In *PS*, for example, the reader gains a more detailed appreciation of the brutal, threatening atmosphere by perceiving events from the viewpoints of Marguerite, her children and the 'foule'. Equally, in *Novembre*, the reader is presented with several narrative voices and a number of 'sub-plots' (such as Marie's biographical episode), which combine to form a whole. This type of overtly 'mixed' narration is characteristic of Hoffmann: *Das Fräulein von Scuderi* is narrated partly by a third-person narrator, partly by Olivier and partly by Cardillac, for example, while *Die Elixiere des Teufels* combines, *inter alia*, the perspectives of Medardus and that of the girl who obsesses him. John Ellis observes that 'this persistent characteristic is an important part of what Hoffmann writes about: he is concerned with the clash of different mental worlds, and thus narrates from

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[62] Ibid., p.182.

[63] For further insights into Flaubert's relationship with visual art, see Adrianne Tooke, *Flaubert and the Pictorial Arts: From Image to Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

several points of view',[64] often using the 'erlebte Rede' technique. The shifting perspective and lack of omniscience on the part of any single narrator (despite his apparent certainty concerning some aspects of the protagonist's life, the third-person narrator states, for example, 'il pleurait, était-ce de froid ou de tristesse?' (p.830)), demonstrates a further means by which Flaubert is able to express his belief that no single perspective is the true one, as well as facilitating the impersonal authorial viewpoint which would later characterise his style. The abrupt changes of register (for example the way in which the narrator's lyrical musings end with the simple statement that 'Marie s'arrêta ici' (p.803)), may also be likened to the changes of register between fragments in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, in which prose is interspersed with verse.

Just as archetypes of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* genre may combine elements of prose, poetry and drama, they may also contain aspects of both science and art: such traits are evident in *Novembre*. Despite his consciousness of the apparent limitations posed by language, Flaubert appears keen to use *Novembre* in the artistic exploration of a number of 'scientific' principles of the time, akin to the 'fictional chemistry' presented in Goethe's *Die Wahlverwandschaften*. Daunais suggests that Goethe was among the last authors to live during a period when it was possible to understand 'everything', and that 'pour retenir cette minute en train de disparaître où le monde se voyait dans son entièreté, le romantisme recourt à des héros riches de dons, à des héros de la vocation rare, exceptionnellement aptes à capter cette immensité'.[65] By creating a narrator who exhibits both otherworldly, Romantic attributes ('avant Marie, mon ennui était quelque chose de beau, de grand...' (p.818)), yet whose acute philosophical reasoning leads him to claim that 'je me sentais bien le fils de Voltaire' (p.774), it could be argued that Flaubert is exploring inter-disciplinary, Goethean links between philosophy, chemistry and art. Platonic notions of the one and the many are evoked by the narrator's assertion that '*la* femme était partout' [emphasis added] (p.786), suggesting that in many ways, *Novembre* is used for both metaphysical *and* aesthetic representation. Furthermore, a scientific reading of the text could identify its sympathy with theories of 'race, milieu et moment', popularised by Taine during the subsequent decade.[66] *Novembre* may thus be considered a mosaic of different

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[64] Ellis, p.34.

[65] Daunais, *Frontière du roman*, p.116.

[66] For a detailed discussion of these theories, including allusions to the role of German Romantic thought in shaping the conception of each of the three elements of 'race, milieu et moment', see Sholom J. Kahn, *Scientific and Aesthetic Judgement. A Study in Taine's Critical Method* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953).

styles with different purposes, the effect of which is to create a sense of uncertainty for both the reader and the work's protagonist concerning the search for ultimate truth.

Given the fragmented, at times 'uncertain' nature of *Novembre*, it could be argued that Flaubert's experimentation culminates in the creation of an ambience rather than the development of a particular storyline, in a manner akin to many works of this era. The term 'Stimmungskunst' is frequently used in relation to German works such as Herder's *Journal meiner Reise im Jahre 1769* (published posthumously in 1846), in which the atmosphere created is as significant as the events described. While this work is sometimes cited for its similarities to Rousseau's *Rêveries du promeneur solitaire* (1782), the latter's focus on an individual mindset necessarily lacks the broader, journalistic sense of multiple images combining to produce an artistic mood. The ambience of *Novembre* is, however, distinctive for its bleakness, or 'dark' focus. Through the 'catalogue' of observations and experiences which form *Novembre*, the narrator seeks to articulate and escape the 'ennui' that is the root cause of his suffering: Melissa Blackman suggests that 'his misery grants him the notion that he is one of a select few with the capacity to comprehend and empathise with all of humanity's anguishes'.[67] As much as providing an opportunity for confessional catharsis, therefore, art offers the narrator (and Flaubert) a means by which to stand out from the 'foule'.

Despite its differences in content and style from preceding *EJ*, however, *Novembre* demonstrates an element of inescapable, Flaubertian reality, underlined by the 'petits détails' of Flaubert's prose: Edouard Maynial observes that 'en dépit du romantisme artificiel de la forme, tout, personnage, décor, péripéties, porte la marque de la réalité'.[68] In a manner comparable with the way in which his earlier pieces approach psychological and moral subject matter, Flaubert therefore approaches artistic principles through this consciously artificial narrative. While 'equivalent' German Romantic works such as *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* seek to express transcendental notions (as described by the assertion that 'die Liebe ist stumm, nur die Poesie kann für sie sprechen', for example[69]), Flaubert adopts many of their artistic principles, but – remarkably for a young author – remains firmly conscious of the limitations of language and the impossibility of genuine artistic originality. While *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* celebrates the 'goldenes Zeitalter' of a

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[67] Melissa Rowell Blackman, 'Elitist Differentiation. Melancholia as Identity in Flaubert's *Novembre* and Huysman's *A Rebours*', *Journal of European Studies*, 33 (2003), 255–61 (p.259).
[68] Edouard Maynial, *A la gloire de Flaubert* (Paris: Editions de la nouvelle revue critique, 1943), p.56.
[69] *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, p.124.

bygone era, however, the past in *Novembre* has a direct bearing on the present, communicated by the narrator's enduring melancholy and preconceived ideas about art. The role of Flaubert's 'literary past' and experiences of translated German Romantic texts is equally significant to his 'present': *Novembre* is not a creative imitation of one specific German intertext (Giersberg concludes that the narrator of *Novembre* may not actually *be* Werther, but he is another incarnation of the Werther figure,[70] for example), but in its demonstration of Flaubert's aesthetic, it does draw heavily on a fusion of German Romantic genres, stylistic devices and ideas. The biographical, fictional and realistic fragments which combine in *Novembre* therefore result in a tapestry, many threads of which are derived from German Romanticism (the protagonist's encounters with the metaphysical, extremes of emotion ranging from lassitude to passion), and the 'dark' sides of which will form a substantial part of the backdrop to Flaubert's later *œuvre*.

In summary, many of the artistic devices which combine to lend *Novembre* attributes of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* are of German Romantic origin. Pre-empting Flaubert's frequent quotation in correspondence of the Goethean maxim that 'tout dépend de la conception',[71] *Novembre* is focused at least as much on art (and the purpose of art) as on the story which it tells. Rather than replicate the intimate perspective afforded by the memoir or confessional like other French authors, however, Flaubert adopts and adapts quintessentially German forms to fit his purposes of careful imitation for social critique. This results, *inter alia*, in a more distanced, Goethean perspective: Norbert Wolf summarises that this

> läßt sich [...] demonstrieren, wie Goethe sein zunächst programmatisch entwickeltes, anti-emotionales stilistisches Objektivitätspostulat in der literarischen Praxis umsetzt und in welchem Ausmaß das für Flaubert und damit für eine ganze Traditionslinie der literarischen Moderne richtungsweisend war'.[72]

Goethe's influence therefore 'translates' far beyond creative imitation in the *EJ*, and combined with the ideas of other German aestheticians such as Tieck, finds an enduring place in Flaubert's aesthetic principles. *Novembre* may be viewed, therefore, as a mosaic of creatively imitated German Romantic genres, which crystallises Flaubert's early artistic experimentation in the *EJ* and form the basis of his later aesthetic, which would be

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[70] See Giersberg, p.40.

[71] This French translation of Goethe's maxim that 'bei jedem Kunstwerk, groß oder klein, bis ins Kleinste, kommt alles auf die *Conception* an', was published in an appendix to Baron von Carlowitz's translation of *Die Wahlverwandschaften* in 1840, and appears often in Flaubert's letters.

[72] Norbert Christian Wolf, 'Ästhetische Objektivität. Goethes und Flauberts Konzept des Stils', *Poetica – Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, 34 (2002), 125–69 (p.169).

manifested in his prose from *L'Éducation sentimentale* (1845) onwards. The extent to which his assertion in hindsight that 'si tu as bien écouté *Novembre*, tu as dû deviner peut-être mille choses *indisables* qui expliquent peut-être ce que je suis'[73] may be used to determine the value of the narrative as a 'true' representation of Flaubert's mindset in 1842 is perhaps a subject for a separate study, but it does affirm the role of *Novembre* in defining his aesthetic. While he would later 'verbalise' in his correspondence many of the stylistic traits found in *Novembre*,[74] this *EJ* and many of the ideas which it contains are worthy of greater critical attention than that which they have received to date: by creatively imitating existing genres, Flaubert finds his own voice. Flaubertian tropes familiar to those who study his mature *œuvre*, including Romantic irony, social critique in final scenes and 'petits détails qui font vrai', may be readily observed in germ in *Novembre*, and throughout the *EJ* as a whole. Lorenza Maranini-Balconi emphasises the importance of these attributes, claiming that '*Novembre* conserve sa valeur inestimable comme révélation du point de départ et du chemin parcouru par l'écrivain pour arriver à *Madame Bovary*'.[75]

Brombert perceives *Novembre* as a 'mini-anthology of Romantic commonplaces: feigned contempt for life, blending of cynicism and tenderness',[76] concluding that it is a 'catalogue of specific images, themes, even episodes that will reappear meaningfully in Flaubert's major novels'.[77] The present study contends that the 'darkness' of these commonplaces is due in no small part to his German Romantic tendencies and preferences. On a more practical level, however, *Novembre* may be perceived as a 'bank' of images which recur in Flaubert's later *œuvre*: the somewhat brutal description of the lovers' exchange of curls, in which 'elle [...] me coupa une mèche de cheveux' (p.797) is echoed in a similarly clichéd, hollow exchange between Frédéric and Madame Arnoux in *L'Éducation sentimentale* (1869), for example. The structure of *Novembre*, as well as particular images and ideas which it contains, both appear to have significance for Flaubert's mature work: phrases such as 'il y a des jours où l'on a vécu deux existences, la seconde n'est déjà plus que le souvenir de la première' (p.782), for example, have obvious resonance for readers familiar with *Madame Bovary* or *L'Éducation sentimentale.*

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[73] *Correspondance*, I, 410.
[74] Flaubert's many later assertions on the role of art in his correspondence include 'le style [est] à lui tout seul une manière absolue de voir les choses' (*Correspondance*, II, 346), and 'c'est une délicieuse chose d'écrire, de ne plus être soi, mais de circuler dans toute la création dont on parle' (*Correspondance*, III, 405).
[75] Lorenza Maranini-Balconi, '*Novembre* de Flaubert', *Les Amis de Flaubert*, 16 (1960), 12–25 (p.13).
[76] Brombert, 'Erosion and Discontinuity in Flaubert's *Novembre*', in *The Hidden Reader*, pp.113–20 (p.115).
[77] Ibid., p.116.

The 'universal' qualities of description achieved in certain fragments of *Novembre*, to which Castelein can only ascribe the German term 'l'*Einfühlung* romantique',[78] appear to provide Flaubert with a transcendent vision to which he will aspire in the future: Castelein claims that in these instances, 'le moi perd conscience de soi et semble participer à la vie universelle'.[79] *Novembre* therefore clearly represents a hiatus between Flaubert's early and maturing work, on the one hand as the culmination or 'patchwork' of the brief, generally experimental pieces of the *EJ*, and on the other as a 'tremplin' to his more complex, later novels. While *L'Éducation sentimentale* (1845) and *La Tentation de Saint Antoine* (1849) represent more concerted 'first attempts' at imitating specific genres (the *Bildungsroman* and the mystery play respectively), *Novembre* marks the end of an important stage in Flaubert's aesthetic formation, during which German Romanticism plays a significant and directional role. The influence of German Romantic genres and literary traditions thus extends far beyond Flaubert's *EJ*, and the process by which they were selectively and creatively imitated must surely be borne in mind when considering Flaubert's *œuvre* as a whole.

[78] Castelein, p.142.
[79] Ibid.

Conclusions

Surveying the *EJ*, Roger Bismut asserted that 'pour fragmentaires qu'ils soient, ces rapprochements font ressortir la solidarité, et comme une véritable intériorité génétique entre les écrits de jeunesse et les œuvres de maturité de Flaubert'.[1] The present study has shown that despite the need for 'new approaches' within Flaubert Studies,[2] such sentiments are as relevant today as they were twenty years ago. In addition to their value to genetic studies, and while Sartre prized their unrefined nature for his psychoanalytical purposes in *L'Idiot de la famille*, however, these early works clearly also contain much which can contribute to our understanding of Flaubert's aesthetic priorities. Beyond reasserting the significance of this corpus within Flaubert Studies, moreover, this thesis has also drawn attention to the importance of authorial juvenilia on a more general level: while many writers' early, often experimental pieces never reach the critical gaze, the publication of Flaubert's *EJ* permits readers and scholars an insight into the mechanics of his intellectual and aesthetic formation. Although previous studies and assertions such as that by Bismut have ostensibly promoted the 'confinement' of Flaubert's *EJ* to a level of usefulness suited to particular approaches to 'understanding' his later novels, this thesis has sought to argue for the maturity of Flaubert's aesthetic sensibility in these early pieces. As a result, both the periodisation and (implicit) valorisation in favour of the mature works which occur in many studies of Flaubert's *œuvre* are worthy of re-examination. Exemplifying this enduring critical standpoint, Laurence Porter, for example, argues that:

> the posthumous publication of the unfinished *Bouvard et Pécuchet* in the same year [as Du Camp published the first version of *La Tentation de Saint Antoine*] showed that Flaubert had reverted to his drably realistic mode [...] These two publishing events in 1881 seemed to reveal a complete trajectory of Flaubert's literary endeavours and thus created a durable image of an author torn between two opposite extremes.[3]

The apparent division between the poles of 'Romantic excess and Realistic restraint' which Porter perceives, however, clearly also features in Flaubert's *EJ*, so cannot represent opposite ends of a trajectory. Moreover, rather than argue for a division or development between Romantic and Realist 'phases', this thesis contends that Flaubert's position on this continuum simply owes a debt to his creative imitation of German Romantic literature.

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[1] Bismut, '«Quidquid volueris»: exercice de style? pastiche? ou réservoir d'images?', p.43.
[2] See note 6 in the introduction above.
[3] Laurence M. Porter, 'Critical Reception', in *A Gustave Flaubert Encyclopaedia*, pp.77–88 (p.79).

While earlier criticism has identified specific instances where characters and motifs from the *EJ* recur in Flaubert's later *œuvre* (for example the parallels between *Smarh* and *La Tentation de Saint Antoine*, described in chapter 3 above), it must not be forgotten that these early works also appear to form a more general aesthetic foundation for Flaubert's masterpieces. Germaine Mason argues, for example, that 'Homais est un caractère composite par excellence qui offre à l'analyse le problème le plus complexe car il est bien difficile, voire même impossible, tant l'art de Flaubert est subit, de découvrir tous les éléments d'origine différente qui ont contribué à la créer'.[4] While it may be neither possible, nor especially helpful, to identify each of the many elements which combine to form such composite characters, they clearly bear a striking resemblance to staid, pragmatic figures in the *EJ* such as Ernest (*PV*), who are themselves, to an extent, the results of creative imitation of German Romantic tropes (notably, in this example, the bourgeois philistines of Hoffmann's *œuvre*). Regarding the *way* in which such imitation is expressed, the conclusions of countless stylistic analyses of Flaubert's writing are summarised succinctly by Mary Orr in her observation of

> the slippery nature of Flaubert's aesthetics, whether as an absolute of objectivity and scalpel precision, a masterpiece of impersonality through his no less famous development of the narrative technique of *style indirect libre*, or as the epitome of undecidability as lauded in his deconstructive readings.[5]

These stylistic elements invite comparison with the dark, Germanic 'petit détail qui fait vrai', use of 'erlebte Rede' and ambiguous, Hoffmannesque endings. By means of close reading to uncover repeated instances of creative imitation of the German Romantic in Flaubert's *EJ*, therefore, this thesis has pinned at least some of Flaubert's notorious ambiguity on his experience and imitation of German Romantic literature.

The contribution to scholarship of this thesis therefore lies primarily in its exploration of a previously neglected corpus which underpins Flaubert's aesthetic, although its broader appraisal of intertextuality and the critical value placed on early writings exceeds the simple survey of German Romantic motifs that might be expected of a traditional influence study. Flaubert's use of particular stylistic devices, such as 'style indirect libre' or a 'dark' form of Romantic irony which undermines the text from within, for example, may be attributed to his creative imitation of a singularly Germanic form of Romanticism. While

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[4] Mason, p.114.

[5] Mary Orr, 'Flaubert's Cautionary Tales and the Art of the Absolute', in *From Goethe to Gide, Feminism, Aesthetics and the French and Germany Literary Canon, 1770–1936*, ed. by Mary Orr and Lesley Sharpe (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2005), pp.113–28 (p.113).

suggestions that such features are in germ in the *EJ* have been made by previous critics – Unwin notes that 'par une démarche d'auto-négation qui caractérisera également le style de maturité de Flaubert, l'ironie se retourne et affirme, par son impuissance même, la richesse de ce monde intérieur qui se laisse si difficilement cerner par le langage',[6] for example – this thesis contends that Flaubert's experience of German literature and ideas enabled him to express sentiments which imitation of the indigenous literature of his *milieu* would not, and lends his prose a number of distinctive characteristics. In this, he follows the comparative critical path that is the pivotal dynamic of Staël's *De l'Allemagne.*

Among the most distinguishing features of Flaubert's *EJ* is their conscious awareness of intertextuality and, as a result, their acceptance of unoriginality and cliché. A taste for cliché and stereotype characterises Flaubert's entire *œuvre*, and many of the overtly 'well-worn' features conventionally associated with Romanticism recur throughout his late works.[7] From the beginnings of his literary career, whether mocking the conventions of fables when offering a 'moralité' for the simple reason 'car à toutes choses il en faut' (*PF*, p.158), or observing that 'il n'y avait pas de sang dans le punch, comme il arrive dans les romans du dernier ordre' (*FdM*, p.633), Flaubert's narratives display an overt awareness of their place among other texts. Rather than simply repeat or mock the work of others, however, from his *EJ* onwards, Flaubert appears keen to *use* cliché to create, for example, grotesque 'pièces montées' which mock the received ideas of those around him.[8] By consciously piling together 'conventional' Romantic literary motifs and stereotypes, Flaubert renders them anti-stereotypical, and thus reveals the potential of creative imitation for aesthetic innovation. Since this tendency spans Flaubert's entire *œuvre*, it could be argued that such fondness for composite cliché unites the *Trois Contes* with the *EJ.* Furthermore, comparisons between these short narratives from either extremity of his literary career are also particularly rich regarding portrayals of death. In her analysis of the later works, Orr asks: 'Are the sublimely grotesque deaths of all three figures in the *Trois Contes* "prophetic" of a return to essential human values, to the value of life however mediocre or extraordinary outside the barbarism of institutional religion, law or government?'[9] This question could be posed, with equal relevance, with regard to many of

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[6] Unwin, 'Mysticisme et langage', p.60.

[7] For a comprehensive treatment of this important aspect of Flaubert's aesthetic, see *Stéréotypes et clichés: langue, discours, société*, ed. by Ruth Amossy and Anne Herschberg Pierrot (Paris: Armand Colin, 2006).

[8] For example, it could be argued that the characteristics of Djalioh (*QV*) are as much a grotesque representation of nineteenth-century received ideas as the memorably ridiculous cap worn by the young Charles Bovary (*Madame Bovary*).

[9] Orr, 'Flaubert's Cautionary Tales', pp.120–1.

the *EJ*. The 'clichéd' deaths of faithful servants amid bourgeois insensitivity (Félicité in *Un cœur simple* and Berthe in *RI*, for example), may be seen as one of many lines of aesthetic continuity within Flaubert's *œuvre*, rather than the 'aesthetic discontinuity' for which previous studies argue so strongly.[10]

Of course, the reproduction of cliché and imitation of any sort will inevitably raise questions concerning the originality of artistic output. Mary Orr asserts that

> whatever the epoch, plagiarism [...] shows up the knotty complexities of imitation's appropriations as legitimate and/or illegitimate, forgery and/or cleverly creative. The importance of the slash is illustrated in the creative but fake 'discoveries' of the early works of known writers, 'translations' from other heritages, pseudonymous works, or ghost writing as modern economic replication of the work of scribes.[11]

With reference to Flaubert's *EJ*, therefore, the present study has explored Orr's concept of 'creative but fake "discoveries"' in literature: Flaubert's awareness of the unoriginality of language, discussed further below, is never far away from his creative imitation of German Romantic precursors. German Romanticism offered a particularly strong direction to the 'consciously hackneyed' aspects of Flaubert's artistic output, with translation enriching rather than depleting the interplay between literary traditions. German Romantic irony struck a particular chord with Flaubert. Brombert observes that 'the young Gustave is hypnotised by words precisely because they appear to him as heavy with overuse':[12] overt ways of presenting this 'unoriginality', found in the work of German aestheticians such as Tieck, appear to have facilitated the articulation of Flaubert's sentiments, including his hatred of 'la bêtise humaine'. By manipulating the clichéd aspects of (French) Romanticism through the use of 'petits détails', multiple narrative perspectives, 'nostalgic cynicism' and so on, Flaubert is able to poke fun at the received ideas of his readers and literary contemporaries. This distinctive use of stereotypes and *idées reçues* (which, arguably, constitutes 'the clichéd view of the cliché') recurs throughout Flaubert's *œuvre*, leading the reader to realise their absurdity, rather than stating this opinion explicitly. The aesthetic impetus for such inter- and intra-textual mockery is derived, at least in part, from German Romanticism. On a broader level, the present study has therefore explored ways in which translation of texts (and the ideas and aesthetics behind them), ultimately leads to the enrichment of literature in the target language.

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[10] Nowhere is the argument for 'aesthetic discontinuity' more explicit than Marie Diamond's monograph, which uses these terms in its title.

[11] Orr, *Intertextuality*, p.124.

[12] Brombert, 'Erosion and Discontinuity', p.119.

There can be little doubt that the 'Romantic context' in which Flaubert began writing promoted his awareness of particular aspects of German Romanticism. While *Werther* was already well established in France by the early nineteenth century and had inspired many French 'equivalents',[13] Flaubert's adolescence coincided with the rising popularity of a darker, Hoffmannesque brand of Romanticism, which gave rise to vampirism and the 'genre frénétique'.[14] As a whole, however, through a combination of translations, treatises and reviews, the profile of German Romanticism was approaching its peak during the 1830s, and this clearly had an effect on Flaubert's literary interests. The power of translation, and specifically the inflections placed on the German by Madame de Staël, is clearly of crucial importance here and could constitute the sole focus of a further study. By concentrating more on the masterpieces of Goethe and Schiller than on less celebrated but equally 'Romantic' work, for example, it could be argued that Staël provided French readers with a slanted view of German Romanticism, with distinct political undertones.[15] By the same token, Flaubert's selective creative imitation could be seen to perform a similar function in its dissemination of German Romantic ideas to a wider audience, even though his intentions appear different from those of Staël. Emphasising the importance of 'intermediary' figures between the French and the German, Norbert Wolf notes that 'der Topos des „kalten" und „unerbittlichen" Goethe [...] wurde von beiden maßgeblichen Vermittlern deutscher Kultur – Madame de Staël und Heinrich Heine – nachdrücklich unterstrichen'.[16] This notion of cool objectivity encapsulates a singular and noteworthy perception of the German compared to the work of French authors – Staël suggests that 'on s'étonne de trouver de la froideur et même quelque chose de roide à l'auteur de *Werther*',[17] for example – with which Flaubert clearly found aesthetic empathy. With the help of Staël and Heine, the distanced authorial stance adopted by Goethe was thus perceived in France as one of the defining features of German Romanticism, and one for which Flaubert's own prose later became renowned. The 1830s therefore provided a context in which both Goethean *and* Hoffmannesque takes on German Romanticism contributed to the French literary climate: accordingly, Flaubert's initial encounters with Romanticism are different from those of his predecessors (such as Chateaubriand), or writers such as Maupassant, whose later arrival on the literary scene predisposed them more towards (psychological)

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[13] For a detailed survey of French 'Wertherian' narratives, see Stavan.
[14] See note 42 in the introduction above.
[15] See note 10 in the introduction above.
[16] Wolf, p.163.
[17] *De l'Allemagne*, p.50.

realism. In assessing the impact of this context on the young Flaubert, Bruneau concludes that 'les essais de jeunesse exprimaient un romantisme sincère et profond, mais d'imitation',[18] suggesting an almost synthetic, superficial replication of those aspects of his literary context with which Flaubert felt an affinity. The present study has, however, argued that Flaubert's Romanticism is closer to the German than the French. Moreover, the imitative aspects of Flaubert's German Romanticism form simply the *foundations* of his literary creation. Rather than marginalise notions of imitation as Bruneau appears to, therefore, it should be considered a vital component of Flaubert's enduring aesthetic.

Perhaps one of the most overtly German Romantic aspects of Flaubert's *EJ* lies in his depiction of the inner worlds or 'mindscapes' of his protagonists. While the present study has found direct correspondences between certain characters (such as Giacomo (*Bibliomanie*) and Cardillac (*Das Fräulein von Scuderi*), for example), and even certain texts (*MF* and *Werther*, among others), on a more generic level, the psychological interests of key German Romantic writers also appear to have had a far-reaching effect on the young Flaubert. Goethe's fascination with (male) madness, whether pre-empted by excessive emotionalism (like that of Werther), or an all-consuming desire for knowledge (as in *Faust*), is reflected in the ultimate insanity of many of Flaubert's protagonists (those of *MF* and *Smarh* respectively, in the case of this example). An all-pervasive 'darkness' overshadowing the mindscapes of Romantic individuals, and their tendency to look to suicide as a means of escape, may be no more readily associated with German Romantic heroes than their French counterparts, but the earthly fulfilment of the latters' dreams appears distinctly more achievable than those of the former: despite his melancholia, for example, Adolphe 'gets the girl', while Lotte remains an unattainable ideal for Werther. While Romantic heroes in both French and German literature possess a conscious sense of spiritual superiority to the 'foule' and resulting social isolation, Flaubert's Romantic protagonists invariably *suffer* at the hands of an indifferent, bourgeois society, rather than as a result of their inner sensibilities. Such suffering could be seen to reinforce their 'special' qualities: Brombert suggests that:

> a closer and closer bond is taking shape in Flaubert's mind between the idea of sainthood and the vocation of the artist – a bond that also implies the relation between the writer and the impenetrable monumentality of Bêtise, the sacralization of art based on the complete understanding of life's inadequacy, and the disconsolate awareness that neither art nor the artist will ever be up to the dream of the absolute.[19]

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[18] Bruneau, p.581.
[19] Brombert, *In Praise of Antiheroes*, p.53.

This bleak, insurmountable form of despair on the part of the Romantic individual, or 'Ichschmerz', is more closely allied to the inner suffering of German Romantic heroes than the more generically Romantic sense of spiritual longing, or 'Weltschmerz'. The notion of the Romantic spirit struggling *in* an indifferent society could be seen to indicate Flaubert's move away from concentration on the psychology of his heroes (a major factor in French Romanticism), and towards a focus on the aesthetic eduction of the artist (a key element of German Romanticism). While this latter position has obvious links to the esoteric concept of 'l'art pour l'art', it is perhaps summarised best as 'l'artiste pour l'artiste', demonstrating a further way in Flaubert's protagonists differ from the 'conventional' French Romantic hero and lean towards a more German Romantic, metaphysical mindset.

Inextricably linked to the tropes of German Romantic literature are the ideas of many German Romantic philosophers. Staël observes that 'la littérature, en Allemagne, est tellement empreinte de la philosophie dominante, que l'éloignement qu'on aurait pour l'une pourrait influer sur le jugement que l'on porterait sur l'autre'.[20] It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, to find that metaphysical fictional forms may be discerned throughout Flaubert's *EJ*, often taking precedence over the nationalistic, historical modes favoured by French Romantics. The 'vieux mystère' of *Smarh*, for example, concentrates primarily on the metaphysical in a manner comparable with Goethe's *Faust*, rather than prioritising the emotions or perceptions of the individual. While the present study has been unable to explore fully the significance of German philosophical systems within Flaubert's aesthetic, from the *EJ* onwards it is clear that, for example, the Kantian principle of no single perspective being the 'true' one (as described in *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*), 'translates' into the multiple narrative perspectives for which Flaubert's later *œuvre* is renowned.[21] Many of the stylistic features which characterise Flaubert's later *œuvre* would thus appear to have a basis in both the aesthetic and metaphysical ideas of German Romanticism. In her analysis of the mature works, for example, Orr states that 'objectivity, impersonality and undecidability encapsulate the art in Flaubert's narratives of showing rather than telling the reader what to think'.[22] Compared with the more prescriptive style of French Romanticism, this important element of Flaubert's narratives stems from a Germanic source. More generally, the Spinozist qualities of Flaubert's *EJ*

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[20] *De l'Allemagne*, pp.6–7.

[21] With this in mind, Flaubert's oft-cited assertion that 'c'est une délicieuse chose que d'écrire, que de ne plus être soi, mais de circuler dans toute la création dont on parle' (*Correspondance*, III, 405), may be understood to have Kantian overtones.

[22] Orr, 'Flaubert's Cautionary Tales', p.113.

demonstrate a receptiveness to ideas originating beyond the traditional French canon from an early stage in his career, and an especial affinity to those ideas developed in the academic environs of many key German Romantic thinkers. As a result, Flaubertian notions of Manicheanism and a universe in which God does not intervene to protect the interests of His people are distinct from the Roman Catholic associations of French Romanticism and the work of more conservative French authors such as Chateaubriand. Equally, Flaubert's representations of Satan and his relative power in tales such as *Smarh* have been shown in chapter 3 of the present study to bear a significant similarity to the characteristics of the Faustian Devil. In his recent study of Flaubert's mature *œuvre*, Andrew Cuthbert identifies a possible conflict in 'the rational and empirical propositions of the philosopher set against the aesthetic and imaginative explorations of the artist',[23] caused by Cartesian Enlightenment assumptions of 'a dichotomy between rational discourse on the one hand, and imagistic thinking on the other'.[24] The present thesis contends, however, that German Romantic literature does not encounter such conflicts to a significant extent (owing in part to its development *alongside* German 'Romantic' philosophy), and thus provides Flaubert with greater freedom and opportunity to express metaphysical ideas in his narratives by means of creative imitation. While the creative imitation of particular literary motifs may be relatively easy to trace by means of 'source-hunting', the more abstract transfer of ideas and philosophical concepts therefore also occurs across linguistic boundaries.

Given the increasingly close literary and ideological contacts between France and Germany as the nineteenth century progressed,[25] it is perhaps inevitable that Flaubert's creative imitation of German Romantic literature would extend to generic and stylistic forms. His choice of particular genres as vehicles through which to express specific ideas in the *EJ* shows not only Flaubert's awareness of a broad range of German Romantic forms, but also his tendency towards selective creative imitation to suit his requirements. The present study has shown that rather than imitate *every* aspect of quintessentially German genres such as the *Märchen* or the *Bildungsroman*, for example, Flaubert is

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[23] Cuthbert, p.188.

[24] Paul Avis, *God and the Creative Imagination: Metaphor, Symbol and Myth in Religion and Theology* (London: Routledge, 1999), p.22.

[25] Lilian Furst, for example, observes that 'between c.1830 and 1870 [...] the French had at their disposal many more sources of information about Germany than in the opening decades of the century. The multitude of travellers' reports, the journals, the translations, the vogue for German philosophy and science: all these indicate that admiration for Germany had well and truly ousted the earlier contempt of the "civilised" French for their "barbarian" neighbours'. Furst, *Counterparts*, p.120.

selective in reproducing those elements with which he finds aesthetic empathy, because they form only the basis of his artistic creation. For example, while he may adapt the isolated, often wooded settings of conventional *Märchen* plots to create more urban situations in which his protagonists are isolated amid inhospitable human surroundings, he simply replicates the German Romantic preference for 'erlebte Rede' and an impersonal narrative style, both of which are conventionally associated with the *Märchen* to create his famously distanced authorial stance. Compared with the more intimate narrative style fostered by the implied presence of a 'conteur' in the closest French equivalent to this form, such fundamental departures from Flaubert's indigenous literary traditions are surely worthy of greater critical attention than they have been afforded to date. Investigation of the specific reasons for Flaubert's attraction to German Romantic genres, ideas and motifs could undoubtedly form the basis of a separate study, but since his aesthetic priorities of the *EJ* are echoed in his later masterpieces, the Germanic is by no means confined to these early works. The focus of the present study on the 'dark' aspects of German Romanticism has shown that while Flaubert may have been attracted superficially to the 'décor' of 'Hoffmannesque' Romanticism, with its uncanny occurrences and monstrous protagonists, his creative imitation of German Romantic works clearly provides a means by which Flaubert can begin to articulate his perceptions of humanity and existence on a more profound level.

From his *EJ* onwards, Flaubert appears acutely aware of the pitfalls of cliché in literature,[26] and perhaps by looking to foreign works in translation, whose distance from the original text constitutes a form of creative imitation in itself, he is better able to express ideas which are different from those associated with the 'standard' French Romantic canon. Flaubert's identification of 'deux bonhommes distincts',[27] which appear to combine to form the Romantic and Realist sides to his aesthetic, is perhaps prompted simply by his recognition of differences from the major French Romantics. To conclude either that his artistic affinity to the German lends a Realistic edge to his Romanticism, or that it provides a Romantic veneer to his Realism, would perhaps merely replicate an existing debate, but it could be argued that the controversy surrounding Flaubert's position on the Romantic – Realist continuum has continued for so long because of his apparent tendency towards the

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[26] Unwin identifies 'la question qui l'a tellement préoccupé dans sa jeunesse: que peut-on dire du monde sans sombrer dans la bêtise et l'ineptie?' (Unwin, *Art et infini*, p.189), showing the eternal 'anxiety of cliché' which Flaubert encounters throughout his literary career.

[27] See *Correspondance*, II, 30.

German rather than the French school of thought. It seems more pertinent, therefore, to concur with Du Camp, writing at the end of Flaubert's life:

> On a dit de Flaubert qu'il était un réaliste, un naturaliste; on a voulu voir en lui une sorte de chirurgien de lettres disséquant les passions et faisant l'autopsie du cœur humain; il était le premier à en sourire: c'était un lyrique [...] Flaubert était romantique, ai-je besoin de le dire? [...] il était ouvert à l'enthousiasme.[28]

Like Du Camp, therefore, this thesis contends that Flaubert is foremost a Romantic, rather than being a 'Romantic Realist', or indeed any of the other designations which have been offered by critics attempting to explain his apparent failure to adhere to the conventions of either Romanticism or Realism, as understood within the somewhat restrictive parameters of French Studies. Rather, the Germanic underpins a noteworthy aspect of Flaubert's Romanticism, which forms and informs his enduring aesthetic.

While this particular debate will inevitably continue to play on in Flaubert Studies, a persuasive summary of the situation is offered by René Lauret, who suggests that 'si nous considérons le romantisme, non comme une conception de l'art, mais comme une façon de sentir, il reste, dans la littérature moderne, deux camps bien tranchés: les naturalistes et les «artistes». Les Goncourt, et la plupart des contemporains, sont d'un côté; Flaubert est de l'autre, avec Goethe'.[29] This thesis thus contends that German Romanticism has a greater bearing on Flaubert's *œuvre* than has been acknowledged previously, although it is clear that this broad literary category is one of many sources to be creatively imitated in the *EJ*. Even with parameters such as a focus on the 'dark' aspects of Romanticism, the better to appraise specifically German elements of Flaubert's prose, it must not be forgotten that German Romantic works are by no means his only sources of inspiration. For example, Lucia Floridó observes that 'in addition to Flaubert's fascination with ghastly themes and violence, Sade's influence becomes discernible in the writer's passion for excess and repetition',[30] demonstrating the way in which his indigenous literary heritage also contributes to such aspects of his aesthetic. While there are many other Germanic facets of Flaubert's prose (the role of German philosophy across his *œuvre* could form the basis of a further study, for example), there can be little doubt that Flaubert's passage 'through Romanticism darkly' is assisted to a significant extent by his reading of German Romantic literature in translation at the outset of his literary formation, and that this in turn informs his mature *œuvre*.

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[28] Maxime Du Camp, *Souvenirs littéraires 1822–1850* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1993), p.168 and p.172.
[29] René Lauret, 'L'Art classique d'après Goethe et Flaubert', *Les Marches de l'Est*, 8 (1911), 167–75 (p.168).
[30] Lucia Floridó, 'Sade, Donatien marquis de', in *A Gustave Flaubert Encyclopaedia*, pp.279–80 (p.280).

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