Short abstract

Flaubert and the literature of classical antiquity

By Stephen Goddard, St. John's College, Oxford

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Trinity Term 1998 [i.e 1999]

It has long been recognized that Flaubert took a great deal of interest in the literature of classical antiquity. Contemporaries such as Gautier and Maupassant considered him widely-read; a significant minority of his works - *La Tentation de saint Antoine*, *Salammbô* and 'Hérodias' - are set roughly during the classical period; and a number of critics have investigated specific aspects of his debt to antiquity. Generally critics have concentrated on Flaubert's documentary use of the literature of antiquity in the works mentioned above (this is Benedetto's and Seznec's approach) or on the incorporation of mythical imagery and symbolism into his work (this is Lowe's approach in *Towards the real Flaubert*). A few articles have dealt with specific classical works to which Flaubert may be indebted artistically, but there has been to my knowledge no attempt to define the overall effect upon Flaubert's work, in terms of textual influence or more broadly, of his interest in antiquity.

I have attempted in this study to evaluate the impact of the literature of classical antiquity upon Flaubert's entire *œuvre*. I first attempt to define, mainly by reference to the *Correspondance*, the extent of his knowledge of classical literature. I then consider his works - juvenilia and adult material - in approximately chronological order in the light of the writers he knew and admired, with a view to suggesting ways in which classical texts may have influenced them; textual influence is investigated closely, but attention is also paid to the use of classical themes, imagery and symbolism. Works with a modern setting are considered as well as those of a more obviously classical pedigree. Having identified a range of authors as being of importance - including Homer, Virgil, Ovid and Apuleius - I conclude by considering more broadly Flaubert's position relative to that of his contemporaries and the overall implications of my findings for the understanding of his work.

Long abstract

Flaubert and the literature of classical antiquity

By Stephen Goddard, St. John's College, Oxford

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Trinity Term 1998

Gustave Flaubert has long been considered - and seems to have considered himself - as being unusually knowledgable in the field of the literature of classical antiquity. Contemporaries who knew him well, such as Gautier and Maupassant, considered him to be widely-read, and there is evidence that Louise Colet was introduced to him as something of a classical expert. His letters contain numerous allusions to classical works and references to reading of classical texts, as well as frequent denigration of his contemporaries' ignorance. A significant minority of his works - principally *La Tentation de saint Antoine*, *Salammbô* and 'Hérodias' - are well-documented evocations of the classical period or periods close to it.

From an early stage in Flaubertian studies, critics have been aware of Flaubert's interest in classical literature and have investigated specific aspects of it. Luigi Benedetto and Jean Seznec have written extensively on Flaubert's documentary sources for *Salammbô* and *La Tentation de saint Antoine* respectively; Margaret Lowe has investigated Flaubert's use of classical myth in *Madame Bovary* and other works; and articles such as A.G. Engstrøm's 'Vergil, Ovid and the cry of fate in *Madame Bovary*' or R. Keech's 'Flaubert's *Smarh* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*' have evaluated the artistic or thematic impact of specific writers upon specific works of Flaubert. However, there has

been to my knowledge no attempt to survey the overall importance of the literature of classical antiquity for Flaubert's work; to consider the textual impact of the works with which he was familiar, together with his exploitation of classical history, themes and myths. My intention in this study has been to carry out such a survey.

After an introductory and fairly arbitrary definition of 'classical antiquity' and consideration of other technical matters, I seek in the first chapter to define the extent of Flaubert's knowledge of classical antiquity. The chapter begins with an enumeration of the typical school curriculum in Flaubert's day - which was mainly based upon reading of the classics, with a bias towards Latin - but most of all draws upon Flaubert's extensive correspondence as a guide to his acquaintances and tastes in classical literature. As well as giving a good indication of what classical works Flaubert knew, this facilitates the discussion of questions including his proficiency in Greek, which seems always to have lagged behind his reasonably fluent command of Latin[1]. Where appropriate, evidence from contemporaries of Flaubert, principally Maxime Du Camp, and from Flaubert's literary works has been adduced; in the latter case, the juvenilia have mainly been drawn upon in order to avoid pre-empting later consideration of the adult works. The chapter's findings suggest that Flaubert's interest in classical antiquity remained more or less constant throughout his life and reveal a remarkable range of classical authors in his repertoire; writers for whom he seems to have had particular admiration

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[1] When referring directly to classical works, I have followed Benedetto and Seznec in citing them in the original language, although I have always provided a translation except where context renders meaning obvious. It seems that both Flaubert's Latin and his Greek reached a sufficiently high standard for him to read most works in the original.

include Homer, Aristophanes, Horace and Apuleius.

My second chapter explores the impact of classical literature upon Flaubert's juvenilia from his earliest writings until the composition of *Par les champs et par les grèves*. Naturally his first works, written while he was still undergoing his formal education, bear the stamp of writers he read while at school, although already compositions such as the essays *Rabelais* (1838 or 1839) and *Rome et les Césars* (1839) suggest a range of extra-curricular interests among the literature of antiquity. The first work containing a systematic and demonstrable imitation of a classical writer is *Smarh* (1839), which owes a substantial debt to the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, with some possible reference also to writers including Seneca and Horace. Classical allusion is not uncommon in the rest of Flaubert's juvenilia, but the next evidence of systematic imitation is to be found in the first *Education sentimentale*, where the *Æneid* is an important intertext. Weight is lent to the identification of these intertexts in both works by Flaubert's inclusion of broad hints as to their importance: an epigraph to *Smarh* from the *Metamorphoses* and several direct allusions to the *Æneid* in *L'Education*. I also discuss with reference to the first *Education* the extent to which Jules' literary tastes may safely be identified with Flaubert's. *Par les champs et par les grèves* is, as one might expect given its status as a fairly factual travelogue, less rich in classical allusion, but does contain some interesting apparent references to Horace and others.

Although I have broadly attempted to consider Flaubert's works in their order of composition, I have made a slight exception in chapter three, where all three versions of *La Tentation de saint Antoine* are considered at once; it

would have seemed illogical to investigate them in separate chapters when much the same observations can be made of all three. As mentioned above, Jean Seznec in two studies has investigated the sources of *La Tentation*, a more overtly 'classical' work than those previously considered, in some detail, concentrating especially on the sources of the *épisode des dieux*; accordingly some of the chapter is devoted to a summary of his findings. Having established that the works whose influence is immediately apparent in *La Tentation* show a degree of continuity with earlier findings, I concentrate upon specific influences upon individual episodes in the works' various versions; principally, Homeric influence in the Simon and Helen episode; Flaubert's use of Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*; and evidence for a 'classical triptych' in the 1849 and 1856 versions with influence from a range of writers including Theocritus and, again, Ovid. The third of the elements in this 'triptych', the scene where Antoine views a number of women bathing, seems to represent the first occurrence of a recurring mythical image in Flaubert's work, that of Acteon, who was transformed into a stag and killed by his hounds after seeing the goddess Diana bathing. The chapter concludes with a detailed consideration of the *épisode des dieux*, enlarging upon some of Seznec's findings.

The fourth chapter investigates classical influences in *Madame Bovary*. Although superficially not fertile ground in terms of classical references, Flaubert's first published novel has been considered to have some affinities with the classics; we have already referred to studies by Lowe and Engstrøm which concentrate on specific areas of classical reference, and other critics have touched upon the subject to a greater or lesser degree. Once again,

Madame Bovary shows a certain amount of continuity with what has gone before, with possible borrowings from writers such as Juvenal; here also for perhaps the first time, Flaubert's allusions to classical antiquity appear sometimes to take the form of implied criticism of bourgeois misappropriation of classical commonplaces, with inapposite or inaccurate references to the classics in the mouth of characters such as Homais. However, most of the chapter is occupied with an analysis of the influence of one particular classical intertext to *Madame Bovary*: Virgil's *Æneid*, and in particular its fourth book, which tells the story of Dido and Æneas' doomed romance. Once again Flaubert, in the famous *quos ego* allusion of the opening scene, has pointed to the importance of this work in the novel; and *Madame Bovary* does seem to feature systematic imitation of Virgil, demonstrable textually and particularly associated with the affair between Emma and Rodolphe. Virgil's influence also seems to extend into the areas of theme and imagery: lunar and solar symbolism connected with Emma and Rodolphe respectively recalls imagery Virgil applies to Dido and Æneas; this, together with the theme of fate which is central to the *Æneid* is taken up and adapted by Flaubert to a modern setting.

Chapter five investigates *Salammbô*, Flaubert's only novel set within what is commonly recognized as the classical period. There is some discussion of Flaubert's choice of subject, a question which has exercised critics since the book's first publication; it is suggested that Flaubert's use of a work set in Carthage in his previous novel may have influenced *Salammbô*'s setting. Flaubert's use of classical myth is investigated, prior to a consideration of his 'official' sources. Benedetto's work is particularly useful in the discussion of Flaubert's use of classical historians and other relevant

documentary texts. The principal near-contemporary source is the Greek historian Polybius, whose work contains the fullest account of the mercenary war; however, writers as diverse as the historians Diodorus, Plutarch and Procopius, the epic poets Silius Italicus and Corippus, and Aristotle are also of importance. The sources of religious imagery in *Salammbô* are also covered, as well as less formal influences. Once again, the *Æneid*, together with Homer's works, is found to be of importance, albeit less influential than in *Madame Bovary*: it provides Flaubert with a certain amount of documentation. The setting and warlike subject-matter of *Salammbô* encourage reminiscence of classical epic, and it seems plausible that Flaubert is taking a more overtly epic subject than in *Madame Bovary* and treating it as he would the subject of a modern novel.

My final chapter deals with, respectively, the *Education sentimentale* of 1869, *Trois contes* and *Bouvard et Pécuchet*. None of these later works seemed able to support a full chapter on its own; and again, they all show considerable continuity with previous findings. Like *Madame Bovary*, the second *Education* seems unpromising in terms of classical allusion and indeed there is no systematic imitation of any given text within it to compare with that in the earlier novel; this is consistent with the perceived policy of incoherence operated by Flaubert in the novel. Nevertheless, aspects of the novel which merit highlighting include further apparent condemnation of bourgeois misappropriation of the classics and a recurrence of the Acteon myth; a network of symbolism surrounding the character of Rosanette; and a certain amount, again, of Virgilian influence.

Trois contes is rather more productive for our purposes, especially in

view of the classical nature of 'Hérodias'; once again, mythical parallels have some importance in all three *contes*, although 'Saint Julien' is most important in this respect, with the Acteon myth - as well as the more obvious parallels with Œdipus - being again significant. As in *Salammbô*, Flaubert makes extensive use of historical sources in the highly-documented 'Hérodias'. The most important source this time is the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, whose works are written mainly in Greek; Suetonius is also of some significance here. Again there is some evidence of Virgilian influence in the work.

Finally, *Bouvard et Pécuchet* is again richer in classical allusion than it might at first appear, despite the two heroes' apparent omission of the classics from their reading; in particular, the story of Dido and Æneas is again drawn upon for the affair between Gorju and Madame Castillon, with some allusions which seem not to have been present in *Madame Bovary*; and there is some evidence, almost for the first time, of extensive textual borrowing from Apuleius' *Golden ass* in the description of Pécuchet's affair with Mélie. Once again, the Acteon myth is apparently incorporated into the novel, in a rather burlesque form; and Flaubert's bourgeois characters, such as Marescot, seem again to be guilty of parroting classical *idées reçues.* The chapter ends with a brief consideration of the *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*, investigating principally what it tells us about Flaubert's opinion of contemporary views of classical antiquity.

My approach in the six chapters of my thesis has been largely factual, with detailed reference to the texts of Flaubert's works and the models he may have borrowed from. In my conclusion, I seek to broaden the scope of my

investigation in two ways: by locating Flaubert more firmly within the context of his time; and by outlining ways in which his interest in classical antiquity may have shaped his work as a whole. Flaubert's knowledge of and ideas about antiquity are compared with those of his contemporaries, particularly Balzac and Stendhal, with reference to the education of those two authors; generally speaking, although his erudition does not compare to that of writers such as Mérimée or Leconte de Lisle, he does seem to have a broader knowledge of antiquity than most contemporary novelists, and more than would be required for simple purposes of research. Finally, Flaubert's style and the structure of his works is investigated in the light of classical antiquity; particular attention is paid to the implications for his work of his admiration of epic writers such as Virgil and, particularly, Homer and the possibility that he may have imitated techniques associated with classical epic (and, to a certain extent, classical tragedy) is considered.

It is my belief that this thesis evaluates for the first time the implications for Flaubert's work in its entirety of his recognized interest in the literature of classical antiquity. Of necessity much of it consists of close textual analysis of the relevant passages of Flaubert's writings and of his putative sources; it is, of course, inevitable, given the limitations of my own knowledge of classical literature (and the frequent obscurity and subtlety of Flaubert's references), that some important sources will have escaped my notice; but I believe that I have found evidence that writers as varied as Homer, Apuleius, Virgil and Ovid play an important part in his work, and that aspects of his writing as fundamental as his very style may well owe much to his knowledge of antiquity.

FLAUBERT AND THE LITERATURE OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

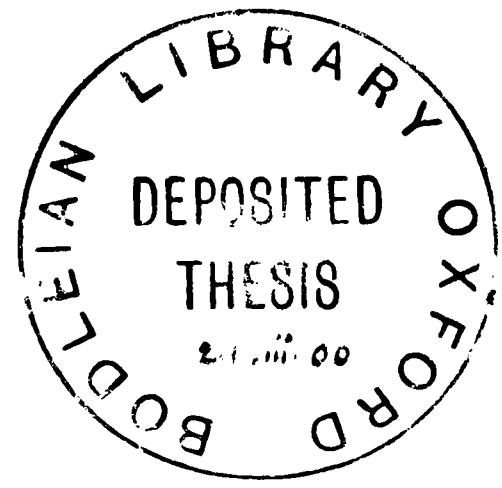
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[1999]



"C'est une vérité banale aujourd'hui que la passion de Flaubert pour l'antiquité. Elle emplit sa vie, elle déborde de son œuvre".

(Édouard Maynial, *La Jeunesse de Flaubert*, 1913, pp.258-9)

Acknowledgments

Thanks are due to the British Academy who provided me with a Major State Studentship for the vital first three years of my work on this thesis. More recently, teaching positions at St. Catherine's and St. Anne's Colleges, Oxford, have enabled me to continue with it; to my colleagues at both colleges, and especially to Betty Rutson, Richard Parish and Bruce Tolley, many thanks. My research has required access to relatively few libraries outside Oxford; within the University, however, the staff at the Taylorian Institute and Bodleian Library have been unfailingly helpful.

I am particularly indebted to my supervisor, Professor Alan Raitt, for his advice and help in completing this thesis. His knowledge of Flaubert and of French literature in the nineteenth century have been invaluable and readily placed at my disposal. Inaccuracies or misjudgements are my responsibility alone.

Mr John Marshall and Dr Ian Gill, both of Queen's College, Taunton, are responsible for introducing me, respectively, to Flaubert and to Virgil. But for them, this thesis could almost certainly not have been written in anything like its present form.

Finally thanks are due to my parents, my friends and family for their continued support throughout nearly seven years of assurances that "it'll be finished soon...". Most of all, the encouragement, support and companionship of my wife Julia have been constant since I began this study: to her all my thanks are due.

For Isabella, c.1978 - 31.8.98.

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Abbreviations used

BeP	*Bouvard et Pécuchet*
DRN	*De rerum natura*
*ES*I	*L'Education sentimentale* of 1845
*ES*II	*L'Education sentimentale* of 1869
MB	*Madame Bovary*
*OC*I	*Œuvres complètes de Flaubert*, vol. I (Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1964)
*OC*II	*Œuvres complètes de Flaubert*, vol. II (Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1964)
PCG	*Par les champs et par les grèves*
TC	*Trois contes*
TSA	*La Tentation de saint Antoine*
*TSA*I	*La Tentation de saint Antoine*, 1849 version
*TSA*II	*La Tentation de saint Antoine*, 1856 version
*TSA*III	*La Tentation de saint Antoine*, definitive version

Flaubert and the literature of classical antiquity:

Introduction

Gustave Flaubert is undoubtedly most famous for works such as *Madame Bovary* and *L'Education sentimentale*, which have a contemporary or near-contemporary setting. These it is which have attracted most critical comment, and are often considered his most significant. However, Flaubert also produced several works - *Salammbô*, *La Tentation de Saint Antoine* and 'Hérodias' - whose setting could be characterized as 'classical antiquity'. These have obvious debts, not least in terms of documentation, to writers of antiquity; however, such writers are also more important for those works set in contemporary times than it might initially seem.

To define 'classical antiquity' would require a study many times longer than this: I have therefore been obliged to adopt a rather arbitrary, imprecise definition. It is not difficult to define a starting point: the earliest works considered to be classical in any meaningful sense of the word are those nowadays attributed to Homer, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, although the antiquity of some Hesiodic works may be comparable. Broadly this establishes a starting date little earlier than 1,000 B.C. The *terminus ad quem* is more problematic. Some commonly accepted dates are those of Constantine the Great's adoption of Christianity as state religion of the Roman Empire in A.D. 312 or Constantine's own death-bed conversion in A.D. 337. I am inclined more or less to accept the first half of the fourth century A.D. as the end of the 'ancient era'. The works considered as possible influences in this study all fall within the range 1,000 B.C. - c. A.D. 350, with two major

exceptions and two minor, included in consideration of *Salammbô* or *TSA*.

One minor exception is Vegetius' work, the *Epitoma rei militaris*, written in the late fourth century. Flaubert found this a useful source for military information in *Salammbô*; it falls only shortly after the 'accepted' ancient period, and is partly significant in its relationship with earlier ancient sources[1]. The two major exceptions are both sixth century writers: the historian Procopius and the epic poet Corippus. I have taken the liberty of considering these because their style, manner and subject matter consciously ally them to 'accepted' ancient literature - this is especially true of Corippus, whose *Iohannides* deliberately imitates several epic writers, most obviously Virgil, whom he virtually quotes verbatim in numerous passages. I have also, considering *TSA*, taken one quotation from the *Suda* or *Suidas*, a late tenth-century Byzantine lexicon of unknown authorship, as a possible source of a specific piece of information Flaubert uses. Technically speaking, it is not a work of antiquity, but like Corippus and Procopius shares the manner of ancient literature. In general, however, I have consciously avoided considering Latin- and Greek-writing authors of the middle ages and Renaissance, such as Justus Lipsius, or the majority of the Church fathers, whose extensive influence upon *TSA* is well shown by Seznec. Flaubert was undoubtedly well acquainted with many such writers, and a case could certainly be made for considering any author of Latin or Greek works until at least the sixteenth century to be in some sense part of 'classical antiquity'; but

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[1] The *Epitoma* is probably the only work considered (with the arguable exception of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, which, however, figure only fleetingly) whose status as *literature* might be debatable. Essentially it is a military handbook, intended to dispense practical advice, without literary pretensions. However, its survival over 1,600 years, long after its practical value had become negligible, may imply some literary value.

to consider all such writers would be to overstretch preposterously the scope of this study. In practice, Flaubert's reading habits justify consideration of few Greek or Latin authors any later than the second century A.D., despite his, Le Poittevin's and Bouilhet's stated preference for literature of *le bas-empire*.

To some extent, any perceived taste for Latin and Greek writers could arise from contemporary fashion and Flaubert's personal experiences: his visits to Greece and Rome during his 'Voyage en Orient' in 1851 were by no means unusual for an educated man of his time. Equally, many nineteenth-century writers besides Flaubert were interested in and knowledgeable about the literature of antiquity; one objective of this study is to ascertain whether Flaubert's works, including those with a contemporary setting, are more heavily marked by antiquity than one would expect as a result either of literary fashion or of merely a nodding acquaintance with some of the better-known Latin or Greek writers.

A caveat is necessary here. As will become clear, a typical education in nineteenth-century France consisted principally of a study of antiquity and its literature far more extensive than is the case today. It is therefore unsurprising that a middle-class writer like Flaubert should be exposed at first hand to writers with whom even a well-read student nowadays may well be unfamiliar: Ovid, Tacitus or Demosthenes for example. The more important question is whether Flaubert voluntarily continued to read Latin and Greek after obtaining his *baccalauréat* in 1840. Despite the 'traditional' nature of the contemporary curriculum, Flaubert himself certainly seems to have considered a profound knowledge even of Latin - let alone Greek - to be a rare bonus among his

fellows. In a speech in 1862[2] in honour of Bouilhet, he called a knowledge of Latin, "chose rare aujourd'hui et indispensable cependant à la connaissance de notre langue et de notre littérature" (*op.cit.*, p.33). In passing, we should note that any study of Flaubert's taste for ancient literature should recall the influence not only of Bouilhet, but also that of Alfred Le Poittevin upon Flaubert's tastes: both men were erudite in this field.

Flaubert, endowed with a private income, enjoyed sufficient leisure time to peruse many well-known and less well-known authors, ancient and modern. His penchant for extensive documentary research, of almost pathological intensity and often involving extremely obscure works, is notorious; indeed, during Flaubert's lifetime, his 'disciple' Guy de Maupassant maintained that, "[Flaubert] a fouillé toutes les littératures, prenant des notes dans beaucoup de livres inconnus, les uns parce qu'ils sont rares, les autres parce qu'on ne les lit point"[3].

The student of Flaubert's work is fortunate in possessing in Flaubert's *Correspondance* an extensive guide to his reading. Accordingly, the first chapter of this study will deal principally with the question of Flaubert's reading: what we can be certain he read, and, where this can be established, when he read it. Besides his *Correspondance*, a number of other sources of evidence, including the testimony of others and that supplied by Flaubert's own work, will be used.

The current study is somewhat lengthy, largely thanks to its

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[2] Flaubert, *Œuvres complètes* vol.XII, Paris, Club de l'Honnête Homme, 1974.

[3] Guy de Maupassant, *Pour Gustave Flaubert*, p.33, Paris, Editions Complexe, 1986.

engagement with the full corpus of Flaubert's works, youthful and adult, published and unpublished. After the initial chapter covering Flaubert's *Correspondance*, his works will be investigated in approximately chronological order, the main exception to this being the consideration of all three versions of *TSA* in a single chapter, after those covering his juvenilia and before that devoted to *MB*. It would seem absurd to cover such similar works as *TSA*'s three versions in separate chapters. Besides *TSA*, the only individual works to merit a single chapter to themselves will be *MB* and *Salammbô*, both centrally important to this study.

As will become apparent, all Flaubert's works contain classical references, allusions and patterns of intertextuality to some extent. This is as true of works with a contemporary setting as of *Salammbô*, *TSA* and 'Hérodias'. Any complete study of Flaubert's interest in antiquity must therefore cover his entire *œuvre*[4], an exercise which has not, I believe, been undertaken previously. Substantial studies have considered the classical or mythological influences prevailing in individual writings by Flaubert - one thinks here especially of Benedetto, Green, Lowe and Seznec (see bibliography), all of whose works have been of great value in this study - and myriad articles, a selection of which features in the bibliography, have dealt partially or wholly with specific aspects of the question. However, to my knowledge, no-one has attempted to define the extent of Flaubert's debt to the authors of antiquity throughout his work, or to establish a 'hierarchy' of influence. Did Flaubert merely 'dabble' in a range of ancient writers, or did he

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[4] Unless otherwise specified, I have used the two-volume 1964 Seuil *Œuvres complètes* for references to Flaubert's juvenilia and other works. This edition is usually identified by the abbreviation *OC*I or *OC*II.

consistently return to a select few for inspiration throughout his career? I hope this study may begin to provide answers to these questions.

Finally, one technical question should be addressed. I have felt it useful to include, usually in footnotes, a translation of Latin and Greek quotations, except where context renders their meaning obvious. In most cases, I have used other people's translations where possible. I have preferred to use recent editions of works which include a translation, or an accepted 'standard' translation - for example, C. Day Lewis's renditions of Virgil's work. Where this has been impossible - because other translations have been too free, too old-fashioned or non-existent - I have had recourse to the well-known Loeb series of parallel Greek-English and Latin-English translations, published by William Heinemann and the Harvard University Press, usually taking the most recent edition, where available. In only a few instances have I, in the absence of any alternative, resorted to using my own translation. One exception, once again, is Corippus' *Iohannides*, which is sufficiently obscure to have merited no English translation that I could trace. Corippus' Latin, though flowery and hyperbolic, is not especially difficult, and I hope that I have achieved a fair rendition of the extracts quoted. The other, very minor exception, is Lucian's *De Syria dea*, cited in chapter five. The only available translation of this Greek work was written in mock-Renaissance English, which I have declined to use. A suitable translation was found for all other Greek texts quoted - rather less numerous than the Latin - fortunately, since my comprehension of Greek, like Flaubert's, is equal only to reading the original with a reliable translation to hand.

Chapter 1: The extent and nature of Flaubert's contacts with classical civilization

Before embarking upon the study of the influence of classical antiquity in Flaubert's work, one must first define the precise areas of his contact with the classics and his attitude towards them, in order to establish what he knew about antiquity and its writers. It is important to survey for these purposes Flaubert's entire life, although particular attention should be paid to his formative years - approximately the period 1821-1849.

A number of caveats are appropriate regarding this procedure. Firstly, as Bruneau points out in *Les Débuts littéraires de Flaubert*, the author's works and the testimony of acquaintances are unreliable guides to his reading: Flaubert can, and does, refer briefly to authors or works without necessarily having read them; and his friends' memories can be mistaken when they supply details of his reading. Therefore, as my main, though not unique, source of information, I have drawn upon Flaubert's *Correspondance*, using the *Club de l'Honnête Homme* edition (1974) as my source; the enumeration of letters will be based upon this edition[1]. Here too, naturally, caution remains necessary - a casual mention of an author or a work in a letter does not imply that Flaubert knew it well - but precision can be expected of Flaubert's claims 'on the spot': if he states at any given time that he is reading a particular work, we must assume this to be true. However, a second apparent problem concerns dating. I have for this purpose accepted the tentative dating of

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[1] My choice of this edition was largely dictated by its index, which made the task of pinpointing references to authors of antiquity much easier.

individual letters provided in the edition of the *Correspondance* used, but this does not resolve a further problem: clearly a reference or allusion to an author, despite providing evidence of familiarity with that author, does not unambiguously prove when that familiarity was acquired. Hence many datings of Flaubert's reading are perforce the *last* date on which he could have encountered the author or work in question, not the date on which he did so.

Although my original intention was to outline Flaubert's reading of authors other than those of classical antiquity, it became clear that to do so would be to extend my work's scope beyond what was practical. I have therefore restricted myself to limited references to Flaubert's non-classical reading, many of the details of which have been fully covered by others.

(i) <u>From 1821 until the *baccalauréat*</u> (23rd August 1840)

The essential facts of Flaubert's reading before his entry into full-time education are well-known: his first book was an abridged edition of *Don Quixote*, read to him by a family friend, *père* Mignot; he was probably acquainted with Corneille - whom he encountered naturally, as a native of Rouen - and Molière through his dramatic activities before college; he wrote an encomium of the former, one of his earliest known works, in 1832. His 'classical' education proper cannot be said to have started before his entry to the Collège Royal de Rouen in 1833, where, as was standard at the time, Latin was the curriculum's foundation[2].

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[2] Maynial, *La Jeunesse de Flaubert*, Paris, Mercure de France, 1913: "Non seulement la culture latine était la base de tout l'enseignement, de la classe de huitième à la philosophie, mais elle se suffisait à elle-même et constituait presque tout le bagage d'un

The teaching of Latin, then, according to Maynial and Bruneau (*op.cit.*) began at the outset of the college career; the young Flaubert's appreciation of it was apparently limited. He later admitted, with shame, that he disliked Virgil's *Æneid* when compelled to read it at school[3]; and Du Camp mentions that at college, Flaubert preferred Ronsard to the imposed Virgil[4]. Admittedly, here as elsewhere, Du Camp's witness is questionable: there is no firm evidence that Flaubert knew Ronsard well before 1842. However, the basic point, that Flaubert at college was initially unenthusiastic about Virgil, and by extension, presumably about other Latin writers, stands.

The basic outline of a standard college education in the 1830s is clear: one may ascertain roughly what Flaubert must have studied and when[5]. In the *sixième* - in Flaubert's case, the academic year 1833-4 - elementary Latin and La Fontaine were taught; the following academic year, the study of Greek and modern languages began, along with the study of ancient history. In the *quatrième* (1835-6), Roman history was taught, while the literary curriculum was considerably extended: details are provided by Émile de Girardin in *De l'instruction publique* (1838), cited by Bruneau. In the morning, Livy or Quintus Curtius were studied, with Cicero's *De amicitia* and *De senectute*, of which the

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bachelier... La version latine et le thème, la narration ou la dissertation latine, les vers latins, les leçons de grammaire latine et d'auteurs latins, voilà quel était l'essentiel, voilà proprement le pain quotidien d'un collégien de 1830" (pp.38-9).

[3] Letter 200, [Croisset, around 20th September 1846]: "J'en ai eu des pâmoisons d'ennui et c'est beau!"

[4] *Souvenirs littéraires* (ed. Henri Lemaître), Paris, Hachette, 1962, p.22.

[5] Most of the following information is from Bruneau, *op.cit.*, ch.2.

latter may have made an impression upon Flaubert[6]; in Greek, Lucian's *Dialogues* and Xenophon's *Cyropædia* were read. In the evening, Virgil's *Eclogues* or *Georgics* or Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were studied, the latter apparently being the likeliest option in Flaubert's case; as we shall see, little evidence exists in his early life for any knowledge of the two works of Virgil cited, whereas he seems to have known Ovid at least vaguely: in *Agonies*, a work begun in late 1836 or early 1837, although dated by Flaubert as April 1838, "le déluge d'Ovide" is mentioned (*OC*I, p.157) as a simile for thought, presumably with book one of the *Metamorphoses*, where the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha is told, in mind. In the *troisième* (1836-7), the morning's studies were Sallust or Tacitus - of which the latter seems likelier, since Tacitus is often cited, as we shall see, approvingly, in Flaubert's *Correspondance*, whereas reference to Sallust is almost absent from his writings - and Greek and Latin moralists, probably including Seneca and Plutarch, both mentioned by Flaubert in a letter of November 1839[7], and the latter fondly remembered some ten years later[8]. In the evening, the *Æneid* or Homer's *Iliad* were studied, along with Latin versification and various French poets and classical authors, including Boileau.

In the *seconde* (1837-8), modern history and elementary rhetoric were begun; in literature, Cicero's speeches were studied, along with a choice

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[6] See note 26.

[7] Letter 50, [Rouen, 6th November 1839]: "Les historiens, c'est mon gibier en matière de livres «et parmi eux Plutarque et d'entre les philosophes Seneca»".

[8] Letter 198, [Croisset, 18th September 1846]: "j'ai de la reconnaissance à Plutarque à cause de ces soirs qu'il m'a donnés au collège, tout pleins d'ardeurs belliqueuses".

between the *Iliad*, Horace and the *Æneid*. Of these, it is hard to determine which Flaubert is likeliest to have studied, since he greatly appreciated all three in later life, as we shall see. In the last two years (1838-40) of Flaubert's school career (in which it seems appropriate to include December 1839 to August 1840, despite Flaubert's expulsion on the former date from the Lycée Corneille; he apparently followed a similar curriculum to his fellows), the standard literary works were Cicero's *Orationes* and Demosthenes' speeches (which seem to have made very little impression: Flaubert mentions Demosthenes only twice throughout his *Correspondance*, once[9] as a text to be memorized for the *baccalauréat*); Greek tragedy, probably including Æschylus, which Flaubert says he is reading during the summer holiday of 1839[10]; La Bruyère's *Caractères*; and French classical theatre. Such, then, in outline, appears to have been Flaubert's curricular classical education, which is reflected to a degree in his *Correspondance*.

Needless to say - and perhaps more importantly - Flaubert clearly read much outside the classroom in his early years; equally, his *Correspondance* suggests which parts of the curriculum he enjoyed. In general his interests seem to have been essentially Romantic: there is evidence of reading of Dumas and Balzac, together with an early appreciation of sixteenth century writers: Montaigne and Rabelais especially. In contrast, there is little evidence of voluntary reading of the classics; even Flaubert's request that Alfred Le

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[9] Letter 58, [Rouen, 7th July 1840].

[10] Letters 46 and 47, [Rouen, 10th August and 13th September 1839].

Poittevin lend him two volumes of Horace[11] was perhaps involuntary, as Horace was one of the choices, as we have seen, on the *seconde* curriculum, for which Flaubert may have been preparing at the time.

However, while classical elements of the curriculum seem to have impressed Flaubert little before late 1838, one aspect of classical history did apparently engage his interest, arguably as a direct result of his Romanticism and its tendency to extremism: Flaubert was, even at this early stage, profoundly interested in the more sensational aspects of Roman imperial history, which probably satisfied his desire for 'local colour', a strongly Romantic concept. As we have seen, studies of specifically Roman history began in the *quatrième*, the academic year 1835-6; by 2nd June 1836, there are references in *La Femme du monde* to Caligula, Nero, the notorious empress Messalina and the Roman circus (*OC*I, p.69). Messalina resurfaces in *La Danse des morts*, May 1838, as does Nero - "le plus grand poète que la terre ait eu" (pp.170 and 171-2) - who retains a hold on Flaubert's imagination throughout his youth: he writes of him and the Marquis de Sade admiringly in a letter to Chevalier of July 1839[12] and in his *Souvenirs, notes et pensées intimes* of 1840-41[13] (see below, pp.17-18) and he mentions him along with Tiberius, Caligula and Domitian in his historical essay *Rome et les Césars*

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[11] Letter 28 [Rouen, summer 1837].

[12] Letter 44, 15th July 1839: "J'aime bien à voir des hommes comme ça... Néron vivra aussi longtemps que Vespasien".

[13] *Cahier intime de jeunesse - souvenirs, notes et pensées intimes*, Paris, Nizet, 1987: "Tout ce qui est petit, étroit, me fait mal. J'aime Néron..." (p.46) and, "Quand on a lu le marquis de Sade et qu'on est revenu de l'éblouissement, on se prend à se demander si tout ne serait pas vrai" (p.33).

(August 1839; *OC*I, p.219). Indeed, by this time, his knowledge of Roman history also covered the late imperial period, with references made in that essay to the emperors Galba, Otho, Vitellius[14], Vespasian, Titus, Commodus, Pertinax, Caracalla and others. Again, in *Smarh*, of April 1839, classical history features largely in the form of imperial orgies. However, in a *conte bachique* of August 1839 - *Les Funérailles du docteur Mathurin* - wider references to ancient history occur, with mentions of Epaminondas, Hannibal, Cato and Seneca's suicide (p.220) - but it was imperial excess that was to remain Flaubert's speciality: still in a letter of October that year, he praises Tiberius, Caligula and Nero[15]. It is nonetheless true that Flaubert's historical knowledge was far from intellectually accurate; as Naaman[16] states with reference to Flaubert's juvenilia,

> "Gustave se plaît dans l'antiquité beaucoup plus que dans son milieu habituel, mais «n'ayant à ce moment aucune notion précise d'archéologie», il en a une idée bien vague où l'érudition l'emporte sur la plastique" (pp.172-3).

There is some evidence, too, that from around the end of 1838, classical literature began to engage Flaubert's interest. Some of his

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[14] Flaubert's precise phrase on this emperor - later, as Aulus, a major character in 'Hérodias' - is "Vitellius dont le règne ne fut qu'un long repas" (*OC*I, p.220). The similarity with a phrase of the historian Dio on that emperor is striking: "καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ χρόνος ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ σύμπας οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἤ μέθαι τε καὶ κῶμοι" (*Roman history* 64.3.1) ("The entire period of his reign was nothing but a series of carousals and revels" - trans. Earnest Cary, Loeb edition, 1955 [reprinted]). We have no evidence that Flaubert knew Dio at this stage, although he did later in his career: the similarity may be coincidental, or the phrase may have featured in one of Flaubert's textbooks.

[15] Letter 49, [Rouen, 20th October 1839].

[16] Antoine Naaman, *Les Débuts de Gustave Flaubert et sa technique de description*, Paris, Nizet, 1962. The quotation Naaman uses is from Descharmes, *Flaubert, sa vie, son caractère et ses idées avant 1857.*

knowledge of imperial Roman history may have derived from a reading of Tacitus' *Annals*: the reference in letter 49, cited above, for Tiberius, Caligula and Nero occurs in a passage vaunting ancient historiography over modern, exemplified by Flaubert's history teacher Chéruel:

> "Vaudrait mieux lire, après tout, Tacite racontant la vie de Tibère ou «le sournois facétieux», celle de Caligula le Grand «ou les délices du genre humain», Néron ou «l'homme de bonne société»".

There is an apparent inconsistency here: although Flaubert implies that Tacitus wrote about all three emperors, the latter's books on Caligula are in fact missing, although those on Tiberius and Nero have survived: perhaps Flaubert is permitting himself some poetic licence here, or confusing Tacitus with another historian, possibly Suetonius, whom he certainly knew by a later date.

Several essays of 1838-9 reveal increasing interest in and knowledge of classical literature. In *Rabelais*, a work of late 1838 or early 1839, besides demonstrating that he knows all Rabelais' works, since he summarizes their plots in some detail, Flaubert demonstrates knowledge of Homer, Virgil, Petronius and Apuleius. The latter two are cited - and rejected - as possible predecessors of Rabelais - admittedly, an idea which Flaubert could have encountered without necessarily knowing either author, although one might expect him, especially given his tastes in imperial history, to appreciate the somewhat scatological Petronius. More convincing is Flaubert's critique of Homer and Virgil as being representative, like Rabelais himself, of their age: the detailed description of their styles -

> "Homère chante la vie guerrière, la jeunesse vaillante et belliqueuse du monde, la verte saison où les arbres poussent. A Virgile, la civilisation est déjà vieille; il est plein de larmes, de nuances, de

sentiments, de délicatesses"(*OC*I, p.181) -

suggests, without necessarily proving, first-hand knowledge of them, and indubitably interest in them; certainly it seems likely, given Flaubert's school curriculum, that he had read some of their works at this time. Again, in August 1839, the essay *Rome et les Césars* (pp.218-20) contains detailed reference to these four authors - "le sensualisme excité, la débauche savante de Pétrone, l'inspiration fiévreuse d'Apulée" - with the addition of Tacitus - "Tacite écrit avec un style de bronze" - , Juvenal - "Juvénal fait retentir son hexamètre ronflant de colère" - , Suetonius - Flaubert writes, of imperial excess, that, "Quelque chose de cela palpite encore dans les pages de Suétone" - and, dubiously, Tibullus. The validity of this reference is doubtful because Tibullus' style is mentioned very vaguely ("les soupirs amoureux de Tibulle" - a phrase applicable to almost any lyric poet); Flaubert chronologically misplaces him among early imperial writers, rather than the Augustans, suggesting only inaccurate knowledge of him; and he never again features in Flaubert's work or *Correspondance*. Again, these references do not themselves imply first-hand knowledge of the works in question - although in some cases, this seems likely - but they certainly suggest a nascent interest in ancient literature. It is worth mentioning, too, that Flaubert's schoolwork at this time probably included studies of Seneca and Plutarch (see note 7).

As well as evincing a growing 'academic' interest in the classics, Flaubert displays, from late 1838, in both works and letters, a growing presence of classical authors. A prime example is the epigraph (p.186) to

Smarh, a work, as already mentioned, of April 1839, "indigesta moles"[17]: this is a part of line 7 of book one of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, describing the primeval state of the universe. Admittedly, this hardly proves in-depth knowledge of that work, but it does demonstrate growing familiarity with the classics. The same applies to several references in the *Correspondance* of this time; for example, despite Flaubert's early antipathy towards Virgil at college, he quotes, albeit somewhat inaccurately, *Æneid* 1.94 on two occasions in May and July 1839[18]. In the earlier of these two letters, there is evidence that Flaubert's regard for the classics was gaining on his Romantic loyalties, when Horace is cited alongside Hugo and Shakespeare as being a more worthwhile writer than any historian[19]. In *Rome et les Césars* (*OC*I, p.220), besides the general views expressed on various classical writers, there is a specific, though unacknowledged, citation of Juvenal, "in Tiberim defluxit Orontes"[20] (*Satires* 3.62) in a passage describing the importation of eastern customs to Rome; in *Les Funérailles du docteur Mathurin*, also of August 1839, there is a paraphrase, again unacknowledged, of Horace, *Odes* 1.37.1-2: "qu'il

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17 "a rough unordered mass" (trans. D.E. Hill, *Metamorphoses* 1-4, Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1985).

18 Letter 43, [Rouen, 31st May 1839], "Ter quaterque beatus qui sic dinare possit!"; letter 45, [Rouen, 23rd July 1839], "ter, quaterque beatus, celui qui comme toi en est sorti!" The original Latin is, "o terque quaterque beati, / quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub mœnibus altis / contigit oppetere!" (*Æneid* 1.94-6) ("Oh thrice and four times blessèd you whose luck it was to fall before your fathers' eyes under Troy's battlements!" [trans. C. Day Lewis, Oxford, O.U.P., 1966]).

19 Letter 43, [Rouen, 31st May 1839], "Il y a plus de vérité dans une seule scène de Shakespeare, dans une ode d'Horace ou de Hugo que dans tout Michelet, tout Montesquieu, tout Robertson".

20 "the Syrian Orontes has long been discharging into the Tiber" (trans. Niall Rudd, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991).

s'endorme en rêvant de joies sans nombre, en disant aussi *nunc pulsanda tellus*" (*OC*I, p.223; the original Latin is "nunc pede libero / pulsanda tellus"[21]); the reference to this particular poem is especially appropriate given the work's bacchic quality: in the ode, Cleopatra is described as being drunk on Mareotic wine. Flaubert's awakening interest in the classics is thus manifested at this time in a deeper, wider knowledge of and greater willingness to quote classical texts and an increasing interest in ancient history.

As mentioned earlier, the study of ancient Greek began in the *cinquième* (1834-5), and references to Homer's works occur in *Rabelais* (late 1838 / early 1839) and *Rome et les Césars* (August 1839); we can assume a basic knowledge of Greek at this time. However, it is clear that even in the late 1830s, three or four years after beginning its study, Flaubert was not confident of his Greek. The first hint of this comes in letter 48 [Rouen, 11th October 1839], to Chevalier: "Et le grec, à qui il faut songer et que je ne sais pas lire!". We may surmise an element of schoolboy bravura here; however, according to Bruneau, Flaubert resolved by 8th February 1840 to rectify the situation:

> "Pendant quelques jours, j'ai eu la ferme résolution de faire en sorte qu'au bout de six mois, vers juillet, je susse l'anglais, le latin et de pouvoir lire le grec à la fin de cette semaine" (*op.cit.*, p.276).

The date of this quotation is arguable: this information is taken from Flaubert's *Souvenirs, notes et pensées intimes*, which was only partially known when Bruneau was writing, though it is now published *in extenso*, notably in J.P. Germain's 1987 edition. Here, the above quotation is dated precisely one

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[21] "now [is the time] with unfettered feet to beat the ground with dancing" (trans. C.E. Bennet, Loeb edition, 1914). Flaubert's shorter quotation means "now we must beat the ground".

year later, and continues "... Je devais savoir par cœur le IVe chant de *l'Énéide*. Je ne lis pas grand-chose" (*op.cit.* p.51); it is, moreover, in a context of some pessimism on Flaubert's part regarding his chances of achieving such fluency. An earlier section in this edition expresses similar sentiments:

> "j'aurais bien voulu travailler cette année, mais je n'en ai pas le cœur... j'aurais pu savoir le latin, le grec, l'anglais, mille choses m'arrachent le livre des mains" (*op.cit.* p.40).

This is dated 2nd January 1841, which is certainly accurate as the section where it features mentions Flaubert's journey to the Pyrenees and Corsica as having taken place in the previous five months. This and the fact that the intention to learn book four of the *Æneid* by heart seems rather ambitious for a youth concentrating on passing his *baccalauréat* may suggest that the 1841 dating is more accurate. The basic point stands, nevertheless, that Flaubert was, in the early 1840s, far from confident of his prowess in the classical languages. However this may be, some effort was made in 1840, as revision for the *baccalauréat*[22]; nonetheless, Flaubert was never, as we shall see, to be fully confident in his Greek.

By 23rd August 1840, when Flaubert took the *baccalauréat* examination, his penchant for Romanticism leavened by the sixteenth century, manifest in his tastes, reading and writing, and exposed by Bruneau (*op.cit.*) - was beginning to give way to an interest in classics[23]. There is little evidence that

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[22] Letter 58, [Rouen, 7th July 1840]: "Il m'a fallu apprendre à lire le grec, apprendre *par cœur* Démosthène et deux chants de *L'Iliade*..."

[23] In the *Souvenirs, notes et pensées intimes* (see above, pp.17-18), in May 1840 or 1841, Flaubert states that he recently read *Werther*, and that "la désillusion que j'en ai eu a été complète, tout ce qui m'avait paru chaud est froid, tout ce qui me semblait bon est détestable" (*op.cit.* p.53). Although this applies to only one work, *Werther* was such a seminal text for the Romantics that some degree of disillusionment with Romanticism

Flaubert's reading of classical authors went far beyond those prescribed by the contemporary curriculum - Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Tacitus, Ovid, Homer - although authors such as Petronius and Apuleius may have been extra-curricular, and probably demonstrate Le Poittevin's influence upon Flaubert at this time; furthermore, Flaubert may well have gone beyond the prescribed works of curricular authors. What is clear, however, is that Flaubert's interest in classical literature increased as he approached the end of his school career, and that this tendency was to persist after the *baccalauréat.*

(ii) From the *baccalauréat* until the*voyage en Orient* (August 1840 - October 1849)

Flaubert does not seem to have considered the completion of his *baccalauréat* a vital watershed, despite the amount of work he did in preparation for it; there was a strong degree of continuity in his reading and tastes before and after the exam, with a continuing taste for Rabelais and Montaigne being noteworthy; interestingly, in one letter[24], he recommends those writers together with Horace as being good authors for cheering oneself up: "lisez Rabelais, Montaigne, Horace ou quelque autre gaillard qui ait vu la vie sous un jour plus tranquille...". Flaubert's regard for imperial Roman history, too, remained constant: in letter 76 (Rouen, 26th January 1842), he expresses enthusiasm for Tacitus, whom already in September 1840 he was rereading (*OC*II, p.456); in

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itself may be inferred.

[24] Letter 78, [Rouen, 15th March 1842].

June 1844, he still admires Nero, albeit with some æsthetic rationalization[25]. Finally, the set works of his college curriculum seem to have remained in his memory: in a letter to his sister of December 1842, he recalls Duilius Nepos, the first Roman general to defeat a Carthaginian fleet. This reference may recall a passage of Cicero's *De senectute*, part of the *quatrième* curriculum[26].

However, although the *baccalauréat* was not in itself vital to Flaubert, it did facilitate an event central in his development: the journey he undertook, as a reward for passing the examination, to the Pyrenees and Corsica, between August and October 1840. Its influence in the development of Flaubert's pantheism is well known (Bruneau, *op.cit.*, pp.301-2); but also, before he reached Corsica, it stimulated a further development in his attitude towards antiquity. It is clear that the classical sites Flaubert visited in southern France - the Roman arena at Nîmes, although not the *Maison carrée*; the *Pont du Gard*; the amphitheatre at Arles - affected him profoundly. In his *Journal de voyage*, he records his admiration for the workmanship of the *Pont du Gard*: "les hommes qui ont fait tout cela ne sortaient pas de l'École polytechnique!"[27]; and in a letter to his sister, he enthuses that "Tu ne peux pas te figurer ce que

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25 Letter 130, [Rouen], 7th June [1844]: "j'admire Néron: c'est l'homme culminant du monde antique! Malheur à qui ne frémit pas en lisant Suétone!". Shortly after, comparing Nero to the later emperor, Heliogabalus: "Néron est plus calme, plus beau, plus antique, plus posé, en somme supérieur".

26 Letter 99, [Paris, December 1842]: "Il mériterait comme Duillius d'être reconduit tous les soirs dans la rue du Champ-des-Oiseaux au son des flûtes et avec des flambeaux". The Cicero passage in question is *De senectute*, 13.44: "C. Duellium M.F., qui Pœnos classe primus devicerat..." ("Gaius Duellius, son of Marcus, and the first Roman to win a naval victory over the Carthaginians" - trans. William Armistead Falconer, Loeb edition, 1923).

27 *OC*II, p.438.

c'est que les monuments romains, ma chère Caroline, et le plaisir que m'a procuré la vue des arènes!"[28]. Furthermore, the *Notes de voyage* reveal Flaubert's taste for two probably extra-curricular Latin authors: he states that the people of Nîmes remind him of the Roman lower classes as depicted by Plautus (*OC*II, p.438), and at the arena itself, asks a series of rhetorical questions, inspired by the place's 'Roman' atmosphere, featuring the names of characters in the comedies of Plautus and Terence: "Qu'y disait Dave à Formion, Libertinus à Posthumus? Quelle histoire racontait Hippia au consul?" (p.439). Davus is a slave name in the works of both comic dramatists, for instance in Plautus' *Amphitryon* and Terence's *Andria* and *Phormio* - the latter of which, Latinized is one of the names Flaubert uses - and Postumus is a man's name in Plautus' *Aulularia.* Conceivably, the memories of the Roman circus inspired by the arena may derive from the writings of Juvenal or another writer of the imperium, but it is the works of Terence and Plautus which the Roman remains most vividly bring to life. This is the importance, in terms of Flaubert's classical 'education', of this journey: it crystallized his pre-existing conceptions of antiquity, as this passage of the *Journal de voyage* indicates: "Ces monuments romains sont comme un squelette dont les os çà et là passent à travers la terre; aux ondulations du gazon on devine la forme du mort" (*ibid.*). The monuments of the *Midi* gave Flaubert a concrete impression of antiquity, inspiring him to further and wider reading: at the end of the *Journal*, he states that he is rereading Tacitus and will take up Propertius, and envisages reading Homer in Greece (p.456).

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[28] Letter 60, Marseille, [28th September 1840].

As remarked both by Bruneau (*op.cit.*) and Seznec, in his article 'Les lectures antiques de Flaubert entre 1840 et 1850'[29], the years 1840-44 saw an extension of Flaubert's interest in classical antiquity, perhaps partially thanks to his journey, and despite his legal studies of the period. We have little information on his reading in 1841 - letters 65 and 73 ([Rouen, 28th March 1841] and 31st December 1841) state merely that he is working on Greek and Latin, the latter specifying Homer, and, as we have seen (p.18), Flaubert's discouraged comments in his *Souvenirs, notes et pensées intimes* regarding Latin and Greek may date from January and February 1841, although they give little intimation of precisely what Flaubert was studying; however, as we shall see, some hint of his reading at this stage may be inferred from *ES*I. In September 1842, besides Rabelais and Montaigne, Flaubert was reading Horace[30]; in October, a slightly misquoted citation from the *Æneid* suggests he may have been reading Virgil[31]; the reference (pp.17-18) to memorizing book four of the *Æneid* in *Souvenirs, notes et pensées intimes* suggests that he may have worked on Virgil, voluntarily or otherwise, as early as 1840 or 1841; and the reference to Duilius (cited above, note 26) may imply some reading of Cicero at this time. Simultaneously, some of Flaubert's reading for his legal studies had a classical element: in letter 99 (see note 26), he alludes to reading Justinian's *Institutes*, a legal textbook, in Latin. At any rate, by the time

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[29] *Revue d'Histoire de la Philosophie et d'Histoire Générale de la Civilization*, 7, 3 (July - December 1939), pp.274-82.

[30] Letter 92, [Trouville, 6th September 1842].

[31] Letter 93, [Rouen, 21st October 1842]: "le spleen occidental n'est pas facétieux; *crede ab experto*". The original Latin is "experto credite" (*Æneid* 11.283), literally "believe one who knows".

of Flaubert's first nervous attack, in January 1844, the classics and classical mythology seem an integral part of his idiolect: in his first subsequent letter[32], he describes his misadventure thus: "j'ai failli aller voir Pluton, Rhadamanthe et Minos".

The effect of Flaubert's illness was dramatic: besides curtailing his legal studies, it afforded him more spare time for reading, as he acknowledged: in letter 134 ([Rouen, January 1845]), to Emmanuel Vasse de Saint-Ouen, he states, "Ma maladie aura toujours eu l'avantage qu'on me laisse m'occuper comme j'entends". In the months after his attack, Flaubert read Suetonius, Plutarch, Tacitus, Montaigne, Rabelais and numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors. Again in letter 134, he states that he will read Homer and Shakespeare "quand j'irai mieux" (implying that his state of health, while affording him extra time for reading, precluded his reading works which might overtax him), mentions that at some stage he read Petronius with its recipient, and announces his resumption of the study of Greek.

The years 1840 - 44 thus saw a general expansion of Flaubert's tastes in classical literature, and its incorporation into his literary vocabulary; he also underwent a fundamental development in his attitude towards classical authors' style. This is exemplified by letter 76 (Rouen, 22nd January 1842), to Gourgaud-Dugazon, Flaubert's former teacher, which features an encomium of the styles of Tacitus and Homer:

> "Tacite est pour moi comme des bas-reliefs de bronze, et Homère est beau comme la Méditerranée: ce sont les mêmes flots purs et bleus, c'est le même soleil et le même horizon".

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[32] Letter 126, [Rouen, late January / early February 1844].

This concept that the style of classical authors reflects their environment is probably influenced by Flaubert's own experience of the Mediterranean, and is one reason why, in the same letter, he states of the classical languages (perhaps wishing to impress his former master, but nonetheless with palpable sincerity) that "je m'en occuperai peut-être toujours".

In all respects, Flaubert's major work of these years is his first *Education sentimentale*, often considered his first masterpiece, completed in January 1845. A number of problems apply to its interpretation. In the first place, there is some difficulty in establishing the precise relationship between Flaubert's biography and that of his two heroes, Henry and Jules; Henry's life in Paris reflects that of Flaubert as a student, while Jules' intellectual development, as Bruneau demonstrates, closely mirrors Flaubert's, with his discovery of pantheism, impersonality and so on. This is clearly shown in the work itself: for example, like Flaubert, Jules is fascinated by Caligula, Nero, Elagabalus:

> "il comprit Caligula se roulant sur ses tas d'or... il entra dans l'amour romain... tour à tour égyptien sous Antoine, asiatique à Naples avec Néron, indien avec Héliogabale... " (*OC*I, p.325).

The correct resolution of this conundrum, proposed by Bruneau, is probably that both characters contain elements of Flaubert - as do so many of his later creations; neither is totally identified with him, and one should avoid exaggerating his part in either. This contradicts Seznec, who argues in his article (see above, p.22) that Jules is closer to Flaubert. In fact, in one place, Seznec's facts are demonstrably incorrect: he states (*op.cit.*, p.275) that Jules admits to reading Latin works with their translation at hand, and Greek with their Latin translation, whereas it is in fact Henry who does so (*OC*I, p.364). Admittedly, this does not make it any less likely that Flaubert had such a habit,

which is what Seznec seeks to prove. Equally, Bruneau's claim (*op.cit.*, p.284) that Horace at this time declines in Flaubert's estimation, because the bourgeois Henry likes him (*OC*I, p.367: "son poète favori était Horace") is questionable, given that the implied contrast of Henry as bad, Jules as good contradicts Bruneau's view that some of Flaubert is in both creations[33]. In fact, Flaubert still greatly esteemed Horace at this period (see above, pp.16-17) and in *ES*I, as shown below, there is extensive reference to that writer.

One fact that can be established definitively from a reading of *ES*I is what classical works Flaubert alludes to or cites within it - these, which are quite numerous, he may be assumed to have read. Thus Jules mentions in a letter a passage of *Æneid* 2, where the ghost of Hector appears to Æneas: "cette lueur étrange qui, dans Virgile, arriva sur le fantôme sanglant d'Hector et illumina sa pâleur aux regards épouvantés d'Énée" (p.299). Probably the most prolific section of the work for such references comes somewhat later. Besides revealing considerable knowledge of Roman history, Flaubert shows familiarity with several works of Horace in the passage where he writes of Jules that,

> "Avec Horace il rêvait à l'esclave ionienne qui danse au son des crotales et vous jette du falerne au visage; elle a sur l'épaule une marque de dent, que son maître lui a faite hier en lui promettant de l'affranchir. Comme elle s'entend à tourmenter les cœurs et à capter les héritages!" (p.325).

How much of this is derivative is unclear, but at least two sources are apparent: Horace's *Odes* 3.6.21-2,

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[33] Admittedly, as Bruneau also points out, Flaubert's attitudes towards Henry and Jules changed in the course of writing *ES*I, possibly as he became aware of the closer similarity of Jules to himself. The reference to Henry's appreciation of Horace must be taken in context: by this stage of composition, the identification of Flaubert and Henry may indeed have been wearing very thin.

"motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
matura virgo"[34],

which gives the idea of "l'esclave ionienne qui danse", and *Odes* 1.13.9-12:

"uror, seu tibi candidos
turparunt umeros immodicae mero
rixae, sive puer furens
impressit memorem dente labris notam"[35],

which seems to have supplied the details of shoulders, toothmarks and possibly Falernian wine. On the following page, there is evidence of close reading of Juvenal's sixth *Satire*:

"nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero...
obscurisque genis turpis fumoque lucernae"[36] (120, 131),

describing Messalina's nocturnal activities; Flaubert has translated parts of this almost directly, writing that Jules "rêvait tout le jour... à la lampe fumeuse de Messaline et à son capuchon de couleur fauve"; Juvenal is mentioned several lines later, along with Tacitus - "il méditait les mystères de l'Atrium avec la colère de Juvénal, et les orgies de l'empire dans la haute phrase de Tacite" - suggesting that both authors were still often in Flaubert's thoughts at this time. Later, there is possible evidence of familiarity with Sophocles - Jules "remontait à la source même de la grâce et à la beauté incarnée, c'est-à-dire à la Grèce, à Sophocle" (*OC*I, p.367) - and on the same page, from Henry's

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34 "The girl, come of age, delights to learn Ionic [Greek] dances" (trans. Gordon Williams, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969).

35 "I kindle with anger, whether a quarrel waxing hot with wine has harmed thy gleaming shoulders, or the frenzied lad has with his teeth imprinted a lasting mark upon thy lips" (trans. Bennet).

36 "with a yellow wig concealing her raven locks... with greasy grimy cheeks and foul from the smoke of the lamp" (trans. Rudd).

reading, familiarity with Cicero may be inferred.

It is moreover clear that by now, Flaubert's deep admiration for Homer, together with Shakespeare was firmly established: on page 357, Jules opines that,

> "Homère et Shakespeare ont compris dans leur cercle l'humanité et la nature... tellement qu'on ne peut pas se figurer l'antiquité sans Homère ni les temps modernes sans Shakespeare. Ils ont été si *vrais* qu'ils sont devenus *nécessaires*...";

more briefly, on page 367, "Homère et Shakespeare étaient les dieux de son ciel poétique". Although this is Jules' opinion, it is clear that Flaubert himself held much the same views at this time; in letter 130 ([Rouen] 7th June [1844]), after stating that he will soon take up the two authors again, he enthuses, "Homère et Shakespeare, tout est là! Les autres poètes, même les plus grands, semblent petits à côté d'eux". *ES*I can be considered to encapsulate the breadth of Flaubert's reading in the early 1840s, and its increasing tendency to go beyond the limited field of contemporary Romanticism and towards antiquity; it seems that simultaneously, his ideas about classical literature and its relationship with subsequent writing were developing rapidly.

Thus, the years 1840-44, until the completion of Flaubert's first major narrative work, apparently reveal a considerable expansion in his tastes for the classics, and willingness to read their literature voluntarily, independently of the coercion imposed by formal education. His admiration for the classics, as revealed by his letter to Gourgaud-Dugazon, with its stylistic description of Tacitus and Homer, is a function of the ancient authors' style - as is Jules' admiration for any work - and is related to the environment, the *milieu*, where they were written. Paradoxically, this emphasis upon the classical *milieu*, at a

time when Flaubert's taste for Romanticism is becoming less absolute, is comparable to the Romantic idea of local colour, although perhaps it goes deeper than that. Finally, a central development of these years was the end of Flaubert's formal education, due to his illness; this provided him with extensive leisure time, much of which he spent reading and writing, facilitating the broadening of his tastes; and much of Flaubert's chosen reading was the work of authors of classical antiquity.

The next period of Flaubert's youth also displays considerable continuity. Horace remains in vogue; in letter 149 ([Croisset], 16th September [1845]), to Le Poittevin, Flaubert quotes him on character formation: "« *Sibi constet* », dit Horace"[37]; in August 1846, he is 'ruminating' Virgil and Horace[38]; and he still considers Horace a useful morale booster: "Qui dira... tous les pleurs que le bon Horace a fait en aller dans un sourire?"[39]. More detailed references to Horace feature in another letter of August 1846. Flaubert imagines someone addressing Horace:

> "O bon Flaccus, qu'est-ce que devient votre ode à Melpomène? Parlez-moi de votre passion pour le petit garçon perse que Pollion vous a cédé; est-ce en asclépiades ou en iambiques que vous allez nous entretenir de lui? Tout ce que vous dites me préoccupe bien plus que la guerre des Parthes, que le collège des flamines et que la loi Valeria...",

and later states: "l'amour de Glycère ou de Lycoris passera encore par-dessus

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[37] *Ars poetica* 127: "let it... be true to itself" (trans. D.A. Russell and M. Winterbottom, Oxford, O.U.P., 1989).

[38] Letter 172, Croisset, 12th August 1846.

[39] Letter 198, [Croisset, 18th September 1846].

des civilisations futures"[40]. These allusions may be partly traced to specific poems - especially to the *Odes*, as Flaubert specifies. For example, Melpomene (the Muse of tragedy, although Flaubert seems to envisage her as a human recipient of an ode) is addressed in *Odes* 1.24.2-4, 3.30.15-16 and 4.3.1-2; Lycoris features in *Odes* 1.33 -

> "insignem tenui fronte Lycorida
> Cyri torret amor"[41] (4-5) -

as does Glycera -

> "Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor
> immitis Glyceræ"[42] (1-2).

Indeed, the latter name is recurrent in Horace's *Odes*, featuring also in 1.19, 1.30 and 3.19. Equally, the Parthians are often mentioned in the *Odes*: their internal politics feature in 1.26, and the Parthian wars are alluded to in 1.9. Many of these references derive from *Odes* book one; we may infer that Flaubert was most familiar with this.

Roman history continued to engage his attention: according to Seznec, in April 1846, Flaubert read Michelet's *Histoire romaine*, and in a letter of October 1846, he alludes to, "ce que dit Gibbon, à la fin de son histoire"[43], implying a knowledge of the *Decline and fall of the Roman empire*. Homer, with Shakespeare, remains part of Flaubert's pantheon: in letter 198 [Croisset,

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[40] Letter 185, [Croisset, 30th August 1846].

[41] "Fair Lycoris with forehead low is consumed with love for Cyrus" (trans. Bennet).

[42] "Grieve not o'ermuch, O Albus, for thought of cruel Glycera" (*ibid.*).

[43] Letter 208, [Croisset, 4th October 1846].

18th September 1846], where he also remembers his youthful attitude to Plutarch, he states that Homer causes him "tressaillements divins". Even his reaction to the arena at Nîmes, when he visits it for the second time, with his family, in April 1845, closely resembles that on the earlier occasion: in letter 138 (Marseilles, 15th [April 1845]), he tells Le Poittevin that Plautus' *Rudens* and *Bacchides* were performed there, and refers to Ballio and Labrax, characters in the *Rudens* and *Pseudolus*; in letter 140 (Milan, 13th May [1845]), he mentions Mœchus, the name of an adulterer in Plautus' *Amphitryon*, *Truculentus* and *Miles gloriosus*, and Terence's *Eunuchus*. Despite these elements of continuity, however, the period 1845-48 was, more than any before, a time of new discoveries for Flaubert, especially in the field of classical literature.

This widening of Flaubert's tastes in antiquity may still be a result partly of his malady-induced leisure time. He tells Chevalier that,

> "Je n'ai jamais passé d'années meilleures que les deux qui viennent de s'écouler, parce qu'elles ont été les plus libres, les moins gênées dans leur entournure"[44].

Another factor in this expansion may have been the resumption, upon Flaubert's return from his studies in Paris, of his acquaintance with Louis Bouilhet. Flaubert had known Bouilhet since their schooldays, although they had not then been particularly close; like him, Bouilhet eventually devoted himself full-time to literature, as far as his means permitted. He is generally considered to have been a noteable classical scholar: Du Camp states that the job of private tutor was especially easy for Bouilhet,

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[44] Letter 147, Croisset, 13th August 1845.

> "qui a été l'humaniste le plus distingué que j'aie rencontré. Nul poète grec, nul poète latin qui ne lui fût connu; il en faisait sa lecture habituelle et savait n'être point pédant" (*op.cit.*, p.321).

Flaubert too acknowledges Bouilhet's classical scholarship in his 1872 preface to the latter's *Dernières chansons*[45]:

> "Sa connaissance profonde du latin (il écrivait dans cette langue presque aussi facilement qu'en français) lui inspira quelques-unes des pièces romaines qui sont dans *Festons et astragales*" (p.287).

The same applies to Bouilhet's work *Melænis*, a poem of epic length, set in ancient Rome, on which he worked in the late 1840s, at roughly the same time as Flaubert wrote *TSA*I. Indeed, classical scholarship pervades Bouilhet's works, and his influence was almost certainly strong in Flaubert's growing appreciation of antiquity in these years.

On 15th September 1846, Flaubert was 'stuffing himself' with Latin poets (letter 196), probably including Juvenal and Horace, and, stretching a point, the historian Tacitus, all of whom feature in *Par les champs et par les grèves*[46] (p.595). Flaubert clearly did spend much of his time otherwise than reading Latin poets: in 1846, he was working a great deal on a prospective *Conte oriental*; in 1847, he and Du Camp undertook the journey in Brittany which provided the material for *PCG*; in 1848, he was to spend much of his time preparing to write *TSA*I. Most of Flaubert's main discoveries of the period were nonetheless in classical history and literature.

Firstly, Flaubert seems, between 20th December 1846 and 15th February 1847 (letters 239 and 244) to have discovered Lucretius (or rather, to

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[45] Bouilhet, *Œuvres*, Paris, Alphonse Lemerre, 1880.

[46] For references to this work, I have used Adrianne Tooke's edition (Geneva, Droz, 1987) as the most recent and reliable.

have rediscovered and extended his knowledge of him; as will be shown in chapter 2, it seems likely that Lucretius featured in Flaubert's school curriculum). In both letters, he states baldly that he is reading that author; further evidence of familiarity occurs in *PCG*, where Flaubert refers to "la posture perfide recommandée par Lucrèce et par l'*Amour conjugal*" (Tooke, p.111). The particular passage Flaubert has in mind here, where Lucretius recommends the position for intercourse likeliest to result in pregnancy, is *De rerum natura* 4.1264-7; it seems probable, however, that by the time of writing *PCG*, he had read Lucretius' entire work. There is evidence of a rediscovery of the *Æneid* around August and September 1846; in letter 197 ([Croisset, 17th September 1846]), he states that he is rereading the work,

> "dont je me répète à satiété quelques vers... il y a des phrases qui me restent dans la tête et dont je suis obsédé, comme de ces airs qui vous reviennent toujours et qui vous font mal tant on les aime";

and as mentioned before (see n.3), Flaubert at this time regretted his youthful dislike of the *Æneid*. Also, although Quintus Curtius as an author was probably not new to Flaubert - he may have studied him in the *quatrième* - it was through him that he discovered a further object of admiration in ancient history: Alexander the Great. In letter 148 (Croisset [late August 1845]), he enthuses to Le Poittevin, "Quel gars que cet Alexandre!"

However, the most striking discoveries of this period arise from Flaubert's increased esteem for ancient Greek, on which he had voluntarily worked, with varying enthusiasm and success, since at least 1841; from around early 1845, he began to concentrate upon it with increased application. As was noted above (p.23), by January 1845, Flaubert was working hard on Greek; and this pace of work seems largely to have continued

throughout the period. How well Flaubert understood Greek is unclear. It seems evident that he must have known the language quite well to appreciate Homer as much as he did, but his studies do seem partly to have been a labour of love; we may perhaps surmise that Flaubert, like Henry in *ES*I, was obliged to read Greek with one eye on the Latin translation. In July 1845[47], Flaubert is struggling with Greek verbs, which are to remain the bane of his life: in March 1846[48], discouraged by personal tragedy, Flaubert laments that after six years of effort (suggesting that he regarded his serious studies of Greek as beginning after he left college), he still cannot grasp Greek verbs. Nonetheless, he takes Greek up again within days[49], although he continues to bemoan the difficulties involved: in letter 173 (Croisset, 12th August 1846), he states that "j'épelle toujours le grec. Dieu sait quand je le lirai"; and in letter 193 ([Croisset, 13th September 1846]), to Louise Colet, Flaubert complains that "il ne va pas fort, mon pauvre grec, ta figure vient toujours se placer entre le livre et mes yeux..."; in October the same year[50], he finds Greek difficult while reading Nöttinger's *Historia orientalis*, "un bouquin latin hérissé de grec que je n'entends pas toujours, et d'hébreu par-dessus lequel je passe"[51].

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47 Letter 146, [Croisset, 10th July 1845].

48 Letter 158, Croisset, [25th] March 1846.

49 Letter 161, [Croisset, 7th April 1846].

50 Letter 207, [Croisset, 3rd October 1846].

51 Flaubert's confidence with Latin and total ignorance of Hebrew contrasts strikingly with both Henry, whose Latin is somewhat uncertain, and with Jules, who begins to learn Hebrew, in *ES*I.

Some improvement occurs by late 1846 or early 1847[52], where, reading Lucretius and Theocritus (see p.36), Flaubert writes that "Je commence à les comprendre". By mid-1847, the study of Greek is effectively part of his daily life; in a letter to Louise at the end of his tour of Britanny, he states that within three weeks he will be back at Croisset: "J'y vais reprendre mon train de vie habituelle, mon grec, mes bouquins, mes savates et mon pantalon large"[53].

One may speculate that much of Flaubert's self-deprecation where Greek is concerned is in fact false modesty or self-mockery, especially when expressed in letters addressed to Louise Colet. It seems that Flaubert was introduced to Louise as something of a master of the classics, a reputation of which he attempted to rid himself: in letter 208 ([Croisset, 4th October 1846]), he tells her that "Ce bon Toirac... est trop indulgent ou trop illusionné quand il dit que je connais les anciens à fond... C'est-à-dire que je les épelle, voilà tout". Even more pointedly, two months earlier, in August 1846[54], Flaubert writes to Louise,

> "Tu veux que je te montre le latin; à quoi bon? Et d'ailleurs il faudrait que je le sache moi-même. Tu es plus qu'indulgente quand tu me traites d'homme qui sait les langues anciennes à fond. J'espère arriver dans quelques années à les lire à peu près couramment".

(It seems, judging by this letter, that one of Flaubert's motives in decrying his knowledge of the classical languages was to avoid the tedium of having to teach them to Louise!) This modesty is given the lie only the next day, in letter

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[52] Letter 249 - undated, but probably between 20th December 1846 and 30th January 1847.

[53] Letter 254, Saint Malo, 13th July 1847.

[54] Letter 171, [Croisset, 11th August 1846].

173 (see p.33), to Émmanuel Vasse de Saint-Ouen, where, while, as we have seen, deploring the poverty of his Greek, Flaubert states that it is indifferent to him whether the translations of two Indian works he wishes to borrow are in Latin, French or English, thereby expressing confidence in his knowledge of all three languages. Again, as already stated, letter 207 (see note 50) expresses confidence in reading the Latin of the *Historia orientalis*. So, despite his protestations to the contrary, Flaubert's Latin was sound, and his Greek, while appreciably inferior, may have been similarly more advanced than he claimed: at any rate, it was of a high enough standard to facilitate several discoveries.

Firstly, it is clear that even if the reference in *ES*I to Sophocles (see p.26) is based not on first-hand experience but on hearsay, by the end of August 1845, Flaubert was familiar with Sophocles; he mentions him in letter 148 (Croisset [late August 1845]), although, unsurprisingly given the difficulty of that author, the reference expresses only a pious hope of understanding him within a year. Less difficult is the historian Herodotus, whom Flaubert studied at roughly the same time, August-September 1845[55]; again in letter 148, he states that he hopes to understand him within three months, and that he has completed his second book, on Egypt; earlier, in letter 146 (see note 47), he states that he is working on book two. It seems that Flaubert continued beyond that book, and that his reading made some impression upon him: in August 1846[56], he alludes in a letter to Louise to a Numidian custom, related

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[55] When, according to letter 149 ([Croisset], 16th September [1845]), Flaubert was spending three or four hours daily working on Greek.

[56] Letter 168, [6th August 1846].

by Herodotus, of scorching the heads of children, in order, Flaubert maintains, to accustom them to hot sun. The passage in question is from chapter 187 of Herodotus' fourth book, about the nomads (*Νομάδες*="Numidians") of the Libyan desert; admittedly, Flaubert's memory plays him false here, since the reason Herodotus gives for the practice is that it prevented phlegm running down from the head; familiarity with the book may nonetheless be assumed. One may even speculate that Flaubert's well-known unwritten project for a book on the battle of Thermopylæ was inspired partly by Herodotus' seventh book.

Further discoveries occurred in late 1846 and early 1847. At the same time as he rediscovered Lucretius, Flaubert encountered the Sicilian Greek pastoral poet Theocritus, writer of the *Idylls*, and instantly appreciated him. In letter 239 (undated, but around the end of 1846), he says of both Theocritus and Lucretius, "Quels artistes que ces anciens! Et quelles langues que ces langues-là!" The two subsequent letters (240 and 241; the first is from 30th January 1847, the second undated, but before 15th February) both mention his reading of Theocritus, the second saying that he will have finished him within a month and expressing great nostalgia for the beauty of antiquity, presumably inspired by his reading. It is unclear whether Theocritus represents Flaubert's first encounter with the pastoral genre; there is no firm evidence that he was acquainted at this stage with the other major classical pastoral work, imitated from Theocritus, Virgil's *Eclogues*. By August 1847, Flaubert's Greek had progressed so far that he could read Aristophanes in the original[57]; this author

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[57] Letter 258, La Bouille, [26th August 1847].

was also to arouse great enthusiasm with him, especially thanks to his work's rather scabrous nature. Already, according to Du Camp (*op.cit.*, p.65), he and Flaubert had, in 1845-6, worked on a translation of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and of Plautus' *Rudens*, "les dictionnaires aidant"[58]. In letter 260 (Croisset, [17th September 1847]), Flaubert writes to Louise,

> "je passe maintenant toutes mes matinées avec Aristophane. Voilà qui est beau et verveux et bouillant. Mais ce n'est pas décent, ce n'est pas moral, ce n'est même pas convenable; c'est tout bonnement sublime".

Flaubert's writing of *La Bretagne* (the working title of *PCG*) was to interrupt his reading of Aristophanes - in letter 264 ([Croisset, October 1847]), he says of it that "J'ai encore deux chapitres, après quoi je reprendrai ce vieux drôle d'Aristophane" - and in letter 272 ([Rouen, January 1848]), he states that after finishing his writing, he will again take up "ce brave Aristophane".

Besides the discovery of such new writers, a further development seems to have taken place in Flaubert's attitude to antiquity in the years 1845-48, and in particular in his definition of his own relationship with antiquity and its writers. As we have seen, Flaubert was very impressed with Homer, Virgil, Aristophanes, Theocritus and others; one might surmise that at this period of his life, for perhaps the first time, his appreciation of the writers of antiquity outweighed his fascination with ancient history. One result was the comparative eclipse of Tacitus at this time; that author is barely mentioned between 1845 and 1848, despite Flaubert's earlier enthusiasm for him.

There was also perhaps a development in his overall attitude to

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[58] As with many of Du Camp's statements (see above, p.9), this should be taken with some scepticism; undoubtedly some translation work did take place, but it would be foolish to draw any conclusions about Flaubert's proficiency at Latin or Greek from the reference to using dictionaries. It has already been argued that Flaubert knew Plautus (see pp.21 and 30).

antiquity from approximately 1845, stimulated perhaps by his second visit to the ancient sites of southern France, in that year, when he declared in a letter to Le Poittevin[59]:

> "Je porte l'amour de l'antiquité dans mes entrailles, je suis touché jusqu'au plus profond de mon être quand je songe aux carènes romaines qui fendaient les vagues immobiles et éternellement ondulantes de cette mer toujours jeune".

This identification with antiquity goes somewhat further; in letter 162 ([Croisset, May 1846]), to Du Camp, Flaubert writes, "Non, l'antiquité me donne le vertige. J'ai vécu à Rome, c'est sûr, du temps de César ou de Néron", and goes on to evoke a Roman triumph and the circus: "C'est là qu'il faut vivre, vois-tu...". We may suspect something of an artistic pose here; but more often, Flaubert considers himself an outsider, dazzled by the alien, other-worldly beauty of antiquity. The best example of this is probably in letter 175 ([Croisset, 13th August 1846]), where, Flaubert compares himself to a northern barbarian, to,

> "tous les barbares qui sont venus mourir en Italie. Ils avaient une aspiration frénétique vers la lumière, vers le ciel bleu, vers quelque existence chaude et sonore...".

For Flaubert, antiquity is a work of art, to be admired, but in which one cannot participate.

This primarily artistic concept of antiquity is clear in Flaubert's writings from 1846, when, in letter 200 ([Croisset, around 20th September 1846]), he declares the *Æneid* "beau"; it is reinforced in early 1847, thanks to Flaubert's reading of Theocritus: in letter 239 (undated, but between 20th December 1846 and 30th January 1847), Flaubert writes of antiquity, "c'est là qu'il faut vivre, c'est là qu'il faut aller, dans la région du soleil, au pays du Beau...";

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[59] Letter 140, Milan, 13th May [1845].

shortly afterwards, in letter 241 (between the same dates), Flaubert expresses a nostalgic regret for antiquity's lost beauty as depicted by Theocritus, and concludes, "Qu'importe, après tout, s'il n'y a que là qu'on puisse vivre, s'il n'y a qu'à cela qu'on puisse penser sans dédain et sans pitié!". Together with this artistic appreciation of antiquity, however, comes a realization that this 'version' of antiquity *is* æsthetic and theoretical, not historical: in letter 240 (between the same dates), Flaubert speculates that "les idylles de Théocrite, que je lis maintenant, ont été inspirées sans doute par quelque ignoble pâtre sicilien qui puait fort des pieds". The art of antiquity consists in distorting and embellishing reality, not reflecting it: Flaubert concludes the above section of letter 240 as follows: "L'Art n'est grand que parce qu'il grandit". When classical artists achieve this end, they dwarf, æsthetically, all others: in letter 260 (Croisset, [17th September 1847]), Flaubert describes the relationship thus:

> "Du haut de l'Arc de Triomphe, les Parisiens, même ceux qui sont à cheval, ne paraissent pas grands. Quand on est huché sur l'antiquité, les modernes non plus ne vous semblent pas fort élevés de stature".

Such, then, was the nature of Flaubert's extension between 1845 and 1848 of his knowledge of antiquity: he came to appreciate it as potentially the source of the most æsthetically pleasing works, not as the most stimulating part of history.

(iii) The young Flaubert's view of the classics

Several conclusions may be drawn about the young Flaubert's contacts with and attitude towards classical civilization. Most simply, it is clear that his

favourite classical author was Homer, closely followed on the Latin side by Virgil (though only as author of the *Æneid*, rather than the *Eclogues* or *Georgics*), Tacitus and Horace, with considerable regard being shown for Juvenal, Lucretius, Suetonius, Plautus and Quintus Curtius, and at least a passing knowledge of Cicero, Seneca, Apuleius, Petronius, Ovid, Terence and possibly Propertius and Tibullus. On the Greek side, Flaubert's keenest enthusiasm after Homer was reserved for Theocritus, Plutarch and Aristophanes; Herodotus, although receiving less fulsome praise than these, clearly made some impression; and Flaubert was familiar with Æschylus, Sophocles and Demosthenes. It is worth noting that there is some correlation between Flaubert's favourite authors and Louis Bouilhet's, as reported by Flaubert in the preface to Bouilhet's *Dernières chansons*:

> "ce qu'il préférait chez les Grecs, c'était l'*Odyssée* d'abord, puis l'immense Aristophane, et parmi les Latins, non pas les auteurs du temps d'Auguste (excepté Virgile), mais les autres qui ont quelque chose de plus roide et de plus ronflant, comme Tacite et Juvénal. Il avait beaucoup étudié Apulée" (p.302).

The occurrence of Homer, Virgil, Tacitus, Juvenal and especially Aristophanes, whose prestige with Flaubert may well have resulted from his friendship with Bouilhet, among the favourite works of both men, is clearly not coincidence.

It would, of course, be perverse to deny that Flaubert was at least as much influenced by contemporary Romanticism and authors favoured by it, as by classicism. It is clear, nonetheless, that if Flaubert's literary tastes did not change absolutely from 'Romantic' to 'Classical' in this period - they always

had elements of each; and, as critics such as Moreau[60] have pointed out, the two are by no means diametrically opposed, particularly by 1849, when the Romantic-Classic distinction had lost much of its meaning - then at least the balance of preference between his relatively unenthusiastic college days, where the pseudo-historical aspects of classicism stimulated most of Flaubert's interest in antiquity, and the late 1840s, shifted sharply from Romantic writers to classical antiquity; this shift involved a widening of Flaubert's classical tastes, particularly to include considerable knowledge of Greek. It was also associated with a decline of Flaubert's obsession with historical aspects of antiquity, which chiefly gave him a Romantic sense of the 'local colour' of Greece and Rome, a Romanticized idealization of orgiastic luxury[61], and with a connected rise of his sense of the æsthetic values of antiquity's writers. An interest in history remained, accompanied by a recognition that history is not what classical writers - perhaps not even the historians among them - depicted, indeed that the 'local colour' of antiquity was not necessarily its reality, but the version of reality communicated by its authors; but Flaubert's main concern with classical writers, as with all others, was by 1849 primarily stylistic and æsthetic. Classical civilization is encoded not in the bare bones of history, but in the works of literature, historical or otherwise, left behind by classical writers, which, æsthetically and stylistically, are equal or superior to anything written since: such was Flaubert's view of

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60 *Le Classicisme des Romantiques*, Paris, Plon, 1932.

61 Although, of course, some interest in this aspect of antiquity remained throughout Flaubert's life (with his constant appreciation of at least some Romantic writers) manifesting itself in, for example, *Salammbô*.

antiquity in 1849.

(iv) From the start of the *voyage en Orient* until the completion of *MB* (October 1849 - April 1856)

It may be argued that the latter part of Flaubert's life is less important in the study of his reading, classical or otherwise, than the earlier part. By 1849, after all, Flaubert was aged twenty-seven, well past his 'formative' years; furthermore, as his commitment to literature strengthened, his reading was often dictated more by the demands of research for the project in hand than by personal inclination. Other distractions than his literary work appeared also: Flaubert took, especially in his later years, a keen interest in friends' and acquaintances' literary efforts, sometimes, as in the case of Louis Bouilhet, trying to assist in the publication or performance of their works. Personal tragedy also intervened, in the form of deaths among friends and relatives, particularly from 1870 onwards; and in the same period, the Franco-Prussian war exerted a particularly unwelcome disruptive influence.

Moreover, sources of information on Flaubert's contacts with antiquity appear more limited for the post-1849 period than for his early life. In this part of my study, I have generally not used evidence of reading available from Flaubert's adult works, on the grounds that to do so would be to overreach the scope of this section and to pre-empt future parts of the study. I have investigated source reading material for the adult works as revealed by the *Correspondance*, but ignored the effective equivalent of Flaubert's juvenilia as a source of information. Besides the *voyage en Orient* of 1849 - 51 and the

brief trip to North Africa of April - May 1858, undertaken mainly for research purposes, little travel writing is available for the period. Even Flaubert's *Correspondance* tends to concentrate more in this period upon personal affairs, the progress of his compositions and - despite his vehement denial[62] that he had a 'school' - the exposition of literary theories and opinions, though, as we shall see, the latter are not without interest in the study of Flaubert's view of antiquity.

Despite these reservations, the study of Flaubert's later contacts with classical civilization is not a vain task. Interest in antiquity remained a constant throughout his life, both 'professionally' - for the writing of *Salammbô*, *TSA* or 'Hérodias' - and for pleasure. He was to discover new authors almost until the end of his life, and his admiration for those he already knew by 1848 remained remarkably steady.

Flaubert's journey, shortly after the completion of *TSA*I, to the Middle East, Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, in the company of Maxime du Camp, was probably less influential in the formation of his views on classical antiquity than that of a decade earlier, to the Pyrenees and Corsica; Flaubert's enthusiasm for antiquity was now well-established, and needed no stimulus to enhance it. The journey served more to confirm Flaubert's predilection for antiquity (and, indeed, oriental mysticism) than to provide him with fresh insights into the classics. It is nonetheless apparent that Flaubert did take on his journey a good deal of classical literature: in letter 303 (Cairo, 1st December 1849), he states that he read three odes of Horace the previous

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62 Letter 2724, [Paris, after 20th December 1875]: "je m'abîme le tempérament à tâcher de n'avoir pas d'école!".

day "par divertissement", and both in the *Journal de voyage* and the *Correspondance*, he mentions reading Homer, specifying in letter 321 (some distance from Aswan, 13th March 1850) that he has read four books of the *Odyssey*[63]; by the time he reaches Smyrna in October of that year, he is reading the *Iliad* "comme un homme"[64]. Shortly after arriving at Athens on 19th December, he is reading, according to letter 359, Herodotus and Thirlwall's *History of ancient Greece*; in letter 366 (Patras, 10th February 1851), he claims to have reread Æschylus, and reaffirmed his opinion that the *Agamemnon* is that author's best work.

Although this journey was less significant for Flaubert than previous ones, he seems nonetheless to have found the landscapes through which he travelled highly evocative. Egypt, for example, seems to have reminded him of book two of Herodotus' history, largely concerned with that country, since in letter 321 (see above), he tells Bouilhet that he is considering writing the story of Mycerinus, a king of Egypt mentioned in chapters 128-9 of Herodotus' book. At a sepulchre in the Holy Land, between 11th and 15th June 1850, a work of art reminds Flaubert of "Les *langues* de Babylone dont parle Philostrate dans la Vie d'Apollonius"[65]; Flaubert read Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, while researching for *TSA*. Greece and Asia Minor seem to have affected Flaubert profoundly; on 7th October 1850, in letter 348, to his mother, he rejoices that

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[63] Interestingly in view of the discussion of Flaubert's competence in reading Greek (see above, pp.32-5), he specifies that he is reading Homer's work in the original.

[64] Letter 351, Smyrna, 7th November 1850.

[65] *OC*II, p.611.

he will soon "entrer dans l'antiquité classique". Arriving at Athens, Flaubert is delighted by the mere sight of the city: "Quand j'ai aperçu Athènes tout à l'heure, j'ai été heureux comme un enfant"[66]; in letter 359, to Bouilhet on the same day, he outlines plans to visit Thermopylæ, Sparta, Argos, Mycenæ and Corinth. Most satisfying for him seem to have been the Acropolis and Delphi; in letter 360, to his mother (Athens, 26th December [1850]), he enthuses about "les ruines": "La vue du Parthénon est une des choses qui m'ont le plus pénétré de ma vie"; and, again in letter 366, after a lengthy description and encomium of the Parthenon, he exclaims: "Avoir choisi Delphes pour y mettre la Pythie est un coup de génie"[67].

Compared to Greece, Flaubert apparently found Rome disappointing; he writes, "j'ai eu, comme un bourgeois, une désillusion"[68]. A central criticism of the city is that it has been too 'christianized' since the fall of the Roman empire; in a letter to his mother, he allows that the Coliseum is "quelque chose de crâne", but claims that it has been polluted by altars, crosses and suchlike; "les martyrs se sont bien vengés. Ils ont rendu leur supplice à la Rome antique qui disparaît sous la monacaille et l'église"[69]. More succinctly, on 9th April (letter 374), he states that "je cherchais la Rome de Néron, et j'ai trouvé

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[66] Letter 358, one hour from Athens, 19th December [1850].

[67] For details of Flaubert's travels in Greece, including a detailed examination of his visit to Thermopylæ, see Benjamin F. Bart, 'Flaubert's itinerary in Greece', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 65, 4 (June 1950), pp.371-81.

[68] Letter 374, Rome, 9th April [1851].

[69] Letter 372, Rome, 29th March 1851.

celle de Sixte Quint". It is the countryside that Flaubert finds most evocative of antiquity; regretting Bouilhet's absence in letter 373 (Rome, 8th April 1851), he writes to his mother, "Pauvre garçon, comme il s'amuserait ici! Comme il humerait les ruines et la campagne! Car la campagne de Rome est ce qu'il y a de plus antique à Rome". Nonetheless, besides the Coliseum - which, as we have seen, Flaubert appreciated despite everything - he did explore the Vatican museums at length, and, before visiting Rome itself, went to Vesuvius, Pompeii, Baiæ and other well-known Roman sites; it was here especially that he missed his classicist friend Bouilhet[70], presumably because these were the sites he found most evocative of antiquity. Certainly, several years later, he was to advise another friend, Jean Clogenson, that "Pompéi vaut à elle seule, en fait d'antiquités, tout ce qu'il y a à Rome"[71].

It will have been noticed that many of Flaubert's letters during his travels in the Middle East, Greece and Italy were addressed to Louis Bouilhet, or contained references to him; certainly most of the longest letters, including the most classically inclined, were to that recipient. Flaubert shows a tendency in these letters to tell Bouilhet especially of those classics he reads, and to allude to and cite, more or less accurately, works he already knows. Thus, on 27th June 1850 (letter 331), at a period when he is reading Bouilhet's Roman poem *Melænis*, he warns Bouilhet against visiting madame Flaubert

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[70] Letter 376, Rome, 4th May [1851]: "c'est à Pompéi que je t'ai regretté et à Baïes!".

[71] Letter 692, Paris, 25th March [1857].

too frequently with the phrase "est modus in rebus"[72], from Horace, *Satires* 1.1.106, a work he has not previously quoted. Again, on 20th August, at Jerusalem, Flaubert misquotes "le gentil Lucrèce" in criticizing religion: "*Tanta religio!* etc."[73]; and on 10th February and 4th May 1851 (letters 366 and 376), he slightly misquotes Horace, writing "stupet æris" for "stupet Albius ære"[74], another quotation from the *Satires* (1.4.28). In letter 366, Flaubert enquires about Bouilhet's love life, using his own Latin phrase, "*Quid de Venere?*"[75]. The general impression given is that Flaubert wishes to demonstrate to Bouilhet the extent of his knowledge out of respect for his friend's classical erudition; the influence of Bouilhet's interest in the classics is here made clear. Flaubert even seems to go to the point of showing off: on 20th August 1850, he uses the Greek alphabet as a sort of code[76]. Certainly it seems that Bouilhet's influence upon Flaubert's attitude to the classics continued to loom large in this period.

Another result of Flaubert's desire to 'show off' in the letters of this time is perhaps his exposition of literary and historical theories, especially in letters

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72 "Things have a proper measure" (trans. P. Michael Brown, Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1993).

73 Letter 340; the original Latin is "tantum religio potuit suadere malorum" (*DRN* 1.101) ("Such evil deeds could religion prompt" [trans. Cyril Bailey, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1947]).

74 "Albius is besotted with bronze" (trans. Brown).

75 Literally, "What of Venus?".

76 Letter 340, Jerusalem, 20th August 1850: "*Nota bene* sous le sceau du plus grand secret. μαξιμε α νουλυ σοδομισερ υν βαρδαχε δανσ λα γροττε δε Ιερεμιε". The slander is refuted by Du Camp in similar vein: "σ'εστ φαυξ!".

addressed to Bouilhet. Thus in letter 344 (Damascus, 4th September 1850), Homer is used as a negative exemplar of Flaubert's famous maxim, "l'ineptie consiste à vouloir conclure", the first of many occasions on which Homer is held up as a paragon of impersonality. We have already noted Flaubert's theory (see pp.45-6), expounded both to his mother and Bouilhet, that the Rome of antiquity had been destroyed by Christianity. This tendency to theorize was to continue throughout the period, and not only to Bouilhet: on 27th March 1852 (letter 410), writing to Louise Colet, Flaubert uses Homer, Shakespeare and Rabelais as illustrations of impersonality: "Je ne peux rien me figurer sur la personne d'Homère, de Rabelais...", though, obviously, this idea is not new to Flaubert. It would seem, then, that the *voyage en Orient* did not profoundly alter Flaubert's views of antiquity; that is, it afforded few new insights or revelations. Rather, it entrenched his appreciation of the classical world, especially perhaps of Homer and Greece, whose landscapes and monuments so impressed him; it also afforded him the opportunity to exercise his knowledge of that world, by contemplating monuments, deciphering inscriptions (see *OC*II, p.586) and suchlike.

Flaubert's work on Greek continued after his return from the Middle East. Between 25th January and 9th February 1852 (letters 400 and 403), he spent some two hours daily on Greek, besides studying English, specifically Shakespeare; he appears to have hoped to achieve fluency in reading English within a few months. However, the start of the composition of *MB* (on 19th September 1851, according to letter 380, written the next day) was to distract Flaubert from his other work somewhat: in January 1853, he complained to Louise Colet that the difficulty of his novel had caused him to

abandon his work on Greek and English: "Voilà plusieurs jours que j'en ai abandonné Sophocle et Shakespeare"[77]. Already by mid-May 1852, the preparation of the novel is causing Flaubert considerable anguish, as expressed in letter 420 (Croisset, [15th-16th May 1852]).

Nonetheless, study of classical literature remained a regular activity during *MB*'s composition, despite his habitual difficulties with Greek. On 27th February 1853 (letter 478), he complains to Louise Colet that "Il n'est pas jusqu'à ce pauvre grec qui ne me semble se débrouiller". By 30th September that year, however, he states that "je commence aussi à entendre Sophocle un peu" (letter 541). It is unclear whether this refers to understanding Sophocles' ideas, or his language; if the latter, one may assume that Flaubert's Greek was by this stage quite advanced, as that writer's language is far from straightforward. Certainly his Latin was virtually fluent; he states in the same letter that his understanding of Juvenal is almost perfect, "sauf un contre-sens par-ci par-là et dont je m'aperçois vite"[78]. These two authors appear to have greatly occupied Flaubert at this period; it is on 26th October 1852 (letter 454) that he says he will soon start reading Sophocles (understanding of whom therefore, seems to have come very slowly), although, as we have seen, *MB* was to halt that work temporarily in January 1853 (see above). In early 1853, after briefly mentioning Aristophanes, Flaubert alludes to a scene of Sophocles' *Ajax*; writing,

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[77] Letter 470, [12th January 1853].

[78] It is clear that here Flaubert is referring to Juvenal's language, not his thought; this being the case, we may tentatively surmise that the same applies to the previous reference to understanding Sophocles.

> "Dans l'*Ajax* de Sophocle, le sang des animaux égorgés ruisselle autour d'Ajax qui pleure. Et quand je songe qu'on a regardé Racine comme hardi pour avoir mis des *chiens*"[79];

the looser rules of Greek drama evidently appeal to Flaubert more than the restrictions of *le grand siècle*. By 17th May that year, reading of Sophocles and Juvenal is part of Flaubert's everyday routine (letter 502). His work on Juvenal is first mentioned on 27th February 1853 (letter 478), and, as we have seen, continues at least until September; in letter 541, Flaubert ardently expresses his enthusiasm for Juvenal's style: "J'ai dans ce moment une forte rage de Juvénal. Quel style! quel style!".

Besides Sophocles and Juvenal, Flaubert continued to read other already familiar classical authors. He appears to have had in the early 1850s an access of enthusiasm for Apuleius, who, as has been noted elsewhere, was among Bouilhet's favourite authors. In June 1852 (letter 427), he recommends Apuleius' *Golden ass* or *Metamorphoses* to Louise Colet: "Mets-toi à ce bouquin-là et dévore-le". It may be that this enthusiasm, as well as resulting from Bouilhet's influence, was a reaction against Cousin's and Musset's antipathy to the work[80]; in another letter of June 1852 to Louise[81], Flaubert writes,

> "je n'en persiste pas moins dans mon dire relativement à *L'Ane d'or*, malgré l'avis du philosophe [i.e. Cousin] et celui de Musset... s'il y a

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[79] Letter 489, [Croisset, 27th March 1853]. Flaubert seems to be referring to *Ajax* 284-353, where Tecmessa recounts the slaughter before Ajax is revealed sitting surrounded by the dead animals.

[80] Flaubert's dislike of both men, whether or not related to Louise Colet's concurrent relationships with both, is well-known.

[81] Letter 431, [Croisset, 27th-28th June 1852].

une vérité artistique au monde, c'est que ce livre est un chef-d'œuvre". Flaubert's efforts to induce Louise to read the work, whose combination of earthiness and mysticism evidently appealed to him - "Ça sent l'encens et l'urine, la bestialité s'y marie au mysticisme", he writes in the same letter - continue throughout 1852 into 1853; even in 1855, it is still on his mind, when he mentions it in a letter addressed, significantly, to Bouilhet[82]. Flaubert writes on 2nd November 1852 (letter 455) that he has been reading Plutarch, specifically on 4th April 1854, the *Life of Aristomenes* - "C'est bien beau". As has been seen, on 27th March 1853 (letter 489), Flaubert refers to Aristophanes' work; another classical author who appears to have been in Flaubert's thoughts is Cicero, whom he attempts to quote in letter 520 ([Croisset, 15th July 1853]) giving as a definition of eloquence by that author *motus animi continuus*; Flaubert may have had in mind a passage of *De oratore*, 1.25.113: "et animi atque ingenii celeres quidam motus esse debent"[83], or a similar text. He cites Horace, fairly accurately, on 23rd August 1853 (letter 529); where Horace, in *Satires* 1.4.33 writes "odere poetas", Flaubert exclaims, with grammatical correctness, but slight inexactitude, "oderunt poetas"[84], an error repeated several times throughout his *Correspondance*. Towards the end of this period, largely thanks to his tutoring of his niece Caroline, Flaubert rediscovered Herodotus, specifically the

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[82] Letter 610, [Croisset, 19th September 1855].

[83] "certain lively activities of the intelligence and the talents alike should be present" (trans. E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, Loeb edition, 1942). Flaubert's quotation means, roughly, "a continual movement of the intelligence".

[84] Both versions mean "they hate poets".

passages of book seven which deal with Thermopylæ - "hier le combat de Thermopyles, dans Hérodote, m'a transporté comme à douze ans"[85]. Finally, as has been seen, Flaubert's admiration of Homer continued in this period; he is cited as a supreme writer, a paragon of impersonality (see p.48).

Besides these established authors, Flaubert made several discoveries during this period. It is in the early 1850s that he starts quoting Epictetus, a stoic philosopher of the first and second centuries A.D.; on 30th May 1852 (letter 422), he writes, "si tu cherches à plaire, te voilà déchu!"; this is repeated on 13th September (letter 448), and two more maxims, "abstiens-toi" and "cache ta vie" enter his repertoire on 22nd December (letter 465), the latter repeated on 3rd January 1853 (letter 469). It is unclear whether Flaubert's knowledge of Epictetus went beyond a few stock maxims, but some familiarity may be assumed. The Greek writer Lucian is also discovered in this period, more or less simultaneously with Cyrano de Bergerac; he is mentioned in letter 425 (Croisset, [19th June] 1852) - "si je m'abrutis, c'est Lucien, Shakespeare et écrire un roman qui en sont cause"; it seems possible that the similarity of subject between Lucian, whose *True stories* included accounts of journeys to the sun and moon, and Cyrano may have caused Flaubert to be encouraged by the one to attempt the other. Finally, impelled perhaps by enthusiasm for Juvenal, Flaubert discovered Persius, another first-century Latin satirist, during this period; on 22nd November 1852 (letter 458), he announces that he has just completed Persius, and will now reread him, taking notes. This reading seems to have made some impression: the

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[85] Letter 584, [Croisset, 7th April 1854].

following year, in letter 496 ([Croisset, 22nd April 1853]), Flaubert dubs *MB* one of "ces œuvres dont parle Perse, qui veulent que l'on se morde les ongles jusqu'au sang". The passage he has in mind is in the first of Persius' *Satires*, "nec demorsos sapit unguis"[86] (106).

Most striking, perhaps, is Flaubert's continued enthusiasm at this time for antiquity as a whole. For example, on 4th September 1852 (letter 444), in one of his familiar reveries, he expresses the desire first to have lived in Louis XIV's time, then in Ronsard's. But most space is devoted to three classical scenarios: the time of Nero, an old favourite of Flaubert's -

> "Comme j'aurais causé avec les rhéteurs grecs! Comme j'aurais voyagé dans les grands chariots sur les voies romaines, et couché le soir dans les hôtelleries, avec les prêtres de Cybèle vagabondant!" -

Periclean Athens, "pour souper avec Aspasie couverte de violettes et chantant des vers entre les murs de marbre blanc!", and Republican Rome, as a leader of a band of wandering actors, "tout ensemble professeur, maquereau et artiste". This latter fantasy may derive from memories of characters, presumably *lenones*, in Plautus' plays. Flaubert even goes so far as to claim that he sometimes feels he *has* lived such lives, thus displaying a lively imagination and strong empathy with the classical world; such fantasies were, of course, a regular feature of his youth (see, for example, letter 162).

In letter 520 ([Croisset, 15th July 1853]), Flaubert indulges in a lengthy speculation on the relationship between art and the experience of beauty. He opines that the Greeks, having a direct experience of beauty, "dans des conditions que rien ne redonnera", were artistically privileged - "Mais vouloir

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86 "nor taste of bitten nails" (trans. J.R. Jenkinson, Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1980).

se chausser de leurs bottes est démence. Ce ne sont pas des chlamydes qu'il faut au nord, mais des pelisses de fourrures". The simplicity and perfection of Greek art cannot be reproduced under modern conditions, only admired: "Soyons aussi artistes qu'eux, si nous le pouvons, mais autrement qu'eux. La conscience du genre humain s'est élargie depuis Homère". Antiquity here is considered almost a lost literary golden age, to be imitated in its artistry, but not its forms, never to be excelled. Here, admittedly, it is clearly Greek art which Flaubert has primarily in mind, but this is not always so. In letter 541 ([Croisset, 30th September 1853]), he praises not only his current reading, Juvenal, but the whole of the Latin language: "quel langage que le latin!". Classical literature, then, still looms large in Flaubert's thoughts and esteem.

Between April 1854 and April 1856, when *MB* was completed (its completion and sale are announced in letter 620 [[Paris], 9th April 1856] to Flaubert's cousin), comparatively few letters are written, partly because of the end of Flaubert's relationship with Louise Colet in mid-1854, which previously accounted for a large proportion of his correspondance. Such as there are give little detail of Flaubert's reading; rather, they frequently request information for use in *MB* - this is true of letters 596 ([Paris], 17th [February or March 1855?]), 605 ([15th August [?] 1855]) and 609 ([Croisset, 16th September 1855]) - and it seems likely that the vastly greater part of Flaubert's time was spent writing his novel. Possibly another effect of this activity in the first half of the 1850s is the considerable interest Flaubert evinces in modern

and near-contemporary authors and novelists[87], among them Stendhal and Balzac, albeit with limited enthusiasm.

The period of *MB*'s composition, then, is inevitably dominated by modern settings in writing. However, the investigation of classical art and antiquity remains high among Flaubert's priorities, as a refuge from the everyday world's shortcomings, and as periods yielding dividends in the field of style. It is indeed style which remains Flaubert's principal literary interest, playing a vital part in his appreciation of Juvenal or the Greeks. It is still antiquity which represents the source of his best stylistic models.

(v) From the completion of *MB* to that of *ESII* (April 1856 - May 1869)

As previously, there is an element of continuity in Flaubert's reading, tastes and opinions as expressed after the completion of *MB*. His literary heroes, and the reasons for his admiration of them remain constant. Thus, on 18th May 1857 (letter 712), Homer is cited, with Shakespeare, Gœthe and the Bible as avoiding conclusion - "Aucun grand génie n'a conclu"; again, on 23rd October 1863 (letter 1132), "Homère, Shakespeare, Gœthe, tous les fils aînés de Dieu... se sont bien gardés de faire autre chose que *représenter*". In letter 1509 (Croisset, [12th November 1867]), Shakespeare, Plutarch and Tacitus are included among "ceux qu'on relit toujours et dont on se nourrit". References to Montaigne and French classical writers also abound in

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[87] Indeed, it may be that his interest in the *Golden ass*, the first complete novel in history, is partly explained by a desire to survey the novelistic form. Certainly in 1852 (letter 444, [Croisset, 4th September 1852]), Flaubert speculates that "Les livres comme le *Satiricon* et *L'Ane d'or* peuvent revenir, et ayant en débordements psychiques tout ce que ceux-là ont eu de débordements sensuels".

Flaubert's letters during this period. Homer, who figures prominently in letters such as the above, is also named by Flaubert as the original source of epic battle scenes such as those on which he is working in *Salammbô*[88]. Some continuity with what has gone before is thus apparent.

Notwithstanding, a degree of contrast remains with the previous period of Flaubert's life. In the period 1856-69, Flaubert's reading is dictated by his literary activities probably more than ever before, because his major works of that period are mainly historical, requiring research. At the start of the period, the setting of Flaubert's writing is no longer contemporary France, but classical antiquity, or dates close to it, first in *TSA*II, then more particularly in *Salammbô*, which, Flaubert writes in 1861, is "fait pour les gens *ivres d'antiquités*"[89]. Some distraction from work was imposed upon Flaubert by the trial surrounding *MB* in early 1857, and by his research journey to North Africa, in April and May 1858, but the research for the works involved extensive reading of Latin and Greek authors, by no means all of whom he appreciated.

In April 1857, Flaubert enumerates his current reading for *Salammbô* (letter 698). It includes: Aristotle's *Politics*; Procopius, a Greek historian of the sixth century A.D., who chronicled the wars Belisarius undertook on behalf of the emperor Justinian; and Corippus, another sixth century author, who wrote the Latin epic poem *Iohannis* ("Lequel poème m'embête fort! Mais enfin il le faut!"), on a war in north Africa. The following month (letters 706 and 709), Flaubert reads "un mémoire de quatre cents pages in-4° sur le cyprès

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[88] Letter 865, Croisset, 4th July 1860.

[89] Letter 927, Croisset, 24th August 1861.

pyramidal, parce qu'il y avait des cyprès dans la cour du temple d'Astarte" and Silius Italicus' *Punica*, a first-century Latin epic, although with little enthusiasm. By 5th August, he is rereading Pliny[90], although it is unclear when he first read that author; and he states that he intends to read Athenæus, a Greek author (*fl.* A.D. 200) of the lengthy *Δειπνοσοφισταί*[91], Plutarch and Xenophon's *Cavalry* and *Anabasis*. Approximately a year later, in August 1858, he writes to Feydeau that, "j'ai lu depuis quinze jours... six mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, deux volumes de Ritter, le *Chanaan* de Samuel Bochart et divers passages dans Diodore"[92] - the historian Diodorus Siculus did indeed write of the Mercenary War. On 19th December 1858 (letter 793), Flaubert reports that in the last eighteen days, he has read the *Anabasis*, analysed six treatises of Plutarch and a Hymn to Ceres, and read some of Erasmus' *Praise of folly*. On 23rd March 1858 (letter 760), he asks Alfred Baudry to investigate whether his library possesses a treatise entitled *De militia Romana*, by Justus Lipsius, a sixteenth-century humanist, who wrote in Latin; accordingly, in October 1859 (letter 823), he states that he has been reading Justus Lipsius, along with Gnosander, the Emperor Leo (presumably *The soldier's law*, a work ascribed to the Emperor Leo III Isaurian) and Vegetius, the author of the *Epitoma rei*

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90 Claire Addison (*Where Flaubert lies*, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1996) maintains that data from Pliny's *Natural history* is of great importance in the tightly-planned chronological structure she posits for *Salammbô* - e.g. p.93, "Pliny's *Natural history* is the basis of further discrepancies indicating the doubling of time". She makes similar arguments for Ovid's *Fasti*, which is, however, a work to which Flaubert refers rarely, if ever, in his *Correspondance*.

91 Two years later, on 7th September 1859 (letter 820), he thanks Ernest Feydeau for his copy of Athenæus - "je l'ai autrefois fortement labouré, et pour le moment je n'en ai pas besoin".

92 Letter 784, [Croisset, 28th August (?) 1858].

militaris, a late fourth century treatise on Roman military institutions. On 21st October 1860 (letter 885), Flaubert claims to have been 'swallowing' medieval Latin for the last three years[93], and, on that particular day, to have found a reference in Cicero (probably in a work such as *De natura deorum*) suggesting a new form of the goddess Tanit. Justus Lipsius reappears on 15th July 1861, when Flaubert states that within the last twenty-four hours he has read sixty pages of his *Polyorcetes*.

Flaubert evidently considered these extensive researches necessary for his work, and set great store by them; in a letter to Félicien de Saulcy of 18th December 1862 (letter 1058), he justifies various aspects of *Salammbô* by reference to Athenæus and Herodotus; the *zaïmph* features in Athenæus[94], and Herodotus supplied various specific details, including some which Flaubert chose to omit from the novel, such as "les peaux de gorille, entre autres, rapportées par Hannon (Hérodote)"; the reference in question is in Herodotus 4.191 - the Hanno referred to is not the character in *Salammbô*. Herodotus seems to have been much on Flaubert's mind at this time; twice in 1861 and 1862[95], he contemplates the possibility of composing a work on the Persian king Cambyses, probably inspired by Herodotus' third book.

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[93] Presumably he means writers such as Justus Lipsius.

[94] "Le *Zaïmph* est mentionné dans Athénée, 12.58, qui en donne même la description". It is true that Athenæus mentions a luxurious robe and a work of Polemon's entitled *περὶ τῶν ἐν Καρχηδόνι πέπλῶν* (*On the robes at Carthage*); but he describes it little, and Flaubert gives various details not found in Athenæus. A description of perhaps the same robe features in the Aristotelan corpus, *περί θαυμασιῶν ἀκουσματῶν* (*On marvellous things heard*). It features various gods, and little resembles Flaubert's *zaïmph*.

[95] Letters 922, Croisset, [15th July 1861] and 994, Croisset, 14th [July 1862].

With such exhaustive research reading, Flaubert had little time, and possibly little inclination, for 'voluntary' reading, classical or otherwise, in the late 1850s and early 1860s. However, several references in his *Correspondance* do suggest that such reading continued. It is implied twice that Flaubert knew the works of Marcus Aurelius, who would represent a new discovery; in letter 810 ([Rouen, 15th June 1859]), he recommends Aurelius - "j'ai connu des gens qui s'en sont bien trouvés" - along with Dickens, to Mademoiselle Leroyer de Chantepie; and in letter 1291 (Croisset, [19th December 1865]), he calls Aurelius "un des saints de mon calendrier". He read Plutarch's *Moralia* by 1861, when he refers to its second chapter in a letter to Georges Pouchet[96], although this reading may not have been 'voluntary'; and it is hinted that he still thought of Plautus at this stage, when, during his voyage to North Africa, he writes of a scene he saw at Constantine: "C'était du Plaute à la douzième puissance"[97]. Specifically, Flaubert claims to have read much of Virgil's work during this period. In late January and early February 1861 (letters 904 and 910), he states that he is reading Virgil - specifically the *Æneid* - every afternoon, and that he appreciates it greatly: "je *me pâme* devant le style et la précision des mots"; "Quel monde que celui-là! et comme cet art antique fait du bien!". As well as this effusive statement, in June 1857 (letter 718), he recommends to Mademoiselle Leroyer de

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[96] Letter 949, [Croisset, 1861 [?]]. Flaubert specifies that he read a passage which stated, "que les premiers temps étaient de foutus temps et que la terre se trouvait laide, et désordonnée (*S'il est loisible de manger chair*, chap. II)". His reference is accurate; chapter 2 of the so-called *De esu carnium* does indeed contain a passage propounding such an opinion.

[97] Letter 765, [night of 23rd - 24th April 1858].

Chantepie several classical authors - Homer, Petronius, Plautus, Apuleius - together with Montaigne, Shakespeare and Gœthe. Despite the privations of *Salammbô*, then, Flaubert's enthusiasm for the classical world did not desert him.

Perhaps the most revealing reference to a classical author in this period, in letter 948, dates roughly from 1861. The author is Lucretius, and Flaubert is congratulating his correspondent, M^me^ Roger des Genettes, on her appreciation of him - "Vous avez raison, il faut parler avec respect de Lucrèce". He compares him to Byron, who, however, lacks Lucretius' sincerity, gravity and melancholy. He goes on to state that such melancholy was common to all ancient writers, and deeper than that of the moderns, owing to their different beliefs about the afterlife; for them, unlike the moderns, the present life was all:

> "Pour les anciens, ce trou noir était l'infini même; leurs rêves se dessinent et passent sur un fond d'ébène immuable. Pas de cris, pas de convulsions, rien que la fixité d'un visage pensif"[98].

This observation, however, applies only to part of antiquity, during which the pagan gods were no longer believed in and Christianity had not yet taken root; "Les dieux n'étant plus et le Christ n'étant pas encore, il y a eu, de Cicéron à Marc-Aurèle, un moment unique où l'homme seul a été". Flaubert's only criticism of Lucretius is his unquestioning faith in Epicurianism, a definite case of an author's 'concluding' - "il a voulu expliquer, conclure!" - but the poet is nonetheless considered immeasurably superior to the moderns - "nos poètes

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[98] One should remark parenthetically that this passage is itself distinctly Lucretian in tone; certainly the subject matter is entirely that of book three of Lucretius' *De rerum natura.*

sont de maigres penseurs à côté d'un tel homme". This letter, then, besides displaying great interest in and knowledge of Lucretius himself, and by extension a continued belief in the ancient world's artistic superiority over the modern, expounds a radical concept of much of antiquity as an almost areligious society. Flaubert's knowledge of antiquity led him not only to read its authors but also to form sophisticated opinions of its literature.

After the completion of *Salammbô*, reported in letter 990 ([Croisset, 5th July 1862]), Flaubert experienced some difficulty in settling on a new literary subject. He wrote, between 12th July 1862 (letter 993) and 19th October 1863 (letter 1131), a modern *féerie*, *Le Château des cœurs*; when he first refers to it, he does state that he is reading other, similar works in preparation, but eventually, in letter 1131, declares himself dissatisfied with it - "j'en suis *honteux*" - and abandons it for the present. He was obliged, after *Salammbô*, to attempt a modern subject, at Lévy's insistence; here again, he was undecided between the two works which were to become *ES*II and *BeP*; although, of course, he eventually opted for the former, he nonetheless declares on 15th April 1863 that he will work on *Les Deux cloportes* (letter 1104); and even once embarked upon *ES*, frequently entertains doubts - as late as 20th August 1866 (letter 1348), he has little hope of its success, or even its completion: "Je crois, au contraire, que ce sera une œuvre médiocre, parce que la conception en est vicieuse?". Nevertheless, because of its semi-historical status, he read extensively for it, covering writers including Saint-Simon, Fourier, Lacordaire and Lammenais. He also regularly requests information from individuals as diverse as Sainte-Beuve (e.g. letter 1311, Paris, [12th March [?] 1866]) and Jules Duplan (e.g. letter 1382, Croisset, [17th

November 1866]). Despite this considerable workload, Flaubert did find time at the end of March 1863 (letter 1094) to recommence work on English and Greek; he specifies in letter 1098 ([Croisset, end of March / start of April 1863]) that "il m'a pris une forte rage de Théocrite. Jolie préparation pour peindre les mœurs parisiennes!". It will be remembered that Theocritus was an author for whom Flaubert showed great enthusiasm in his youth. He may, in 1867 or early 1868, have had some experience of Catullus, as in letter 1515 ([Croisset, 8th December 1867]), he thanks one Alfred Canel for the present of his translation of that author and his study on the abbé Baston, specifying that "le dernier de ces ouvrages m'a vivement intéressé. J'ai tout lieu de croire qu'il en sera de même de l'autre". However, no evidence exists that Flaubert ever read this translation; nor, rather surprisingly, is there any other mention in the *Correspondance* of Catullus, a poet whose somewhat scabrous work might be thought to appeal to Flaubert's taste. Finally, there is evidence at the end of March 1868 (letter 1545) that Flaubert was acquainted with Plato's work, as he recommends to Caroline two works of that author, the *Symposium* and the *Phædo*, interestingly specifying Victor Cousin's translation as a suitable edition; arguably, this implies that at this stage Flaubert still had to use French or Latin translations to read at least some Greek literature, although, of course, it only proves this of Caroline herself.

Consistently with the modern setting of the novel in hand, much of Flaubert's voluntary reading was of modern writers, including, for instance Dickens and Walter Scott. Even so, some of this more modern reading was relevant to Flaubert's interest in antiquity: in November 1864 (letter 1204), he reads Michelet's *Bible de l'humanité*, especially noting the sections on

Alexander the Great and Æschylus. His attitudes towards the work do, however, vary somewhat depending upon the recipients of his letters; writing to Michelet himself[99], he enthuses, "Je viens de lire, d'un seul coup, en dix heures, ce merveilleux livre. J'en suis écrasé... Le passage sur Éschyle est bien beau!"; however, in a letter of the same month[100], to M^me^ Roger des Genettes, Flaubert is less effusive:

> "Eh bien, non, je n'admire pas la *Bible de l'humanité*!... un mauvais livre parce que le plan est vague, et parce que l'auteur parle d'un tas de choses qu'il ignore, à commencer par l'Inde".

On 25th December 1865 (letter 1292), Flaubert states that he has read Taine's *Livy* and *La Fontaine*.

Besides his classical reading, and his occasional appreciation of modern authors' writing about antiquity, Flaubert's imagination still dwells a great deal at this period on the ancient world. The best example of this is probably letter 1363 (Croisset, [29th September 1866]), to George Sand, where Flaubert revives his old fantasy of having in previous incarnations been various historical characters:

> "je possède des souvenirs qui remontent aux pharaons... J'ai été batelier sur le Nil, *leno* [again] à Rome du temps des guerres puniques, puis rhéteur grec dans Suburre, où j'étais dévoré de punaises. Je suis mort, pendant la croisade, pour avoir mangé trop de raisin sur la plage de Syrie. J'ai été pirate et moine, saltimbanque et cocher. Peut-être empereur d'Orient, aussi".

Regardless of this passage's status as proof of Flaubert's belief in metempsychosis, it demonstrates palpably that even when, as throughout most of the 1860s, he was not working directly on subjects concerned with

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[99] Letter 1204, Croisset, [November 1864].

[100] Letter 1212, [Croisset, November 1864].

classical antiquity, and despite his interest in modern and contemporary literature, classical literature and the ancient world stayed firmly in his mind.

(vi) From the completion of *ESII* to Flaubert's death (May 1869 - 8th May 1880)

Shortly after completing *L'Education sentimentale*, Flaubert was faced with numerous distractions from work and reading. Within one year, four of his friends and acquaintances died: Sainte-Beuve, Jules Duplan, Jules de Goncourt and Louis Bouilhet. This latter's death was, of course, extremely significant, not only because of its sudden termination of Flaubert and Bouilhet's close friendship, and Bouilhet's influence in Flaubert's literary tastes, but because Flaubert felt obliged to continue Bouilhet's literary career by proxy by attempting to stage his last plays and writing literary tributes such as the preface to the *Dernières chansons*. Equally distracting for Flaubert, between July 1870 and March 1871, was the Franco-Prussian war, which emotionally drained him and confirmed his misanthropy. Practically too, the war, inasmuch as it involved the billeting of Prussian troops at Croisset, had a most disturbing effect upon Flaubert. Shortly after, the death of Flaubert's mother on 6th April 1872, left him devastated, as did George Sand's on 8th June 1876; and throughout the decade, the parlous state of the finances of Flaubert's niece Caroline and her husband, Ernest de Commanville, provided a constant source of anxiety, with particular crises in 1872 and 1875. It is unsurprising, then, if Flaubert's letters of the time deal more with personal affairs than with his reading and other interests.

At least three of Flaubert's three major works in the last years of his life - *TSA*III, *TC* and *BeP* - demanded extensive research of various types; other works were also produced, including a revision of *Le Château des cœurs* in late 1869 and a political play, *Le Candidat*, between July 1873 and March 1874. Flaubert's reading for *TSA* especially has classical elements; a large proportion of it is ecclesiastical history[101], with some Buddhist tracts, namely the *Lotus de la bonne loi* and the *Lalitavistava*[102]. Also consulted, around 15th March 1870 (letter 1829) were Plotinus' *Enneades*, a series of Greek neoplatonic treatises actually collected by Plotinus' disciple Porphyry. Flaubert's enthusiasm for this reading was limited: in mid-April 1870 (letter 1839), he describes the books he is studying as "abominables".

Flaubert's reading for *BeP* began around 1st September 1872 (letter 2255), consisting apparently of medical treatises and books on education[103]; he began the novel's redaction around 1st August 1874, with variable success[104]. In 1875, he virtually abandoned it, overcome by technical difficulties, and undertook the semi-therapeutic writing of *TC*. Although the research in terms of reading required for 'Un Cœur Simple' was minimal and that for 'La Légende de Saint Julien' consisted mainly of medieval texts, at least one classical author did feature in Flaubert's research for 'Hérodias': the

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[101] Letters 1686, [Croisset, 13th June 1869] and 1690, [Croisset], 24th June [1869].

[102] Letter 1984, Croisset, 17th June [1871].

[103] Letter 2276, [Croisset, 5th October 1872].

[104] Letter 2536, Dieppe, 29th July 1874.

Greek-writing Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, whose works Flaubert read and noted between 20th and 27th September 1876, and whom he dubbed "un joli bourgeois"[105].

BeP was resumed in early 1877. In April or May (letter 2944), Flaubert asked Du Camp for "quelque bouquin de physiologie imbécile". Apparently work on *BeP* prevented most reading that year; on 12th July (letter 2985), Flaubert informs Mme Roger des Genettes that the only books he has read "depuis longtemps" are Renan's latest work (*Les Évangiles*, the fifth volume of *Les Origines du christianisme*) and Leconte de Lisle's *Sophocle*. By 18th April 1878 (letter 3094), reading for the novel has resumed: "Je n'écris pas. Je lis, je lis! je lis! Et des choses atroces! Des pièces historiques stupides et des livres qui ne le sont pas moins". As this implies, little of the reading Flaubert mentions in his letters consists of classical texts; rather, writers including Fénelon and Rousseau are covered, although his reading for the last chapter written of *BeP* includes Cicero's *De officiis*[106], almost the only classical work mentioned relative to his reading for *BeP*.

Given the degree of distraction Flaubert was experiencing at this time, he had little time for 'voluntary' reading. Much of what did take place included sixteenth-century authors; Montaigne and Shakespeare are quite prominent. Flaubert's reading of classical literature is rather sparse at this period. One reading stimulated, apparently, by his distaste for the Christian works forced upon him by research for *TSA* is Cicero's philosophical works in late June and

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[105] Letters 2837 and 2838, [Croisset], 27th September [1876].

[106] Letters 3571, [Croisset, 1st February 1880] and 3572, 1st February 1880.

early July 1869 (letter 1692): "je lis les œuvres philosophiques de Cicéron avec délices. Quelle différence entre cette société-là et celle qui lui a succédé!". From 6th May 1870, according to two subsequent letters[107], Flaubert read Plutarch and Spinoza, finding the former particularly rewarding - in June 1870 (letter 1849), he comments that "cela tonifie et vivifie". On 16th July 1872 (letter 2239), Flaubert mentions that he has been reading Herodotus, and on 28th February 1874 (letter 2471), "l'immense, le sacro-saint, l'incomparable Aristophane". On 9th March, he reads Euripides' *Medea*, as he announces the next day, in letter 2744; this is his first known contact with Euripides. It is made clear in one of his last letters that Flaubert is familiar with Hippocrates, a Greek medical writer of the fifth century B.C., as he expresses astonishment that he was the only one of three scholars present at a dinner who knew that author[108]. Finally, Flaubert unusually indicates, in letter 2744 (see above) a classical and (less unusually) a seventeenth-century author whom he dislikes: discussing Sedaine, he writes,

> "Il en est de lui, pour moi, comme de Pindare et de Milton, lesquels me sont absolument fermés. Pourtant je sens bien que le citoyen Sedaine n'est pas absolument de leur taille".

Thus, his 'declared' classical reading during this period was relatively limited.

One reason for this, besides the distractions already enumerated, is the large amount of modern and contemporary reading that Flaubert undertook at this time. Dickens again features in Flaubert's correspondence, along with Sand and, especially, Zola. It is nonetheless clear that modern literature even

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[107] Letters 1845, [Croisset, 22nd or 29th May 1870] and 1860, 2nd July [1870].

[108] Letter 3625, [23rd March 1880].

now did not supersede that of other periods. Flaubert's reading of *Medea* (see above), was inspired by disgust at Sedaine's work; the book was chosen not for its intrinsic qualities, but simply because it was a work of classical antiquity - "n'ayant d'autre classique sous la main" - and therefore a means of escaping the contemporary. In letter 3480 (Croisset, 23rd September 1879), Flaubert advises an aspiring author, Édouard Gachot, that, "si vous aimez réellement la littérature, faites-en *pour* vous d'abord et lisez les classiques. Vous avez trop lu de livres modernes; on en voit le reflet dans votre œuvre". The meaning of "classiques" is, of course, debatable; but, given that they are placed in opposition to the moderns, and given Flaubert's general *mépris* for traditional seventeenth century French 'classics', this passage probably constitutes a recommendation of the works of classical antiquity as source material and a school of style. Accordingly, while Flaubert's classical reading in this period is limited, his thinking and theorizing concerning antiquity continue unabated; antiquity remains fully a part of his intellectual landscape. That this is so is demonstrated in various contrasting ways.

As mentioned above (p.64), Flaubert spent much of the early 1870s working on a preface to Bouilhet's *Dernières chansons*: he wrote a first version in May - June 1870, entirely overhauling it in November the next year. Consistently with Bouilhet's acknowledged interest in antiquity, the definitive preface contains numerous allusions to the classics; and the same applies to the draft versions. As is often the case, in these Flaubert contrasts his own and Bouilhet's enthusiasm for the classics with the general public's apathy, which he considers symptomatic of a broader disdain for art.

"Le mépris de l'art s'étale avec la joie d'un affranchissement...

> Indiquez-moi une maison où l'on s'en occupe! des gens du monde qui sachent par cœur quatre vers d'un classique, douze gens de lettres qui aient seulement lu l'*Énéide* d'un bout à l'autre. Ce grand mot d'*Humanités* n'a plus de sens".
> "La tradition littéraire s'en va, mais j'ai peur qu'avec elle ne s'en aille aussi la tradition humaine. Il est peut-être bon de s'être exalté pour des choses étrangères, d'avoir été amoureux de Cléopâtre et enthousiaste de Thermopyles, d'avoir rêvé l'amour de Cléopâtre et la mort de Socrate".

It is clear that, here at least, the word *classique* is unambiguously connected with classical antiquity, as the reference to the *Æneid* shows; and that Flaubert considered the classics intimately linked to the very essence of literature and civilization. Most of the second quotation's allusions are familiar from Flaubert's correspondence; but the mention of the death of Socrates is new, although not unexpected in view of its status as a major event of antiquity[109].

Approximately two years later, in letter 2268 (Croisset, 24th September [1872]), to the Vicomtesse Lepic, Flaubert makes great play with classical allusion, to such an extent as to satirize those who overuse such allusion: the month of writing is dubbed "mois appelé Boédromion par les Grecs"; the Vicomtesse's recent letter was a "véritable dictame"; hopes that France will avoid war are expressed thus: "Puissions-nous voir les portes de Janus à jamais fermées"; and so on. Equally flippantly, Flaubert's condemnation of Caroline's dog, Puzzle, on 3rd July or August 1876 (letter 2806) as "une véritable Messaline" suggests a mind-set attuned to the classics; as does the jocular reproach to Turgenev on 10th November 1878 (letter 3203), that, "vous ressemblez à Galatée: à peine entrevu, enfui!". This reference also, in its

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[109] I would like to thank Professor Alan Raitt for bringing these two passages to my attention. See Raitt's edition of *Pour Louis Bouilhet*, Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 1994, n.226.

mention of Galatea, may represent a rare indication that Flaubert knew Virgil's *Eclogues*: a character named Galatea features in the third of them. However, this reference more probably constitutes evidence of the influence of Theocritus' *Idylls*, which he certainly knew and admired, (see pp.36, 39 and 61-2); the character Galatea features in two of those works, the sixth and eleventh *Idylls*, both times as the elusive object of the Cyclops Polyphemus' desire, and indeed as being given to such activities as throwing apples - Virgil's character is clearly based upon Theocritus'. In particular, it may be argued that the lines in *Idyll* eleven,

> "φοιτῇς δ'αὖθ' οὕτως ὅκκα γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἔχῃ με,
> οἴχῃ δ'εὐθὺς ἰοῖσ' ὅκκα γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῇ με"[110] (22-3)

are closer to Flaubert's thought than Virgil's work; certainly, while Flaubert often expresses enthusiasm for Theocritus, there is but scanty evidence that he knew the *Eclogues*.

Flaubert's classical attunement also shows in his use of quotations in the *Correspondance* at this time. Epictetus again comes to the fore in this respect: on 28th October 1872 (letter 2280), we find "cache ta vie"; on 30th January and 1st May 1879 (letters 3263 and 3382), it is used again, understandably, given its resonance with one of Flaubert's main literary principles. On 9th January 1879 (letter 3242), Flaubert's use of the phrase "pedibus manibusque in sententiam tuam descendo", a Latin idiom denoting complete agreement, may derive either from Quintilian, *Declamations* 12.6 ("pedibus manibus iimus in sententiam necessitatis") or from Seneca's

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[110] "why thus, when sweet sleep holds me, dost thou straight approach, and when sweet sleep leaves me, art gone forthwith...?" (trans. A.S.F. Gow, Cambridge, C.U.P. 1952).

Apocolocyntosis ("pedibus in hanc sententiam itum est") - a work which Flaubert might well have appreciated. Horace's phrase "odere poetas" is again slightly misquoted on 27th February (letter 3310) and 3rd May 1880 (letter 3658), five days before Flaubert's death; on the latter occasion, Flaubert salutes the poet, a favourite of his youth, more recently neglected, as "le bon Horace". Finally, several obscure Latin quotations appear in letters of 1879: "potius mori quam fœdari" (letter 3291, Croisset, [16th February 1879]); "vulgum pecus" (which is in fact ungrammatical) (Croisset, 25th [February 1879]); "quod non pertinet homini" and "natura non fecit saltus" (letter 3507, [Croisset], 13th November 1879). Of these, the last is a 'modern' Latin quotation, from Linnæus' *Philosophia botanica*, which Flaubert may have read for *BeP*.

Flaubert's concern with the classics during this period is also demonstrated by his continuing interest in literary subjects set in classical antiquity, in particular his old ambition, the battle of Thermopylæ; he mentions his desire to write a book on this at least thrice[111]. Also significant is his continued interest in Caroline's classical education: on 26th August 1872 (letter 2252), he advises her to read translations of Æschylus, Thucydides and Demosthenes, with Thirlwall's history of ancient Greece; and on 6th August 1874 (letter 2540), he expresses pride in her classical knowledge: "Tu m'as envoyé dans ta dernière lettre un mot sublime: «Je ne permets pas que l'on touche à mes chers anciens»", by which he seems genuinely moved. However, perhaps the strongest indication of Flaubert's continuing

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[111] Letters 2921, [Paris], 2nd April [1877], 3225, [Croisset, 20th December 1878?] and 3420, Paris, 19th June 1879.

preoccupation with the classics is the quantity of opinions and theories he expounds about antiquity.

In his reading of Cicero's philosophical works in 1869 (see pp.66-7), it is not only Cicero's style that appeals to Flaubert, but the whole idea of Roman religion and the society which nurtured it. Again, early during the Franco-Prussian war, in mid-September 1870 (letter 1889), Flaubert advocates a philosophical attitude, modelled upon that of the Greeks, to the calamity - "Les Grecs du temps de Périclès faisaient de l'art sans savoir s'ils auraient de quoi manger le lendemain. Soyons Grecs!" - although he fails to achieve this ideal. As with Cicero, Flaubert's reaction to Aristophanes on 28th February 1874 (letter 2471) is not only appreciation of the author and his work, but of the environment which facilitated the work: "Quel monde que celui où de pareilles œuvres se produisaient!". On 17th June that year (letter 2514), Flaubert reiterates his admiration for Lucretius, exclaiming to Mme Roger des Genettes, "Je vous aime d'aimer Lucrèce! Quel homme, hein?", and proceeds to scorn "M. de Sacy, membre de l'Académie française" for boasting that he is unacquainted with Lucretius or Petronius, but confines his classical reading to Virgil. Wide reading in the classics is held at a premium by Flaubert, as is any degree of classical erudition beyond the normal: on 2nd December 1874 (letter 2603), he expresses delight that Victor Hugo quoted Tacitus and Boileau by heart to him - "Cela m'a fait l'effet d'un cadeau, tant la chose est rare". On 16th January 1877 (letter 2883), Flaubert expounds the theory that income from the mines of Laurium gave the Greeks sufficient leisure to indulge in artistic activities, indicating that the classics are still in his thoughts. Even at the end of his life, antiquity remains a yardstick for Flaubert. In letter 3575 (3rd

[February 1880]), he argues at length that historical reality is largely irrelevant to literature; in *Salammbô* and *TSA*, he is not under the illusion that he has made a 'true' representation of the past; and he uses the example of Tacitus as an illustration:

> "je fais une proposition: la trouvaille de documents authentiques nous prouvant que Tacite a menti d'un bout à l'autre. Qu'est-ce que cela ferait à la gloire et au style de Tacite? Rien du tout. Au lieu d'une vérité, nous en aurions deux; celle de l'Histoire et celle de Tacite".

It is clear that it is not the history of antiquity that concerns Flaubert, but its art. Finally, in an open letter in *Le Gaulois*, classical authors feature strongly in Flaubert's defence of Maupassant's poem *Au bord de l'eau*; he argues that if that work should be considered obscene, so too should that of "*tous* les classiques grecs et romains, sans exception, depuis Aristophane jusqu'au bon Horace et au tendre Virgile"[112]. A number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors - including Shakespeare, Cervantes and Rabelais - are similarly cited with an assortment of others. However, it is classical authors who are most prominent in the argument, just as it is they who are foremost in Flaubert's thoughts. Despite the distractions of history, then, and his own status as a recognized author, Flaubert towards the end of his life kept the literature of classical antiquity firmly in sight.

(vii) A lifelong interest

Can one maintain, then, that Flaubert was more interested in and better informed about the classics than the average educated man of his time? He

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[112] Letter 3598, 16th February 1880 (published 19th February).

himself certainly seems to have believed so, witness his scorn for Vallès, "qui se vantait de mépriser Homère"[113], and, as mentioned above (p.72), for Sacy's perversely limited reading of the classics; similarly, if the *Dictionnaire des idées reçues* can be considered a caricature of the average educated bourgeois of the day, then the glib and superficial knowledge displayed in those entries referring to antiquity may be deemed the opposite of what Flaubert considered his own position. Flaubert seems to have formed a low opinion of contemporary classical erudition at quite an early stage: in 1862, he wrote for Alfred Nion a speech[114] to be delivered at the Rouen academy at the presentation of a medal to Louis Bouilhet, in which he averred that, "M. Bouilhet sait le latin, Messieurs, chose rare aujourd'hui et indispensable cependant à la connaissance de notre langue et de notre littérature" (*op.cit.*, p.33). Thus at this stage, Flaubert not only considered knowledge of Latin a *sine qua non* for the development of a good French style (a phrase in a *brouillon* of his preface to Bouilhet's *Dernières chansons* - "Bon sens - bon goût dû au latin" - introduces this idea, while attributing such knowledge to Bouilhet); he also considered it a rare commodity in his time, limited to a select few, including, presumably, himself. Moreover, the evidence seems to bear his self-confidence out. Certainly, his contemporaries considered him a man of great erudition in all fields: Guy de Maupassant in 1876 wrote in an article, 'Gustave Flaubert', for *La République des Lettres*, with clear reference to Flaubert's efforts of research, that, "[Flaubert] a fouillé toutes les littératures,

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[113] Letter 2027, [Croisset], 4th or 5th October [1871].

[114] *Œuvres complètes* vol.XII, Paris, Club de l'Honnête Homme, 1974.

prenant des notes dans beaucoup de livres inconnus, les uns parce qu'ils sont rares, les autres parce qu'on ne les lit point". This article, unsurprisingly, was more to Flaubert's liking than other journalistic references to him; indeed, he made a point of writing to Maupassant to express his thanks.

Admittedly his knowledge of classical literature contained some startling gaps : he was probably not well acquainted with Catullus (though see p.62), Tibullus, Propertius or Lucan, and knew little of Pindar or Callimachus on the Greek side; his knowledge of classical historians included surprising omissions, as he makes little or no reference to Sallust or Thucydides. These gaps are partly explained by Flaubert's manifest taste for the early and late sections of the classical period, especially for Homer and the Latin Silver Age; among Augustan writers, only Virgil, Horace and Ovid really seem to have appealed to him. Equally, the range of what Flaubert *did* know is most impressive, thanks partly to the reading undertaken for his works, partly to Bouilhet's encouragement. He was familiar with all the major classical genres - Greek tragedy, Latin epic, Latin lyric, philosophical writing - and not merely with the principal authors in each one. The imitation and emulation of the classics, as practised in the sixteenth century - as a source of raw material, both in subject matter and in style - met with his approval; but the slavish imitation of the seventeenth century, attempting to reproduce the classics *verbatim*, as it were, did not. Until the end of his life, Flaubert used his extensive knowledge of the classics as a yardstick; they remained a model to be admired and emulated, if not equalled.

Admittedly towards the end of Flaubert's life, the number of new discoveries in the classics was small, especially if one excludes those he read

as research for his writing; however, this was partly because he already knew most major authors. Antiquity's grasp upon his imagination remained constant throughout his life, as demonstrated by his often stated ambition to write the story of Thermopylæ, his persistent fantasies of reincarnation from previous existences in antiquity and his frequent theorizing about the period. Most of Flaubert's references to classical authors are almost reverent; and if the actual mentions in his *Correspondance* of Horace, Tacitus and even Homer decreased towards the end of his life, there is no evidence that Flaubert's admiration for and appreciation of them ever deserted him.

Chapter 2: Classical influences in Flaubert's juvenilia

In the previous chapter of this work, I have sought to establish what classical works and authors Flaubert can be *proven*, or near-proven, to have read throughout his life, from an early age, using as sources of evidence his *Correspondance* and other contemporary data, including the accounts of his friends, and his school curriculum. I intend now, in investigating possible influences exerted upon his work by classical sources, to use my previous findings as a guide to what works Flaubert could have known at various stages of his life. However, where a strong case for influence by any work exists without accompanying proof that Flaubert knew it, I will not hesitate to make that case, unless evidence exists that he *cannot* have known that work (such as a subsequent statement that a reading of the work was the first Flaubert undertook). It should be borne in mind that it is, of course, impractical to expect to ascertain the full extent of Flaubert's reading of and acquaintance with classical antiquity.

(i) Flaubert's juvenilia until *Novembre* (1835-42)

Bruneau describes Flaubert's juvenilia as "une œuvre d'imitation, dont l'intérêt littéraire reste minime - *Novembre* mise à part - si la valeur documentaire est précieuse" (*op.cit.*, p.6). Overall, indeed, Flaubert's juvenilia are of dubious literary value: most of their constituent works are strongly influenced by the more extreme manifestations of Romantic literature, often imbued with a morbid melancholy which makes for far from easy reading.

Their importance, nonetheless, is undeniable; and if their overall literary value is debatable, certain critics have claimed to see merit in various of their component works - for instance, although Bruneau in the above quotation singles out only *Novembre* as possessing some worth, he does elsewhere claim to see some evidence of talent in *Les Funérailles du docteur Mathurin* - a point of view that Bardèche[1] finds inexplicable, while detecting in *La Danse des morts* and *Smarh* "les deux œuvres... les plus ambitieuses et les plus remarquables de la jeunesse de Flaubert" (*op.cit*, p.35). This does not, however, mean that Bardèche attributes much merit to any of Flaubert's juvenilia; indeed, he is largely critical of the *ensemble*, on similar grounds to Maynial some sixty years earlier. He, writing of *Bibliomanie*, condemns its style as "un reflet du romantisme le plus démodé" and goes on to state that that work's style,

> "comme celui de presque tous les premiers essais de Flaubert, exception faite pour la *Leçon d'histoire naturelle*[2], a toute la gaucherie prétentieuse et la naïve exagération qui caractérisent les imitations romantiques de l'époque" (*op.cit.*, p.126).

Bruneau defends Flaubert, with specific reference to the *Journal* of his journey to the Pyrenees and Corsica, against the charge of being overly beholden to Romanticism: "Il serait absurde de reprocher à un jeune homme de dix-huit ans de ne pas savoir s'affranchir des attitudes et des lectures de son âge" (*op.cit.*, p.304).

It would be equally absurd to deny that the primary literary influence

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[1] *L'Œuvre de Flaubert*, Paris, La Table Ronde, 1988.

[2] Most critics of Flaubert's earliest works are similar in singling out at least one piece as an exception to the perceived mediocrity of the juvenilia overall.

operative in Flaubert's juvenilia is indeed that of contemporary Romantics, great and mediocre. This influence manifests itself in Flaubert's reading, in the subjects of his juvenilia and the ideas expressed therein, and in specific details such as the abundance of epigraphs in especially his earliest works. Bruneau successfully demonstrates that the three major cycles of the young Flaubert's works - historical, philosophical/fantastic and autobiographical - closely follow the contemporary Romantic vogues. Other critics variously cite Byron, Hugo, Quinet, Gœthe, Dumas *père* and Balzac as influences; the various networks of influence are well-documented in various critical works. Such wide-ranging Romantic influence, nevertheless, does not preclude influence by the classics. Writers such as Moreau (*op.cit.*) have demonstrated that classicism and Romanticism were far from mutually exclusive; and Maynial points out the similarity of spirit in some classical works of Flaubert's acquaintance to the works of Romanticism: "Eschyle, Aristophane, Pétrone sont pour lui des romantiques avant la lettre" (*op.cit.*, p.19). Equally, as suggested above (p.12), certain classical *milieux* and figures have for Flaubert an inherent 'local colour' which appealed to the Romantic in him, and invited Romantic treatment.

Within an overall Romantic framework, then, there was room in Flaubert's juvenilia for considerable classical influence; and one may discern within his early work several recurring key intertexts - specific authors, myths, ideas - of a classical nature. It may furthermore be argued that the influence of Romantic literature becomes less glaring the older Flaubert grows; symptomatic of this decline is a sharp decrease in the use of epigraphs and in overt demonstrations of his debt to Romanticism. While *Novembre*, written as

late as 1842, does have an epigraph (from Montaigne), many of Flaubert's works during and after 1838 - *Loys XI*, *Agonies*, *Mémoires d'un fou*, *Les Funérailles du docteur Mathurin* - lack them; this is in stark contrast to, for example, *Deux mains sur une couronne* (January 1836), which displays its debt to Romanticism and Romantic historiography with five epigraphs from Dumas *père*, Hugo, Froissart and Barante. Conversely, one may argue that classical influence extended as Flaubert's knowledge of classical literature expanded. Although his study of Latin in college began in 1833, it seems from the previous chapter that this expansion, in the fields both of Latin and Greek, occurred relatively slowly.

By June 1836, however, there is unequivocal evidence that Flaubert's classical education had begun to influence his works. We have seen (pp.9-10) that in the *quatrième* Flaubert would have studied Roman history, and that, as is demonstrated by his letters throughout his youth and indeed subsequently, the 'local colour' of imperial Roman history was to stimulate his imagination. The first evidence of this in his literary work proper occurs in *La Femme du monde*, of June 1836, where there is much mention, in the prosopopoeia of Death of which the work consists, of Caligula, Nero, Messalina and the Roman circus:

> "Jadis, au temps des Caligula et des Néron, je hurlais dans l'arène, je venais aider Messaline à ses obscènes supplices, je frappais les chrétiens, et je rugissais dans le Colisée avec les tigres et les lions" (*OC*I, p.69).

The likeliest sources for these general details are the Roman historians Suetonius and Tacitus, who both deal with this period of history.

Descharmes[3] maintains that Suetonius' version of history, more colourful than Tacitus', would appeal to Flaubert's Romantic imagination: he calls Flaubert's Nero,

> "un Néron très spécial, très romantique, celui de Suétone plus que celui de la critique moderne... c'est l'incendiaire de Rome, le César cabotin, qui plaisent à son imagination. Peu lui importent les institutions impériales, la centralisation du pouvoir allant en s'accentuant depuis Auguste jusqu'aux Antonins; il s'en tient à une vision d'orgie voluptueuse et à une course de chars dans le cirque" (*op.cit.*, p.34).

This is unquestionably so; however, Tacitus must have supplied some of the material for Flaubert's vivid imagination. While Suetonius waxes lyrical about Caligula, Nero and the circus, he says little of Messalina; she is, however, fully treated in Tacitus' *Annals* 10 (chh. 1-2, 29-32, 34-38, etc.); Tacitus also provides some details of Nero and the circus, although his books on Caligula are lost. The 'Romantic' attraction of Roman history remained throughout Flaubert's youth, and was reflected clearly in his writings: *La Danse des morts* of May 1838 has Satan evoking the figure of Nero and later that of Messalina; *Smarh*, of late 1838 and early 1839, contains a vivid description of an imperial orgy, with Flaubert promising to depict it even more strikingly "un jour... que j'aurai pensé à Néron sur les ruines de Rome..." (*OC*I, p.211); and in the autobiographical *Mémoires d'un fou* of autumn 1838, the narrator states that,

> "c'était Rome que j'aimais, la Rome impériale...
> Loin des classiques leçons, je me reportais vers tes immenses voluptés, tes illuminations sanglantes, tes divertissements qui brûlent, Rome" (p.232).

It is conceivable that this particular topos of Flaubert's juvenilia was reinforced

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[3] *Flaubert, sa vie, son caractère, ses idées avant 1857*, Paris, Librairie des Amateurs, 1909.

by a reading of the satirist Juvenal. A quotation in the essay *Rome et les Césars* implies that Flaubert knew Juvenal by August 1839 (see above, p.16), probably voluntarily rather than through his studies, and his references to Messalina may have been suggested by a reading of Juvenal's sixth *Satire*. It is true that the *milieu* of ancient Rome never provided the young Flaubert with a fictional subject, although it inspired *Rome et les Césars* and parts of the earlier work *Les Arts et le commerce* (January 1839); but it did play a large part, reflected in his work, in his imaginative life at the time, and a taste for the period and its literature was probably encouraged by Flaubert's friend and mentor, the self-styled "Grec du Bas-Empire", Alfred le Poittevin.

Bibliomanie (November 1836), one of only two works published during Flaubert's youth, in the somewhat Romantic *Colibri* of Rouen, was accordingly one of the most Romantically inclined of his juvenilia, with a Romantic Spanish setting, typically Romantic exaggeration and maxims, albeit less numerous than in earlier works. Bruneau identifies only two; one of which, effectively meaning 'misery loves company' ("lorsqu'on souffre et qu'on pleure, c'est une consolation bien égoïste, il est vrai, mais enfin réelle, de voir d'autres souffrances et d'autres larmes" - *OC*I, p.82), he attributes to a reading of Lucretius or Seneca, claiming (*op.cit.*, p.181) that both authors were studied during the *troisième* (1836 - 7 in Flaubert's case) under the heading of 'Roman moralists'. We have no evidence that Flaubert voluntarily read Lucretius until late 1846 or early 1847; however, there seems no reason to contradict Bruneau on this point, and, indeed, there is, as will be seen, strong evidence in several of Flaubert's juvenilia for influence by Lucretius' *De rerum natura*. Similarly, Seneca would be a natural choice for a study of moral writings, and

there is evidence in August 1839 that Flaubert was acquainted with him when he compares docteur Mathurin's death with Seneca's. It is, however, difficult to detect the precise source in either writer for the above maxim; one possibility is Lucretius' *De rerum natura* 3.1024-28, which contains the general principle:

> "hoc etiam tibi tute interdum dicere possis:
> 'lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit,
> qui melior multis quam tu fuit, improbe, rebus.
> inde alii multi reges rerumque potentes
> occiderunt, magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt...'"[4].

It is, however, conceivable that Flaubert was strongly influenced in his early works by a number of classical rhetorical commonplaces, by these two writers and others.

The work *Agonies, pensées sceptiques* (April 1838), includes at least one other commonplace which can easily be ascribed to classical influence: in a passage about misfortune, Flaubert writes that "[le malheur] aime surtout à frapper les têtes couronnées" (*OC*I, p.161); this sentiment could well derive from several ancient authors, notably including Seneca and Lucretius once again. Thus, Seneca's tragedy *Phædra* contains the following statement:

> "minor in parvis fortuna furit,
> leviusque ferit leviora deus"[5] (1124-5);

and in book five of the *De rerum natura*, Lucretius writes that,

> "et tamen e summo, quasi fulmen deicit ictos

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[4] "This too you might say to yourself from time to time: "Even Ancus the good closed his eyes on the light of day, he who was a thousand times thy better, thou knave. And since him many other kings and rulers of empires have fallen, who held sway over mighty nations" (trans. Bailey).

[5] "Among the low fortune rages less, god lightly smites the little" (trans. A.J. Boyle, Leeds, Cairns, 1987).

invidia interdum contemptim in Tartara tætra;
invidia quoniam, ceu fulmine, summa vaporant
plerumque et quæ sunt aliis magis edita cumque"[6]
(1125-8)[7].

However, another possible intertext is Juvenal (specifically Juvenal's tenth *Satire*), mentioned above with reference to Messalina. There is no evidence that Flaubert knew Juvenal before he mentioned and quoted him in the essay *Rome et les Césars* of August 1839, some eighteen months after composing *Agonies*...; however, the tenth *Satire* might well have been used as an example of Latin moral writing, its subject being 'what one should pray for'; alternatively, Le Poittevin may have introduced Flaubert to Juvenal. One passage of the poem advises against requesting power, eminence and wealth from the gods, on precisely the grounds that such a request, if granted, might invite misfortune. Three specific phrases encapsulate this line of reasoning:

"quosdam præcipitat subiectis potentia magnæ
invidiæ, mergit longa atque insignis honorum
pagina..." (56-8);

" ...quæ præclara et prospera tanti,
ut rebus lætis par sit mensura malorum" (97-8);

"ad generum Cereris sine cæde ac vulnere pauci
descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni!" (112-3)[8].

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6 "and yet from the top, like lightning, envy smites them and casts them down anon in scorn to a hideous Hell; since by envy, as by lightning, the topmost heights are most often set ablaze, and all places that are high above others" (trans. Bailey).

7 It is possible that the unusual reference here from book five, as opposed to the more usual book three, of the *De rerum natura*, may suggest that this passage is not relevant, as the young Flaubert's knowledge of Lucretius seems to have been largely confined to the later passages of book three, especially where textual influence is concerned.

8 "some are sent hurtling down by the virulent envy to which their power exposes them. Their long and impressive list of achievements ruins them"; "what is the good of prestige and prosperity if, for every joy, they bring an equal sorrow?"; "Few monarchs

Juvenal also figures as a possible intertext in the very work where, as stated above, he is first mentioned by name, *Rome et les Césars*, again in connection with a classical commonplace used by Flaubert. Here, the commonplace is that of the 'Punic curse': that, once she had vanquished Carthage, and indeed her other commercial rivals, Rome's decadence, her competition removed, became inevitable. As Flaubert puts it, "L'œuvre de Rome, c'est la conquête du monde. Quand le monde fut conquis, elle n'eut qu'à s'enivrer et s'endormir"[9] (*OC*I, p.219). This theory was probably first advanced by the historian Sallust, in book ten of his *Catiline*; however, Flaubert was apparently not acquainted with this work. A more accessible text for him, assuming he knew Juvenal in detail, would be the sixth *Satire*, principally a tirade against the evils of woman, but including the statement that,

> "nunc patimur longæ pacis mala; sævior armis
> luxuria incubuit victumque ulciscitur orbem;
> nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis ex quo
> paupertas Romana perit"[10] (292-5).

Similar sentiments are expressed in Horace's works (for instance in *Odes* 3.6), with which, as we shall see, Flaubert was sufficiently familiar to use them as quite a major intertext. However, it is Juvenal's passage that seems closer to

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go down to Ceres' son-in-law [Pluto, god of the underworld] free from bloody wounds; few tyrants avoid a sticky death" (trans. Rudd).

[9] The first element of the proposal is similar to the well-known statement of Rome's imperial mission in *Æneid* 6: "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / (hæ tibi erunt artes)" (851-2) ("But, Romans, never forget that government is your medium! Be this your art..." [trans. Day Lewis]); the use of the words *œuvre* and *artes* in the texts is especially suggestive.

[10] "now we are paying for a lengthy peace. More deadly than arrows, luxury has fallen upon us, avenging the world we conquered. Every crime and act of lust has become familiar since the demise of Roman poverty" (trans. Rudd).

Flaubert's thoughts; it must be considered a probable source for his historical analysis. In the case of such widely occurring classical commonplaces as those discussed, the establishment of a definitive intertext is at best fraught with difficulty, and probably impossible. However, given the recurrence of Seneca, Lucretius and Juvenal as potential intertexts for a number of commonplaces in works of the late 1830s, it seems reasonable to propose that Flaubert's reading of them, probably a result of the study of Roman moral writings, shaped several of his juvenilia.

Thus far, owing to the sheer generality of most of the references examined, the influence of classical literature in Flaubert's juvenilia can be little more than conjectural, one of several possible hypotheses. There exist, however, in Flaubert's juvenilia, a number of commonplaces or more general references whose intertexts may be identified with greater, though still far from absolute confidence. The likelihood that Flaubert knew book three of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, and used passages of it extensively in his work has been mentioned above, although all previous suggestions of its use as an intertext have included at least one alternative possible source. However, in the *conte Rage et impuissance* of December 1836 (and therefore shortly after the beginning of the academic year when Flaubert studied Latin moral texts), a passage describing the imminent insensibility and invulnerability of the hero, a doctor buried alive, does so in distinctly Lucretian terms. Thus, Flaubert writes, "Il avait peur, et de quoi? La terre pouvait s'effacer, les révolutions pouvaient remuer la poussière du globe, peu lui importait!" (*OC*I, p.86); Lucretius expresses identical sentiments thus:

"scilicet haud nobis quicquam, qui non erimus tum,

accidere omnino poterit sensumque movere,
non si terra mari miscebitur et mare cælo"[11] (*DRN* 3.840-2).

Approximately two years later, in the autumn of 1838, *Mémoires d'un fou* contains a further possible reminiscence of Lucretius, from a passage not much later in book three. The passage in question is a prosopopœia of Nature, upbraiding mankind for regretting death; Lucretius supplies her with the following words:

"cur non ut plenus vitæ conviva recedis
æquo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietam?"[12] (938-9).

These are paralleled by Flaubert, with a comparison by the narrator of himself to "cet épicurien qui se fit ouvrir les veines, se baigna dans un bain parfumé et mourut en riant, comme un homme qui sort ivre d'une orgie qui l'a fatigué" (*OC*I, p.230). However, Lucretius is not the only intertext detectable here; the Epicurean in question is almost certainly Petronius, with whom, given Le Poittevin's influence, Flaubert may well have been familiar at this stage; and Flaubert probably owed details of Petronius' death to Tacitus[13], who, in book sixteen of his *Annals*, gives a detailed account of Petronius' suicide, ordered by Nero; indeed, it is possible that Tacitus' work suggested Flaubert's phrasing, since the historian writes of Petronius, "audiebatque referentes, nihil

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[11] "you may know that nothing at all will be able to happen to us, who then will be no more, or stir our feeling: no, not if earth shall be mingled with sea, and sea with sky" (trans. Bailey).

[12] "why dost thou not retire like a guest sated with the banquet of life, and with calm mind embrace, thou fool, a rest that knows no care?" (*ibid.*).

[13] In this particular case, the historian supplying the detail cannot have been Suetonius, who does not describe Petronius' suicide.

de inmortalitate animæ, sed levia carmina et facilis versus"[14] (16.19). The comparison of life to a feast is expanded into a lengthy simile by August 1839, in *Les Funérailles du docteur Mathurin*, whose eponymous hero states that "la vie est un festin..." (*OC*I, pp.222-3); again, in this text, Flaubert has in mind a famous suicide, here Seneca, to whom Mathurin is compared - he dies "comme Sénèque, qui se fit ouvrir les veines et mettre dans un bain" (p.222), although Mathurin's manner of passing is more closely akin to Petronius' epicurean death. Flaubert's source for Seneca's death may be either Suetonius or Tacitus, both of whom describe it in detail.

Other important intertexts exist in Flaubert's juvenilia, which he almost certainly imitated consciously (which is disputable in most cases mentioned so far). The work *Agonies, pensées sceptiques*, of April 1838, we have already seen, contains several classical commonplaces; it is also notable for containing the earliest evidence in his writing of the influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a work of indisputable importance, as we shall see, in at least one of Flaubert's juvenilia. It has been mentioned (above, p.10) that it seems likely that Flaubert studied the *Metamorphoses* in the *quatrième*, 1835-6, rather than the other possibility for evening study, Virgil's *Eclogues* or *Georgics*. It would appear that book one of the *Metamorphoses* had made some impression when studied, with *la pensée* being compared in *Agonies...* to "le déluge d'Ovide, une mer sans bornes, où la tempête est la vie et l'existence" (p.157). Ovid describes the universal flood at length in *Metamorphoses* 1; specifically in line 292, he writes "omnia pontus erat

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[14] "And he listened to them reading, not discourses about the immortality of the soul or philosophy, but to light lyrics and frivolous poems" (trans. Michael Grant, London, Cassell & Company, 1963).

deerant quoque litora ponto"[15], which may have suggested Flaubert's "mer sans bornes". In the same work, misfortune is compared to "le tonneau des Danaïdes, qui était sans fond" (*OC*I, p.161). Ovid's *Metamorphoses* contain two references to the legend of the Danaids, in books four (462-3) and ten (43-4) which may have inspired this simile; however, in both instances, Ovid calls the maidens of the legend by their alternative name, the Belides, so another source may apply here. It is worth mentioning several such possible sources in passing. At least one is Ovidian: poem fourteen of Ovid's *Heroïdes* is a letter from Hypermnestra, the only Danaid not punished in Hades, to her lover Lynceus. In Æschylus' *Prometheus bound*, 855-70 - a work with which, as we shall see (below, pp.104-6), Flaubert was perhaps by now familiar - the story of the Danaids' crime, though not their punishment, is told. However, a likelier source is, once again, Lucretius' third book, in which, in lines 1003-10, the 'real' Danaids - that is, the existent people whose life resembles the Danaids' punishment - are described and compared to,

> "...ævo florente puellas
> quod memorant laticem pertusum congerere in vas
> quod tamen expleri nulla ratione potestur"[16] (1008-10);

here we have specific reference to the 'tonneau' that Flaubert mentions, in the word 'vas'. Another plausible source is Horace - another author whom, Flaubert, as mentioned, imitated frequently in his juvenilia - whose eleventh poem in *Odes* 3 tells the story of Hypermnestra, evoking her sisters' punishment in a scene where Orpheus, visiting the underworld, briefly causes

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[15] "the sea was everything, a sea too that was without a shore" (trans. Hill).

[16] "the maidens in the flower of youth, who pour the water into the vessel full of holes, which can yet in no way be filled full" (trans. Bailey).

that punishment to cease:

> "...stetit urna paulum
> sicca, dum grato Danai puellas
> carmine mulces"[17] (22-4).

Again, here, there is specific reference to the Danaids' *tonneau*, with the word *urna*. Most probably Flaubert knew several or all of these texts, which combined to produce the reference in *Agonies...*

However, the work most influenced by *Metamorphoses* 1 is Flaubert's *vieux mystère*, *Smarh*, written some eighteen months after *Agonies...*, in late 1838 and early 1839 - although, of course, the imitation of works such as Quinet's *Ahasvérus*, Gœthe's *Faust* and Byron's *Cain*, described by writers such as Shanks[18] and Bruneau (*op.cit.*), is of paramount importance here. The debt Flaubert's work owes to Ovid's is outlined by Rea Keech in his article 'Flaubert's *Smarh* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*'[19]; however, one might perhaps go further than Keech in drawing the comparison. The first obvious evidence that Ovid was on Flaubert's mind during the composition of *Smarh* is the borrowing of a brief quotation ("indigesta moles"[20] [7]) from *Metamorphoses* 1 as one of the work's two epigraphs; in context, this is intended as a description of the work, and may, given Flaubert's contempt for *Smarh* (as shown in his own later comment upon it, written "après un an de façon" (*OC*I, p.218) and

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17 "the urn stood for a time dry as you [Orpheus] won the daughters of Danaus with a delightful song" (trans. Williams).

18 *Flaubert's youth, 1821-45* (Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1927).

19 *Romance Notes*, 20, 2 (Winter 1979-80), pp.202-5.

20 "a rough unordered mass" (trans. Hill).

appended to the work), be retrospective rather than written at the time of composition. However, it cannot be coincidence that the passage from which it is taken is one which Flaubert utilizes extensively in *Smarh*, such that the epigraph may be considered either an ironic *boutade* against his own work or an acknowledgement of a debt (or, of course, both); and it is clear that in *Smarh*, Flaubert is much inspired by several passages of *Metamorphoses* 1.

Ovid's influence is most apparent in the descriptions, in the earlier part of *Smarh*, of the creation, the universe's primordial state and structure, and the flood; parallels with *Metamorphoses* 1, both general and specific, abound. In general terms, as Keech points out, Satan's description of the *vide* where "nous dormions, nous tous, dans la mort d'où nous devions naître" (p.193) resembles lines 5 to 9 of Ovid's first book in the idea of immobility and inaction:

> "nec quidquam nisi pondus iners congestaque eodem
> non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum"[21] (8-9),

although as will be shown shortly, a more specific parallel exists for these lines. Again, broadly speaking, Smarh's claims to kingship over creation by right of his superior intelligence - "N'ai-je pas une intelligence qui m'a fait le roi de la création, qui m'a placé au premier rang, qui dompte la nature, la maîtrise et la baîllonne?" (*OC*I, p.196) - echo Ovid's similar position regarding man's rôle in nature:

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[21] "nothing except inactive weight and heaped together the discordant seed of unassembled things" (*ibid.*).

> "sanctius his animal *mentisque capacius altæ*
> deerat adhuc et quod *dominari* in cetera posset"[22] (76-7)
> (my italics).

However, more specific reminiscences of the *Metamorphoses* occur slightly later in *Smarh*, towards the end of Satan and Smarh's cosmological exchange and during their inspection of the sins of the world.

Towards the end of their exchange, Satan again speaks briefly of the Chaos that preceded the creation of the universe, as a time when all was comparable to an infinite ocean. Smarh, seeking clarification, asks, "Ne parles-tu pas de ces époques inconnues aux mortels, où la création s'agitait dans ses germes...?" (*OC*I, p.198). The terminology used here, and in particular the word *germes*, recalls lines 8-9 of *Metamorphoses* 1 (quoted above), where the word *semina* ("atoms" - literally, "seeds") means the same thing. Again, the idea that creation "s'agitait" recalls Ovid's chaotic "non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum" (9). The similarity is confirmed by Flaubert's use of the word 'chaos' in Smarh's rather disingenuous question, "Est-ce que le chaos était bon?" (p.198), echoing Ovid's specification that,

> "unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe,
> quem dixere Chaos"[23] (6-7);

here again, the idea of uniformity continues in Flaubert's adaptation, where chaos is represented as a boundless ocean. Satan's exposition of the union of solid and liquid in this primordial ocean - "la terre et la mer étaient de plomb et semblaient mêlées l'une à l'autre, comme de la salive sur de la poussière"

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[22] "A holier living thing than these, *with more capacity for a high mind*, one that could *rule* over all the rest, was still required" (*ibid.*).

[23] "there was one face of nature in her whole orb (they call it Chaos)" (*ibid.*).

(*OC*I, p.198) - recalls Ovid's thought quite closely: line 8, again already quoted - "nec quidquam nisi pondus iners" - suggests the idea of weight and inertia implied in the comparison of chaos to lead; and there is some similarity between Flaubert's text and some slightly later lines of Ovid's, although the idea in the *Metamorphoses* of combat between opposite principles is alien to Flaubert's adaptation:

> "...nulli sua forma manebat
> obstabatque aliis aliud, quia corpore in uno
> frigida pugnabat calidis, umentia siccis,
> mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus"[24] (17-20);

the idea of everything being included in a single mass remains in Flaubert's account. Finally, Smarh's statement that "quand la création apparut, la terre fut retirée, et l'océan refoulé dans ses fureurs" (*OC*I, p.198) mirrors Ovid's description of the creation of the land:

> "tum freta diffudit rapidisque tumescere ventis
> iussit et ambitæ circumdare litora terræ"[25] (36-7).

Certainly, then, this passage of *Smarh* would seem more strongly influenced by Ovid than that on page 193 of *OC*I.

Ovid's description of the universal flood, too (*Metamorphoses* 1.262-310), seems to have influenced Flaubert's account of the deluge. However, at least one line of Ovid's account is imitated elsewhere, again in the description of the universal ocean of chaos that precedes Flaubert's passage on the flood: in the former passage (*OC*I, p.198) it is stated of the ocean that "le choc de ses

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[24] "No part maintained its form, and one impeded the others, because in one body the cold were fighting with the hot, the wet with the dry, the soft with the hard and with the weightless those with weight" (*ibid.*).

[25] "Then [a god] scattered the seas and ordered them to swell under the raging winds and that surround the shores of the encircled earth" (*ibid.*).

flots n'avait point de termes"; this is very close to Ovid's statement that "omnia pontus erat deerant quoque litora ponto"[26] (292). It is, nevertheless, in the description of the flood that the closest parallels - probably the closest in any of the passages yet considered - occur. The general description of the flood itself is strikingly similar: in *Smarh*, "les fleuves versaient leurs eaux dans les campagnes" (*OC*I, p.198); in the *Metamorphoses*, "exspatiata ruunt per apertos flumina campos"[27] (285). Its effects are similar in both texts: in Smarh, buildings are overcome by the floodwaters - "les pyramides croyaient qu'elle [la mer] mourrait à leurs pieds, et les plus petites vagues surpassaient leur sommet" (*OC*I, pp.198-9); "elle entraînait avec elle les villes et les tours" (p.199) - as they are in the *Metamorphoses*:

> "...culmen tamen altior huius
> unda tegit, pressæque latent sub gurgite turres"[28] (289-90).

Even natural obstacles do not obstruct the flood: in *Smarh*, "elle [la mer] gagna les montagnes, et elle s'élevait toujours..." (*OC*I, p.199); in the *Metamorphoses*,

> "obruerat tumulos immensa licentia ponti,
> pulsabatque novi montana cacumina fluctus"[29] (309-10).

Arguably, much of the coincidence of description would occur in any evocation

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[26] For translation, see note 15. This would not be the first time that this line had influenced Flaubert; as we have seen, it seems to have inspired a comparison of thought to an infinite ocean in *Agonies, pensées sceptiques.*

[27] "The rivers left the course and rushed through open fields" (trans. Hill).

[28] "[a house's] roof was still covered by a higher wave and its towers were crushed and hidden underneath the flood" (*ibid.*).

[29] "Hillocks were overwhelmed by the sea's unmeasured wantonness and strange floods were beating at the mountain summits" (*ibid.*).

of a universal deluge; however, the similarity is remarkably close, and there are even specific verbal parallels between the passages. Thus, where Flaubert writes of "campagnes" being flooded, Ovid wrote "campos"; Flaubert's "tours" carried away by the flood, mirror Ovid's "turres"; and Flaubert's "sommet" of the drowned pyramids recalls Ovid's various words for the same thing: "culmen" (289), "culmina" (295), "cacumina" (310). Considerable convergence between Flaubert's passage and Ovid's seems apparent; and it is clear that Ovid's text can safely be considered a precursor of *Smarh*.

This influence extends to the immediately subsequent passage of *Smarh*, where the hermit, accompanied by Satan and Yuk, watches a 'noble savage' abandon his simple life for the corrupt environment of the city, whose corruptions are then enumerated. Keech believes that this passage too is influenced by Ovid, and, given the considerable imitation apparent in the 'flood' scene, this view is justified; however, as we shall see, a degree of caution is necessary The passage in *Metamorphoses* 1 that describes a scene similar to Flaubert's is lines 88-115, where man's evolution from the utopian Golden Age, through the Silver down to the ages of Bronze and Iron is depicted. However, it seems, again as Keech points out, that Flaubert's description more fits Ovid's account of the Silver Age, when "tum primum subiere domus" (121) and "pressique iugo gemuere iuvenci"[30] (124); the *sauvage* states that "ma hutte est bonne" (*OC*I, p.201) and refers often to his domesticated animals, a horse and a cow. In many other respects, admittedly, Flaubert's account is that of a Golden Age, as Ovid depicts it - in the simplicity

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30 "then first did man enter houses" and " the oxen groaned beneath the pressing yoke" (*ibid.*).

of life described, for example - but the similarity is more general than specific; again, the intervention of war as a factor in the termination of the Golden Age is common to both texts, but lacks striking similarities in description. Nonetheless, it is in the account of the fall from a simple, primeval ideal that Flaubert most strikingly imitates Ovid, especially in his description of the corrupted king who rules the city to which the savage, tempted by the same vices, eventually emigrates. Of him, Flaubert writes, on page 202, "tous les vices se traînaient à genoux à ses pieds... et tous les péchés capitaux le harcelaient". According to Ovid, a major element in the termination of the Golden Age was vice's defeat by virtue:

> "...fugere pudor verumque fidesque
> in quorum subiere locum fraudesque dolique
> insidiæque et vis et amor sceleratus habendi"[31] (129-31).

The king in *Smarh* is indeed attacked by Ambition - leading to war - , Lust and, especially important, Avarice, as well as Pride; similarly, in *Metamorphoses* 1, Avarice plays a major part:

> "iamque nocens ferrum ferroque nocentius aurum
> prodierat; prodit bellum, quod pugnat utroque
> sanguineaque manu crepitantia concutit arma"[32] (141-3).

The imitation, then, is quite close, although characteristically the young Flaubert devotes as much space to Lust (*OC*I, p.203), which is absent from Ovid's analysis of the fall, as he does to the other three vices combined.

However, as mentioned above, one must be cautious in attributing with

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[31] "shame and truth and trust fled away, and in their place succeeded fraud and treachery and plots and violence and sinful love of possession" (*ibid.*).

[32] "And now harmful iron, and gold more harmful than iron, had emerged; there emerged war which fights with both, and shakes its clashing arms with bloody hand" (*ibid*).

any certainty the passages where Flaubert describes the savage and the king to Ovid's description of primeval man and his evolution. Some influence there certainly is; but the concept of a Golden Age followed by a fall was a widespread commonplace in classical, and indeed postclassical literature. Romantic sources for many of the ideas involved, especially that of the 'noble savage', could be invoked, such as Rousseau or Chateaubriand; Montaigne may be influential here; and, of course, alternative classical authors may be involved. To enumerate fully the passages in classical literature where the Golden Age is described would be a prohibitively immense task; however, it is noticeable that many of the authors whose works have already been posited as intertexts for Flaubert's juvenilia wrote such passages. Seneca, for one: in the ninetieth letter of the *Epistulæ Morales*, a famous section describes glowingly the simple virtues of the primitive way of life - although again, unlike Flaubert's, Seneca's savages do not inhabit any form of built shelter. The idea of simplicity as an aspect of man's primitive state also occurs in a similar description in Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 5.925-1000), although it is unclear whether Flaubert was at this time acquainted with that book of the *De rerum natura*, and Lucretius' account sets out to prove that the life of rural simplicity was *not* one of pleasure and comfort. Horace furnishes a possible source for the idea of cupidity as an aspect of the fall from grace, with his attack in *Odes* 3.3 upon gold - "aurum inrepertum et sic melius situm"[33] (49) as a bringer of decadence. But perhaps the most convincing intertext is Seneca's tragedy *Phædra*, from which it was earlier suggested (above, p.83) that Flaubert might

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33 "gold, undiscovered and thus better situated" (trans. Williams).

have gleaned the commonplace "uneasy lies the head that wears the crown". In this work, the hero Hippolytus evokes the virtues of the simple life that the earliest men must have led, and traces the downfall from this pinnacle of excellence. In many respects the overall account resembles Flaubert's and that of the other classical writers already mentioned; however, the misogynistic Hippolytus attributes much of the blame for the fall to lust - more specifically to women:

> " dux malorum femina, hæc scelerum artifex
> obsedit animos, huius incestæ stupris
> fumant tot urbes, bella tot gentes gerunt
> et versa ab imo regna tot populos premunt"[34]
> (*Phædra* 559-62).

This passage, which emphasizes war's rôle in the process, may have inspired Flaubert's introduction of Lust as one of the vices that destroyed the Golden Age, although one might contend that Flaubert needed no excuse to introduce an orgiastic element into his juvenilia.

A final possible instance of Ovidian influence in *Smarh* occurs somewhat later in the work than the passages so far discussed. Towards the end of *Smarh*, in the passage where Smarh becomes a highly romanticized young poet, he reflects on the agony of his situation:

> "être là comme ce géant de la fable, avec une soif infinie, une faim qui ronge, et sentir échapper toujours ces fruits qu'on a rêvés, qu'on a sentis, et dont la saveur prématurée est venue jusqu'à nous" (*OC*I, p.215).

The giant in question is clearly Tantalus; interestingly, Ovid refers to him twice in the *Metamorphoses*, in books four and ten, at roughly the same points

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34 "Evil's prince is woman. Mistress of crime, she besieges minds; for her sinful lusts so many cities burn, so many states war, so many peoples [are] crushed by fallen kingdoms" (trans. Boyle).

where he refers to the Danaids, mentioned in *Agonies...* (see pp.89-90); it is therefore possible that one or both of the passages in question is a source for this. Equally, however, in another passage mentioned as a possible source for the reference to the Danaids, in *De rerum natura* 3, Tantalus is also mentioned as a paradigm for certain types of human, although his literal existence, like the Danaids', is denied:

> "nec miser impendens magnum timet saxum
> Tantalus, ut famast, cassa formidine torpens"[35] (980-1).

The version of the story used here differs from that evoked by Flaubert; but it is quite possible that Lucretius is his primary source for the mentions of the Danaids and Tantalus in *Agonies...* and *Smarh*. Nonetheless, it is apparent that Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and particularly its first book, made a strong impression upon Flaubert, and that this impression is reflected, in some cases through quite close textual reminiscences, in *Smarh*.

A further important shaper of Flaubert's juvenilia, although without the sweeping influence upon any single work that the *Metamorphoses* had upon *Smarh*, is Horace. A degree of Horatian influence has already been tentatively suggested, with reference to Flaubert's mention of the 'Punic curse' in *Rome et les Césars* (see pp.85-6), of the Danaids in *Agonies, pensées sceptiques* (pp.89-90) and of the rôle of material greed in the termination of the Golden Age in *Smarh* (p.97). The earliest of these texts is *Agonies...*, of April 1838. We know, as mentioned in chapter 1 (pp.11-12), that Flaubert borrowed two volumes of Horace from Alfred Le Poittevin in summer 1837,

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35 "Neither does wretched Tantalus fear the great rock that hangs over him in the air, as the tale tells, numbed with idle terror" (trans. Bailey).

possibly in preparation for the work to be done on that author during the *seconde*, 1837-8; it is therefore reasonable to start looking for his influence in Flaubert's works from around that date.

In *La Danse des morts* (May 1838), among the procession of the Dead that Satan invokes is a king, who names among his entourage "douze jeunes filles d'Ionie, aux seins d'émail, aux bras d'ivoire, aux doigts de rose..." (*OC*I, p.170). Flaubert may have found the idea of Ionian girls as a symbol for luxurious sensuality in poem six of Horace's third book of *Odes*,

> "motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
> matura virgo..."[36] (21-2);

although the "matura virgo" in question is not herself Ionian, the "motus" are; Flaubert may have simply transferred the epithet. It is almost certain that this ode, as one of the six 'Roman odes' at the beginning of *Odes* 3, would have been studied in schools - indeed, of the three other possible instances of Horatian influence so far mentioned, two have been from the Roman odes, the other from another poem of book three, the eleventh - and that its sensual side would have made an impression upon Flaubert. Evidence of reading beyond *Odes* 3 comes in *Les Arts et le commerce* (January 1839), which includes another commonplace of classical history: "Quand la Grèce fut vaincue, n'imposa-t-elle pas son joug à Rome, sa maîtresse, par ses orateurs et ses artistes?" (*OC*I, p.185). This idea features in Horace's *Epistles*, 2.1.156-7:

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36 "The girl, come of age, delights to learn Ionic [Greek] dances" (trans. Williams).

"Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis
intulit agresti Latio"[37];

it is not an especially rare concept in Roman and subsequent historiography, but the coincidence of meaning and vocabulary - "Grèce"-"Græcia"[38]; "vaincue"-"capta"; "maîtresse"-"victorem"; "artistes"-"artis" - suggests that this particular text may have affected Flaubert's thought in this work. In the same work, *Odes* 3 may again influence Flaubert, this time in another commonplace, that of the poet's immortality:

> "les poètes sont comme ces statues qu'on retrouve dans les ruines; on les oublie parfois longtemps, mais on les retrouve intactes au milieu d'une poussière qui n'a plus de nom; tout a péri, eux seuls durent" (*OC*I, p.186).

An obvious parallel to this line of thinking is Horace's claim to poetic immortality, in the book's thirtieth and last poem:

"exegi monumentum ære perennius
regalique situ pyramidum altius,
quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
possit diruere aut innumerabilis
annorum series et fuga.
non omnis moriar..."[39] (*Odes* 3.30.1-6).

Here again, as in Flaubert's work, the poet's longevity exceeds that of monuments of human construction; he survives everything else, and is in some ways impervious to death. Again, the thought is reasonably

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[37] "Greece, the captive, made her savage victor captive, and brought the arts into rustic Latium" (trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb edition, 1970).

[38] It was not always Greece that was invoked as Rome's 'cultural conqueror', so Flaubert's choice of it here was not inevitable.

[39] "I have completed a memorial more lasting than bronze and higher than the royal grave of the pyramids, that neither biting rain nor the north wind in its fury can destroy, nor the unnumbered series of years and the flight of ages. I shall not all die..." (trans. Williams).

commonplace, in classical and post-classical writers[40]; but the similarity of imagery between Flaubert's work and Horace's is striking enough to suggest that some influence is operating here, although as ever, it is difficult to pinpoint unacknowledged intertexts with any certainty.

If any of Flaubert's juvenilia is more influenced than the average by Horace, it is *Les Funérailles du docteur Mathurin*, although Horace's influence is less than Ovid's in *Smarh*, and is clearly subordinate to that of, for example, Rabelais. The general idea of an encomium of drunkenness is mildly Horatian in spirit - many of Horace's *Odes* are drinking songs - and it is thus appropriate that Horace should be among the authors in the library of Mathurin and his disciples (the other major literary one is Rabelais - possibly Flaubert is here acknowledging his main sources). The principal specific item of Horatian influence is a quotation from *Odes* 1.37.1-2 (*OC*I, p.233), "nunc pulsanda tellus"[41], (see above, pp.16-17) - again, this choice of source is highly appropriate to the *conte bachique*, coming as it does from a celebratory ode. Finally, several of these possible intertexts come together in the final work of Flaubert's juvenilia, *Novembre*, completed in October 1842, when the narrator describes his enthusiasm for imagining himself participating in various classical scenes:

> "je m'imaginais assister à de belles fêtes antiques... voir des danses ioniennes, écouter le flot grec sur les marches d'un temple... fuir avec Cléopâtre sur ma galère antique" (p.254).

Here, the parallel to *Odes* 3.6 is most persuasive, with Horace's "motus...

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[40] Ovid is among the poets who have imitated Horace here (e.g. *Amores* 1.15); however, there is no evidence that Flaubert knew Ovid's *Amores* in 1839.

[41] "now [is the time] to beat the ground" (trans. Bennet).

ionicos" translated almost literally as "danses ioniennes"; and again, *Odes* 1.37 may be an intertext, given that Cleopatra's flight from the battle of Actium and her subsequent defeat and suicide are the subject of part of that poem and the pretext for the celebrations it describes. It seems, then, that Horace's influence in Flaubert's juvenilia, while not especially profound, is widespread, and manifest in a variety of works; admittedly, some of the intertexts proposed are debatable, but it is indisputable, given the sentiments expressed in *Rome et les Césars*, where Flaubert pays tribute to "la grâce ciselée d'Horace" (*OC*I, p.219), and in much of his correspondence of the period, that Flaubert admired Horace greatly; a degree of influence is thus unsurprising.

An author whose works are a less direct intertext for Flaubert, but who is nonetheless of some importance in his juvenilia is Homer. Flaubert probably studied Homer from his *troisième* (1836-7), and appreciation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* remained a constant throughout his life, as demonstrated in chapter 1. Any direct Homeric influence in Flaubert's juvenilia is hard to detect; none of the works is set in Homer's time, nor are there any direct quotations from Homer's works (although it is unclear whether the standard of Flaubert's Greek would have permitted such quotation). However, the *idea* of Homer and his *milieu* greatly influenced some of Flaubert's works. We have seen (above, pp.14-15) that in the essay *Rabelais* (December 1838), Homer is elevated with Virgil, to the status of representative of an age; some six months earlier, in June, Homer's gods are used as a paradigm of drunken excess - wine is a "passion des sages et des Dieux, car ceux d'Homère s'enivrent comme des laquais..." (*OC*I, p.177) - to justify writing about drunkenness in Flaubert's first *conte bachique*, *Ivre et mort*. In *Smarh*, approximately a year

later, Yuk's laugh is always "homérique"[42]; and in the encomium of *Mademoiselle Rachel*, (approximately June 1840), the actress is compared to the long-awaited "vieux rapsode qui... chantait les chants d'Homère" (p.228) in Flaubert's plea that she hasten her return to Rouen. The extent of Flaubert's direct acquaintance with Homer at this stage is questionable; but some degree of indirect influence, probably stimulated by Homer's impact upon his imagination, is apparent.

A further symptom of classical influence upon Flaubert's early works manifests itself in the recurrence of two figures, each occurring twice in a relatively short period in his juvenilia; the source for these is less directly traceable than those attributable to Ovid or Horace, but some conclusions may be drawn from their use, and they may suggest a number of possible new intertexts. Twice in works of 1837, Flaubert refers to the legendary figure Prometheus: in *La Dernière heure* (January), and *Quidquid volueris* (October). In the first, a first-person narrator is compared to Prometheus in the tribulations he undergoes: the narrator refers to "un Dieu dont, semblable au Prométhée d'Eschyle, je brave les coups, et que je méprise trop pour blasphémer" (p.89); in the second, in *Quidquid volueris*, the simian hero, Djalioh, is compared to the titan: the narrator exclaims, with Djalioh in mind,

> "être là, attaché à un roc aride, comme Prométhée, voir sur son ventre un vautour qui vous dévore, et ne pouvoir, dans sa colère, le serrer de ses deux mains et l'écraser!" (p.109).

Mason (*op.cit.*) argues persuasively that Djalioh, like many of Flaubert's

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[42] A turn of phrase which, ironically, Flaubert subsequently condemns in the *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*, where Homer is "célèbre par sa façon de rire: un rire homérique" (*OC*II, p.310).

heroes, is little more than Flaubert's *alter ego*, symbolic of some aspect of his personality, and the autobiographical nature of the sentiment at least of *La Dernière heure* is widely recognized; in which case, the true object of the Prometheus simile is Flaubert himself. The sentiment behind the comparison is one which might come easily to most adolescents, especially to those strongly influenced by the Romantic tradition; however, Flaubert's exact source for this image is unclear.

In *La Dernière heure*, as we have seen, the reference is specifically to "le Prométhée d'Eschyle", suggesting an obvious source in Æschylus' *Prometheus bound*. It is not entirely clear that Flaubert would have known this text by January 1837. There is evidence, in letters 46 and 47[43], that he first read Æschylus during the summer of 1839; this was probably a result of the beginning of his college study of Greek tragedy, in the *première*, 1838-9 (although it is unclear whether *Prometheus bound* was among the texts covered in this). The study of Greek language began in the *cinquième*, some two or three years before the composition of *La Dernière heure*, and *Prometheus bound* may have been a reading text for this; equally, Flaubert may have read the work voluntarily before 1837, probably in translation; or another source altogether may have supplied the precise details about Prometheus, which Flaubert then attributed to Æschylus' work. However, some elements at least in Flaubert's depiction of an almost atheistic Prometheus seem to owe something to Æschylus' text. The two basic aspects of the Promethean narrator in *La Dernière heure* are his refusal to submit to

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[43] [Rouen, 10th August and 13th September 1839].

the punishment inflicted upon him ("un Dieu... dont je brave les coups") and contempt for the God who inflicts it ("... et que je méprise trop pour blasphémer"); both may be detected in *Prometheus bound*. In line 29 of the play, Prometheus is addressed thus: "θεὸς θεῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑποπτήσσων χόλον"[44], which may have suggested Flaubert's depiction of a fearless Prometheus; and in line 938, Prometheus says, "ἐμοὶ δ'ἔλασσων Ζηνὸς ἢ μηδὲν μέλει"[45], possibly providing the source of Flaubert's Promethean narrator's contempt for God. It seems possible, then, that Æschylus' work is indeed the source, as Flaubert himself suggests, for the reference to Prometheus in *La Dernière heure*, and that the irreligious attitude of Æschylus' hero appealed strongly to the young Flaubert's atheistic sympathies. The specific description of Prometheus' suffering in the simile in *Quidquid volueris* is not found in such detail in Æschylus, nor are there any obvious parallels among the other classical works known to have influenced Flaubert; however, it is entirely possible that, knowing the basic details of the legend, he supplied the lengthier description purely from his own imagination. It is noticeable that the phrasing of the narratorial comment - "être là comme..." - is very close to that of the description of Tantalus towards the end of *Smarh* (see above, p.98); possibly the two passages have a common source. However this may be, it seems that for a time in 1837, the figure of Prometheus, probably as described by Æschylus, provoked much of Flaubert's interest in the classics.

Similar in many ways, several years later, is the figure of the

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44 "You, a god, outraged the Gods" (trans. Scully and Herington, New York; London, O.U.P., 1975).

45 "Me, I couldn't care less for your Zeus" (*ibid.*).

Pythonisse, or Pythia, the priestess of Apollo at the Delphic oracle. She is mentioned first in *Mademoiselle Rachel* (June 1840), where the actress is compared to the "Pythonisse possédée" (*OC*I, p.227) in the completeness of her identification with the characters she plays. While, unlike the references to Prometheus, this cannot be considered an identification by Flaubert of a mythological or historical figure with himself, one should bear in mind his well-known interest in acting and the theatre; perhaps some degree of empathy can be inferred. Certainly a strong degree of identification with the Pythia is apparent in *Novembre*, completed in October 1842. Here, the narrator, who, as previously noted, is distinctly autobiographical, describes the enthusiasm that reading stimulated in him when he was younger: "des pages... me donnaient une fureur de Pythonisse" (p.251). It is perhaps significant that the passage where this features comes shortly after one where the narrator's admiration for the performance of an actress, and his brief infatuation with her is described; it seems reasonably clear that Flaubert had Rachel in mind here, and it is possible that the image of the inspired Pythia was one he considered closely connected with artistic inspiration - of the poet or the thespian - and the artist's vocation; an image he felt appropriate for the emerging artist he considered himself to be, in the same way that earlier, the trials of Prometheus had seemed a worthy metaphor for his adolescent trauma. The precise source of the Pythia-image, if a single source is involved, is unclear; the figure of the Pythia and other prophetic characters is widespread in classical literature, including certain texts that Flaubert knew[46]. Several possible

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[46] For instance, the figure of the venerable Sibyl of Cumæ features in Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*, albeit more as a figure of fun than an inspired prophetess.

appropriate passages occur in Cicero's *De divinatione*, including a reference to the fumes "quo Pythia mente incitata oracla ederet"[47] (2.57.117). Flaubert probably studied Cicero in the *quatrième*, although the texts *De amicitia* and *De senectute* are those officially specified. It is not thus clear that Flaubert knew *De divinatione*; indeed it is entirely possible that his awareness of the Pythia came from general knowledge of the ancient world, rather than any specific text. Nonetheless, the Pythia seems to have had some significance for him, as a symbol of artistic inspiration, in the early 1840s.

It is in many ways appropriate to end a consideration of classical influence upon Flaubert's early juvenilia with a passage from *Novembre*, since that work is often thought to represent a summary of many of the themes of his early work. This is true of some of the classical themes investigated above: Nero, a constant *point de répère* of his youthful view of classical history, resurfaces (the narrator wishes "être Gengiskan, Tamerlan, Néron, effrayer le monde au froncement de mes sourcils" [*OC*I, p.255]); Horatian influence (see above, pp.99-103) reappears, as does Flaubert's interest in the Pythia, as just mentioned. However, the work is even more a summary of his juvenilia's Romantic themes: the narrator suffers from youthful *ennui*; the nature of love is placed in question; and the narrator, like many of Flaubert's, reiterates frequently his desire for death - indeed, his *ennui* eventually kills him, in time-honoured Romantic fashion. However, here Romanticism's nostrums are treated somewhat differently from before. Most of the Romantic themes outlined above are seen in 'flashback', in the *récit* of the first narrator which

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[47] "which inspired the Pythian priestess to utter oracles" (trans. Falconer).

occupies the first two-thirds of the work; and even within this *récit*, it is admitted that "ce n'était point la douleur de René" (p.252). In Flaubert's first 'roman personnel', *Mémoires d'un fou*, the largely autobiographical narrator's literary tastes - Byron, *Werther*, *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and so on - and his preference for Romanticism remain (pp.233-4). But in *Novembre*, the first narrator's Romanticism, and even his reading, is subverted and condemned by a secondary narrator, a friend who completes the story after the first narrator's death; for him, the unfortunate's reading included "de très mauvais auteurs, comme on l'a pu voir à son style" (p.273) - even their influence upon his work is condemned - who eventually repelled him; although admittedly, "les excellents" failed to arouse the same enthusiasm in him. This disillusionment is reflected at around the time of *Novembre*'s composition by Flaubert's own weariness with *Werther*, expressed in his *Souvenirs, notes et pensées intimes* (see ch.1, n.23), and may be taken to represent Flaubert's own feelings regarding Romanticism; as Bruneau says, *Novembre* is a work "où Flaubert révélait à la fois à ses lecteurs le romantique qu'il avait été, et la mort de ce même romantique" (*op.cit.*, p.343); it was, moreover, probably the piece of juvenilia which Flaubert was later most inclined to show his friends, and therefore perhaps the one of which he felt proudest.

For all this, Romanticism and writers of, or favoured by, the Romantic school, were clearly the chief influences upon the majority of Flaubert's juvenilia. It is noticeable that, among the classical writers whose influence is important in his youthful work, virtually all were read as part of Flaubert's college curriculum: the evidence of influence rarely goes beyond the specific works prescribed - the only obvious significant exception is Petronius.

Similarly, while certain works - notably *Smarh* - are quite profoundly influenced by classical writers, the degree of influence rarely goes much beyond the borrowing of rhetorical commonplaces, whose source is probably classical, but whose exact provenance cannot be ascertained with full confidence; the overall influence of the classics is somewhat generalized. That there was an influence, though, is undeniable; and in general, its extent appears to have expanded with age. It has already been demonstrated in chapter 1 that Flaubert's interest in the classics extended after he passed his *baccalauréat*; as suggested above, the preponderant influence of Romanticism was fast fading in the early 1840s, to be replaced - partly - by a spontaneous interest in the classics. This process was to be dramatized in Flaubert's first major adult work, *ES*l.

(ii) The first *Education sentimentale* (1845)

The significance of *ES*l, completed in January 1845 but begun in February 1843, has long been appreciated. Not only was the period of its composition vitally important in Flaubert's life, bridging as it did the first manifestation of his nervous complaint in January 1844, but the work itself is generally considered to signal a new development in Flaubert's methods and to contain the first lengthy exposition of his literary theories. Louis Bertrand[48] is almost alone in maintaining that *ES*l, like its predecessors, *Mémoires d'un fou* and *Novembre* "n'est guère qu'une autobiographie" (p.279); it is more often recognized, by

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[48] *Gustave Flaubert*, second edition, Paris, Mercure de France, 1912.

Bardèche for example (*op.cit.*), as Flaubert's first major narrative *not* to exploit his own experiences as its principal source; Maurice Nadeau[49] considers it Flaubert's first 'typical' work, in which "il n'a plus pour but essentiel de se raconter, d'exprimer ses goûts, ses sentiments, ses idées" (*op.cit*, p.63). For the first time, Flaubert's self-expression is achieved indirectly, by the use of characters not as ciphers for himself, but as entities in their own right, whose identification with aspects of Flaubert is partial; and for the first time of many, this process is carried out via a 'dualistic' formula, in the shape of two complementary characters, Henry and Jules. The major question of the work is the precise nature of the connection between Flaubert and his two heroes: how far can their respective experiences, ideas and characters be assimilated to Flaubert's own, and which, if either, of the two is 'closer' to Flaubert?

It is readily apparent, even on a cursory reading of the work, that Flaubert's interest in his two heroes shifts, as Starkie avers; indeed, the change of emphasis is so striking that Shanks (*op.cit.*) considers Jules an afterthought, an addition grafted upon the story of Henry; credibility is lent this theory by a letter of Flaubert's of 1852 to Louise Colet, expressing surprise at his mistress's enthusiasm for *ES*l, and saying of its two heroes' characters, "je n'avais d'abord eu l'idée que de celui d'Henry - la nécessité d'un repoussoir m'a fait concevoir celui de Jules"[50]. The shift between the two can be measured statistically: roughly speaking, the ratio of chapters allotted to Henry, the initial hero, and Jules, is roughly 2.6:1; the ratio of pages is less

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[49] *Gustave Flaubert écrivain*, Paris, Denoël, 1969.

[50] Letter 398, [Croisset, 16th January 1852].

clear-cut, but still decisive, being approximately 2:1 in Henry's favour; but this advantage on Henry's part palpably dissipates in the latter section of the book. Chapters 3, 8, 12, 15, 20 and 26 are devoted almost exclusively to Jules, and the final, 27th, chapter consists mainly of an exposition of his ideas and intellectual qualities; it is probably true to say that the last quarter or so of the work is principally focused on Jules. Furthermore, as Nadeau (*op.cit.*) maintains, in the first half of the work in particular, Jules usually expresses himself in the first person, in letters, possibly suggesting a closer identification of him with the author and greater authorial interest in him[51].

This conclusion, however, is not clear-cut. Henry starts off unambiguously as "Le héros de ce livre" (*OC*I, p.278), and is still "notre héros" as late as chapter 24 (p.345). Henry's childhood, as described in chapter 2 of the work, is very similar to Flaubert's; references to "ces trois jeunes gens, ses plus vieux camarades" (p.279), "un petit café où ils se réunissaient pour fumer et pour causer politique" (*ibid.*) and "la dame qui l'avait tourmenté plus tard" (*ibid.*) can readily be identified with elements of Flaubert's childhood, as indeed can his situation at the work's outset as a newly-arrived student in Paris and his attachment to his mother; although the mention of Henry's "bon temps de collège" (*ibid.*) differs in tone from most of Flaubert's accounts of his schooldays. Several critics have suggested that Henry's mistress, Mme Renaud, is a conflation of Élisa Schlesinger and Eulalie Foucaud, both major figures in Flaubert's early life. Nor is it precisely clear at what stage of the

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51 Nadeau does not mention, however, that a letter written by Henry also features in the work, in chapter 17 (*OC*I, pp.311-2); although this is relatively insignificant compared to Jules' four directly quoted and one partially reproduced letter, it does suggest that Flaubert does not identify solely with Jules by this means.

book Jules first takes precedence in Flaubert's eyes - a change of perspective which perhaps coincides with a new attitude engendered by the onset of Flaubert's illness. It may be that Flaubert first identifies strongly with Jules when the latter pities Henry's enthusiasm for his mistress in chapter 20 - "Combien même il [Jules] sourit de pitié, en voyant son [Henry's] ardeur juvénile, sa conviction d'être heureux et son amour pour la belle dame de Paris!" (p.321); although Henry remains at this stage "notre héros" (e.g. p.323), and in the same chapter Jules is criticized for having, intellectually, "les yeux plus grands que le ventre" (p.327). Again, it might be maintained that Flaubert's 'breach' with Henry occurs in chapter 22 when the latter unfeelingly burns everything that recalls his past life, including Jules' letters, prior to his flight to America with M^me^ Renaud. Jules, however, at this stage is clearly still not unreservedly admirable: his letter to Henry in chapter 24 is "une série de plaintes et de doléances délayées dans un style travaillé, farci de métaphores incongrues" (p.344), and he appears in it to Henry as "cet égoïste inconnu" (p.345). Such criticisms, clearly, are largely from Henry's perspective, but the narrator also gently mocks Jules' factual inexactitude in assuming in that letter that New York enjoys a climate comparable to Brazil's at the start of chapter 27, where Jules' theories and intellectual heroics are described (p.354). Even by page 366, reference is made to "ses poésies incompréhensibles et sa prose prétentieuse". It is of course entirely possible that Flaubert, here as elsewhere, is being ironic at the expense of a figure with whom he identifies.

It is nevertheless clear that by the end of *ESI*, Flaubert has decided that Jules, rather than Henry, is his 'real' hero - indeed that there is little true similarity between the two at all: in the final chapter, the narrator attributes their

failure any longer to enjoy each other's company to,

> "leur antagonisme profond, dont le principe sans doute était en eux à leur naissance, mais qui avait grandi comme ils grandissaient et s'était développé comme eux-mêmes" (p.365);

this is made more credible by the letter (referred to above, p.111), where Flaubert describes Jules as a *repoussoir* for Henry. It becomes clear during chapter 27 which of the pair is better regarded by the narrator: on page 367, a clearly condemnatory phrase, referring to Henry's tastes states that "C'était bien pis encore en littérature". It would be incorrect to maintain that Flaubert intends at this stage to depict Henry as unpleasant - on page 369, reference is made to his *générosité* and *gaieté*, even in a passage where his materialism and socializing are condemned - but it is by now clearly with Jules that Flaubert's sympathies lie, and with him to some extent that Flaubert identifies.

This identification, however, is far from straightforward. As has been described, Henry shares many characteristics with Flaubert - although by the end of the book, his 'materialistic' incarnation is sufficiently unlike Flaubert's self-image for it to be based upon somebody else, possibly Ernest Chevalier, although Bardèche (*op.cit.*) disagrees with such an identification. Equally, many of Jules' achievements as described in chapter 27 are never attained by Flaubert - an acquaintance with Hebrew is an obvious example. Shanks appositely indicates that at the end of the first *Education*, whereas Jules is 26 years old, Flaubert is only 23[52]; Jules thus represents not Flaubert as he is at the time of writing, but as he wishes to be; to quote Shanks again, *ES*I, with its

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52 "Critics agree in finding Flaubert in the solitary genius described above, declaiming his own works to please his ears alone. But none notice [*sic*] that Jules is 26 and that Flaubert will not be 26 until three years after the novel is finished" (*op.cit.*, p.212).

description of Henry and Jules, "presents to us the two Flauberts revealed to him by his illness: the man he would have liked to be and the man he was"[53]. Thus, it seems reasonable to compare Jules with Flaubert, at least to a certain degree, although elements of others may also be involved in his characterization: the fact that Flaubert writes (*OC*I, p.366) that Jules "vivait en donnant quelques leçons de latin, qu'on ne lui payait pas cher" perhaps recalls Bouilhet's similar means of subsistence; again, on page 367, his literary taste for the "bas-empire" may be compared to Le Poittevin's similar outlook, although, of course, it does not differ radically from Flaubert's own. In general, despite other 'echoes' in Jules' character, Nadeau is correct in saying that "les réflexions que Jules est amené à faire... il y a de grandes chances pour que ce soit là les idées de Flaubert en 1845"[54].

What, then, does the identification of Jules as an 'ideal' Flaubert indicate about Flaubert's own ideas and tastes when he wrote *ES*I? Shanks at one point in his work considers Jules to be "the converted Romanticist"[55]. This straightforward judgement seems somewhat sweeping, but there is certainly an element of distancing from Romanticism in Jules' adoption in the course of the work of wider reading; in his earliest, ultra-Romantic phase, Jules is considered "un enfant crédule et sans défiance" (*OC*I, p.308), suggesting Flaubert regards this first incarnation at least rather

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[53] *ibid.*, p.167. Addison (*op.cit.*) argues for a later completion date than 1845 for *ES*I, which would, of course, invalidate this argument.

[54] *op.cit.*, p.67.

[55] *op.cit.*, p.108.

condescendingly. In terms of the Flaubert-Jules parallel, a number of aspects are particularly striking in Jules' depiction. Jules is always associated with the classics; in one of his early letters, in chapter 8, he reminds Henry of "tout le temps que nous avons passé à songer à la figure de Cléopâtre et au bruit antique d'un char roulant, le soir, sur une voie romaine" (p.288). Admittedly, Henry also appreciates classical authors[56], but it seems that the idealized Jules is more of a classicist than he. Equally, despite his early Romantic sympathies, Jules begins at quite an early stage to become suspicious of elements of Romanticism; although he rereads *René* and *Werther*, as well as Byron, in chapter 20, his enthusiasm for the latter is limited by his newfound regard for impersonality: "son admiration se ressentait trop de cette sympathie personnelle, qui n'a rien de commun avec la contemplation désintéressée du véritable artiste" (p.321). However, the works Jules takes up subsequently are, as Seznec points out in his article on Flaubert's reading of the classics between 1840 and 1850 (see above, p.22), similar to those that Flaubert knew, as are his opinions of those works. Like Flaubert too, Jules' interest in antiquity is aroused as a result of its possibilities in "sujets de plaisir et matière à convoitise" (*OC*I, p.325); he is fascinated by various aspects of ancient eroticism and certain female figures of antiquity - Theodora, Semiramis, Messalina - who are described in terms implying knowledge on Jules/Flaubert's part of passages from Horace and Juvenal (see above, pp.25-6). A further evident parallel between Flaubert and his creation is their shared passion for Homer and Shakespeare, mentioned twice in chapter 27 (*OC*I,

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56 See above, p.25, where it is argued that Henry's appreciation of Horace and Cicero, as expressed in chapter 27 of *ES*I does not necessarily imply Flaubert was disenchanted with them.

pp.357 and 367); in the second reference to this aspect of their tastes, a liking for Greece and Sophocles' writings also unites the two. In terms of taste, then, Flaubert and his 'ideal self' are strikingly close; it goes without saying that in terms of French writers - Corneille, Hugo - the resemblance is even stronger than that in their tastes in classical antiquity.

This being so, it is possible that more important information can be obtained by comparing the attitudes of Jules as depicted in *ESI* with Flaubert's; one might assume that, as with his literary tastes, those of the character reflect those of the writer. For example, we are given a likely reason for Jules/Flaubert's interest in antiquity: "son désir ayant acquis des proportions idéales, la vie moderne lui sembla trop petite, et il remonta à l'antiquité..." (p.325); the concept of the classics as an escape route from everyday life was familiar to Flaubert. Moreover, Flaubert's æsthetic ideas, as expressed through Jules, tend to place him, in nineteenth-century terms, closer to the Classics than the Romantics, although here critical opinion is not unanimous: Bertrand considers the most important aspect of *ESI* "l'expression de la sensibilité et de la subjectivité romantiques" (*op.cit.*, p.183), but this seems to be an early and minority view. The view expressed on Jules' behalf of the importance of impersonality has already been mentioned with regard to Byron (see above, p.116); it is further adumbrated in chapter 27, where

> "Il conclut... que l'inspiration ne doit relever que d'elle seule, que les excitations extérieures trop souvent l'affaiblissent ou la dénaturent, qu'ainsi, il faut être à jeûn pour chanter la bouteille, et nullement en colère pour peindre les fureurs d'Ajax" (*OCI*, p.357).

The latter part of this quotation, of course, explicitly associates such impersonality with the classics, perhaps specifically with Sophocles (see

above, p.26). Shanks (*op.cit.*, p.204) openly connects this passage with a classical literary outlook on Flaubert's part; for him, the realization of impersonality means that "Flaubert has come to recognize the objective grandeur of the classics, and the value of impassivity for the artist who would become a classic". The general concept expressed in this passage was, of course, to remain with Flaubert throughout his life: in a letter[57] to Louise Colet in 1852, he famously expressed it in the formula, "Moins on sent une chose, plus on est apte à l'exprimer comme elle est". Nadeau (*op.cit.*) considers that Jules' views in *ES*I of art reflecting the unity of life are classical in nature. It would clearly be inaccurate to state that Jules' attitudes represent a definitive 'break' by Flaubert with Romanticism, and a corresponding adherence to contemporary classicism; the process is much less clear-cut, and obviously, the status of *classique* in no way necessarily either implied or precluded an appreciation of classical literature. Indeed, Flaubert remains suspicious of the *classiques* of his time, as his concluding summary of M.Gosselin, Henry's father, suggests: "il est toujours classique, libéral, ennemi des Jésuites et aussi du genre humain..." (*OC*I, p.372). However, Jules does seem to reflect to some extent at least a gradual move away from pure Romanticism in taste and in technique, and an ambition to continue that move.

This tendency is partially reflected in the text itself of *ES*I, which can be regarded as an attempt - of perhaps limited success - to reject or to ironize Romantic clichés which Flaubert knew had featured in his earlier juvenilia. This attempt manifests itself in several ways: it may be seen perhaps in the

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[57] Letter 432, [Croisset, 5th-6th July 1852].

rejection of Jules' Romantic historical drama *Le Chevalier de Calatrava*, which he eventually disowns; equally, the mockery (see above, p.113) of Jules' letter to Henry in America - in particular the recognition of the incongruity of its style - may be deemed aspects of the same process. Perhaps most telling of the several moves away from Romantic cliché is the rejection of the concept of pathetic fallacy: after Jules discovers that Bernardi and Lucinde have tricked him, he suffers a typically Romantic attack of *angst*; but in the description of this period of his life, it is specifically stated that,

> "La nature extérieure a une ironie sans pareille: les cieux ne se couvrent pas de nuages, quand notre cœur est gros; les fleurs parfument l'air, quand nous le remplissons de nos cris; les oiseaux gazouillent et font l'amour dans les cyprès sous lesquels nous enterrons nos plus tendrement aimés" (*OC*I, p.320).

Again, in chapter 22, Henry and M^me^ Renaud describe their situation and alienation from society in terms which are overtly those of Romantic cliché -

> "il n'y a pas seulement que l'avenir qui s'en aille en fumée, regarde notre passé!" (p.328);
>
> "viens avec moi, partons ensemble; puisque la société nous a entravés dans notre amour, laissons-la avec ses prédilections et ses préjugés, partons ensemble, fie-toi à moi..." (p.329).

The reader may be intended to take these at face value; but equally, given the subsequent demise of the relationship and Henry's outright failure to be the intended firm support for M^me^ Renaud, either in America or in the voyage there, it may be that this type of language - like that used by Emma and Léon in *MB* - should be viewed ironically, consistently with the disillusionment with overt Romanticism undergone by one of Flaubert's heroes.

As might be expected, given what has gone before, a number of classical intertexts feature in *ES*I, often, though not always, 'focussed' through

Jules. Before examining these more closely, it should be acknowledged that obviously the work is influenced by many non-classical writers: important examples include Balzac and Monnier; doubtless many more roughly contemporary intertexts could be found for the work.

It should also be acknowledged here that some of the more obvious classical references in *ESI* - principally those where a specific writer is mentioned by name - have already been adduced in chapter 1 (pp.25-7) as evidence of Flaubert's familiarity with the works in question. They can reasonably be considered intertexts to Flaubert's work as well as being such evidence; and indeed some of them require further consideration in this chapter, in a possible extension of their field of reference. It is finally worth recalling that Flaubert's reading at the time of composition of *ESI* may suggest works that might have influenced him in that composition: in October 1842, there is a suggestion that he might have read Virgil's *Æneid* at around this time; and further evidence exists that shortly after his attack in January 1844, he read Suetonius, Plutarch and Tacitus[58].

ESI contains a number of classical references of minor interest, principally significant in implying some continuation of influences already detected in the juvenilia. Thus in chapter 9, in a brief description of Henry's friend Morel, we are told "c'eût été l'homme d'Horace, s'il eût eu plus de goût" (*OCI*, p.290); although the source of this reference is obscure, its meaning - that Morel is something of a sybarite, but without the epicurean Horace's charm - is not; and as a whole, the reference suggests at least that Horace

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[58] For a more detailed analysis and reference to sources of data for these claims, see pp.22-3.

remained a *point de repère* for Flaubert at this stage. Again, overt references in chapter 21 to Horace (p.325) and Juvenal (p.326) represent a continuation of influences exerted by several intertexts upon Flaubert's earlier juvenilia (see above, pp.82, 84-6, 89-90, 97, 99-103). The reference to "l'homme d'Horace" mentioned above soon leads on to another classical image, when Morel encourages the lovesick Henry with the phrase "Eh bien, alors, courage! volez à Cythère, bel amour..." (*OC*I, p.291); again, the exact provenance of this image is difficult to pinpoint. Still with reference to Morel, Flaubert creates something of a variation on a theme in chapter 14 when Henry's friend, exhausted after the celebrations of the previous night, "poussa un bâillement homérique" (p.303); the more usual image of a 'Homeric laugh' has already featured in several of Flaubert's earlier works (see above, p.104). Finally, another theme of the juvenilia is revived with the statement in chapter 20 that Jules remembers the period of his infatuation with Lucinde as a golden age. The passage is worth quoting *in extenso*:

> "aussi le souvenir de ce temps-là resta-t-il toujours dans sa mémoire comme l'époque de sa vie poétique par excellence, l'âge d'or de son cœur.
>
> Plus tard, quand il fut un homme, il y repensa souvent avec une indulgence facile, de même que les peuples vieillis prennent plaisir à revoir dans l'histoire les temps éloignés où ils vivaient des glands des chênes et dormaient sous les tentes" (*OC*I, p.321).

It is not only the actual phrase "âge d'or" that is important here; the specific detail that the ancient peoples in question lived on acorns is a standard image associated with classical accounts of primitive man (although the reference to tents being used for shelter is probably a product of Flaubert's imagination); accordingly, the number of possible sources is considerable, but one of the likeliest is book one of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which has already (see above,

pp.90-7) been established as a principal source of *Smarh*; in Ovid's account of the golden age, the line stating that primitive man ate "quæ deciderant pabula Iovis arbore glandes"[59] (1.106) is a possible source of Flaubert's specific image here. Finally, Flaubert again revives an image frequent in his earlier juvenilia in the final chapter of *ES*I when, during his description of Jules' poetic life, he compares existence to a feast:

> "Il est un âge où l'on aime tous les vins, où l'on adore toutes les femmes; alors, assis devant la vie comme autour d'un festin, on chante tous ensemble dans la joie de son cœur..." (*OC*I, p.360);

this seems to be an extension of an intertext that occurs several times in the juvenilia, namely the prosopopœia of Nature in Lucretius' *De rerum natura* 3, where Nature herself compares life to a feast (see above, p.87). Its use here in such a personal passage - the diminution of energy and appetite subsequently evoked resembles that which afflicted Flaubert with the onset of his illness - suggests that this passage of Lucretius was of some significance to him, or at least had left a major impression on him.

Beyond these rather general references, however, one may trace more specific intertexts in *ES*I, although these tend to be quite limited in scope; again, they frequently reveal some continuity of influence from Flaubert's earlier juvenilia. In the final chapter of the work, Jules finally comes to Paris; there, he finds much to criticize (*OC*I, pp.358-60): the ruling classes' immorality, the decadence and pretensions of society at large, the profusion of bad poets. In tone and content, a parallel may be drawn between this passage and much of the work of the Roman satirist Juvenal (who, as we have

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[59] "acorns which had fallen from the spreading tree of Jove" (trans. Hill).

seen, featured in Flaubert's juvenilia and is mentioned by name at one point in *ESI*); in particular, Juvenal's first *Satire* is brought to mind, where the poet introduces his satirical themes and criticizes another great capital city, Rome. The specific examples of immorality chosen differ, as the societies depicted differ: Flaubert's generalized, ironic references to "la moralité des procureurs du roi et le civisme des hommes d'État" (p.359) are less sinister and specific than Juvenal's complaints of *delatores* (informers) and censorship; but there remains some possibility of direct influence upon the latter passage by the former. As has been mentioned, Juvenal and Flaubert expose the plague of poetasters in Rome and Paris: Jules sees "des gens, qui ne savent pas écrire quatre lignes, enseigner comment il aurait fallu composer un livre" (p.359); he hears a cobbler give a public recital, complete with *chic* errors of grammar, to his audience's delight; among them is a Hellenist pedant,

> "qui ne conçoit pas que l'on puisse écrire un article de mode ou réciter une fable si l'on ne sait pas à fond au moins deux langues anciennes et une demi-douzaine de modernes" (p.360).

Besides the technical similarity between this particular passage and Juvenal's work - in the first *Satire*, Juvenal uses an almost cinematic technique to pass from one example of moral decay to another, just as Flaubert passes from the cobbler-poet to the pedant in his audience - there is considerable similarity in the themes they satirize. Juvenal, like Jules, is plagued by public recitations -

> "Semper ego auditor tantum ...?
> impune ergo mihi cantaverit ille togatas,
> hic elegos...?"[60] (1.1, 3-4)

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[60] "Must I always be a listener only?... [Must I] never obtain revenge when X has read me his comedies, Y his elegies?" (trans. Rudd).

- and by pedantic listings of classical mythical commonplaces:

> "Nota magis nulli domus est sua , quam mihi lucus
> Martis et Æoliis vicinum rupibus antrum
> Vulcani"[61] (7-9).

Both Jules and Juvenal feel impelled, almost compelled to satirize what they see around them. Juvenal concludes a list of complaints with the phrase "difficile est saturam non scribere"[62] (30), and shortly after exclaims,

> "hæc ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna?
> hæc ego non agitem?"[63] (51-2).

Jules finds himself spoilt for choice in his subjects: "Où faudra-t-il puiser matière à satire? qui nous l'offrira?" (*OC*I, p.359); he considers the Sorbonne, the Jesuits, the *Académie* and suchlike, finding each worthier than the last; equally, Juvenal asks, "...unde / ingenium par materiæ?"[64] (150-1). The connection between Flaubert's passage and Juvenal's satire is more one of thought and idea than word and phrase, but it seems quite likely that Juvenal's work is here an intertext.

Slightly earlier in the same chapter, in the section of his work dealing with Jules' artistic theories, Flaubert considers the limits inherent in the depiction of the fantastic, a Romantic standby, in fictional writing. Specifically, he states that Jules,

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[61] "no citizen's private house is more familiar to *him* than the grove of Mars and Vulcan's cave near Æolus' rocks are to *me*" (*ibid.*).

[62] "it is harder *not* to write satire" (*ibid.*).

[63] "am I not right to think this calls for Venusia's lamp [Horace, born near Venusia, was a famous writer of satires]? Am I not right to attack it?" (*ibid.*).

[64] "where... is the talent fit for the theme?" (*ibid.*).

> "comprit qu'on ne fera jamais rien de beau en inventant des animaux qui ne sont pas, des plantes qui n'existent point, en donnant des ailes à un cheval, des queues de poisson à des corps de femmes, existences impossibles, révélations d'un type insaisissible, rêves sans corps..." (*OC*I, p.356).

This short passage has an obvious classical intertext. Like the previous one, it is from an author Flaubert has already imitated and mentioned in *ES*I; it is itself a work of artistic theory, albeit more general in tone than the comments here applied specifically to the fantastic: Horace's *Ars poetica*. Flaubert seems here to have in mind the first five lines of Horace's work:

> "Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
> iungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas
> undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
> desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,
> spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?"[65].

Horace is in fact presenting the image of the painter as a metaphor for similar incongruities in poetic composition, where Flaubert uses it more literally; but the connection between the two passages is clear. The main link is the mention of women with fishes' tails; but it is likely too that Flaubert's reference to winged horses owes something to Horace's "cervicem... equinam" and "varias... plumas", albeit in a collation of both Horatian references. Moreover, Flaubert's reference to "existences impossibles... rêves sans corps" resembles the subsequent passage of Horace's work, where he refers to "ægri somnia, vanæ...species"[66] (7-8); the general concept of dreams and

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[65] "Imagine a painter who wanted to combine a horse's neck with a human head, and then clothe a miscellaneous collection of limbs with various kinds of feathers, so that what started out at the top as a beautiful woman ended in a hideously ugly fish. If you were invited, as friends, to the private view, could you help laughing?" (trans. Russell and Winterbottom).

[66] Roughly, "at random like a sick man's dreams, with no unified form" (*ibid.*).

shapeless or meaningless images features in both passages. It is worth recalling that in a letter written shortly after he completed *ES*I, Flaubert quotes a phrase from later in the *Ars poetica* - line 127 - to Le Poittevin: "« *sibi constet*», dit Horace"[67]; it therefore seems probable that he was acquainted with the work at this time, and a strong case can be made for Horatian influence in this passage. It is noteworthy that both examples of specific imitation so far discussed occur in the work's final chapter, largely concerned with the portrait of the 'idealized' Jules; equally, both are linked to Jules, either being 'focussed' through him or appearing in passages describing his intellectual development.

The same does not apply, or not so strictly, to perhaps the most striking intertext in *ES*I, principally apparent towards the start of the work. Chapter 12 contains Jules' third letter to Henry, where he recounts his first encounter with the young actress Lucinde. In his account, he uses a certain amount of dream imagery - which is in fact widespread in *ES*I, as mentioned above, in relation to Horace; the famous 'dog episode' is another example of dreams or dreamlike events in the work. In particular, Jules says of Lucinde that,

> "elle inspire une étrange envie d'être riche, riche pour elle, riche afin que sa vie s'écoule sans entraves et sans chocs violents, et douce comme ces songes où l'on entend de la musique" (*OC*I, p.298).

It may be argued loosely that this very use of dream imagery represents an example of classical imitation, although obviously many other literatures besides those of the classics have exploited such imagery - indeed in its supernatural uses, it is something of a Romantic standby. However,

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[67] Letter 149, [Croisset], 16th September [1845]. See above, p.28.

incontestable, overt classical influence is manifest shortly after the above passage. Later in his letter, Jules writes that the night after he met Lucinde, he lay awake, and at one point, "je *songeais* [my italics] à cette lueur étrange qui, dans Virgile, arriva sur le fantôme sanglant d'Hector et illumina sa pâleur aux regards épouvantés d'Enée" (p.299). This passage has already been mentioned in chapter 1 as evidence that Flaubert knew Virgil - specifically book two of the *Æneid*, where Æneas sees Hector's ghost in a dream - but it should be pursued further here. The obvious principal intertext is *Æneid* 2.268-97, where the encounter occurs, and indeed the reference to blood ("le fantôme sanglant") may derive from that passage, specifically lines 272-3, "aterque cruento / pulvere"[68]; but the visual and psychological details that Jules recalls may in fact originate from other passages of the *Æneid*, since they are largely absent from the scene in book two. Several passages are candidates. In book one, a similar scene is described by Æneas' mother, the goddess Venus, who is recounting Dido's escape from Tyre, her home city: at one point (353-9), the ghost of Dido's husband, Sychæus, murdered by her brother, king Pygmalion, appears to her in a dream. Virgil specifies that the ghost was "ora modis attolens pallida miris"[69] (354); Jules may derive Hector's pallor, which is not a feature of the passage in book two, from here. Similarly, Æneas' fear is not specifically mentioned in the Hector passage, but it is in a related scene at the end of book two, where Æneas sees the ghost of his wife, Creusa, who reinforces Hector's message that Troy is doomed and resistance

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[68] "black with the dirt and blood" (trans. Day Lewis).

[69] "weirdly floating its clay-white face up to her" (*ibid.*).

to its fate is futile: Æneas recounts that "obstipui, steteruntque comæ et vox faucibus hæsit"[70] (774); this line in fact recurs shortly afterwards, at the start of book three (48), in an equally supernatural scene, but it is the Creusa episode that is more readily associated with the account of Hector's ghost.

The other scenes of the *Æneid* so far identified which Jules - and Flaubert - may have had in mind have all been related to aspects of the ghost's description likely to feature in any evocation of a haunting: pallor of the ghost, terror of the observer. Although they are absent from Virgil's specific account of Hector's ghost, and occur in similar scenes elsewhere in the *Æneid*, this does not necessarily mean that Flaubert's imagination was subconsciously 'assisted' by these other scenes; he may have supplied the details himself or from other, non-classical sources. But a detail in the same passage of *ES*l just before Jules' specific reference to Virgil, in the description of his room during his *nuit blanche* might easily be inspired by a similar passage in Virgil, although it remains unacknowledged. In it, Jules describes the provenance of the light in his room which reminded him of the light illuminating Hector's ghost (again a detail absent from Virgil's account):

> "Les toits d'en face, encore mouillés par une petite pluie qui était tombée dans la soirée, brillaient d'un sombre éclat sous les rayons de la lune entrant par ma fenêtre, dont les rideaux étaient restés ouverts" (*OC*I, p.299).

As mentioned, no such detail of illumination features in the case of Hector's ghost, although it is supposedly this moonlight that reminds Jules of it; however, in a scene of *Æneid* 3 - another of Æneas' prophetic dreams, this

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[70] "I was appalled: my hair stood on end and my voice stuck in my throat" (*ibid.*).

time involving his *penates* or household gods - such a detail *is* included: the gods appear,

> "...multo manifesti lumine, qua se
> plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras"[71] (151-2).

Here, not only is the object of Æneas' vision illuminated, just as Jules recalls, but the means of illumination - the moon, shining through a window - is identical to that described in Jules' room. Indeed, the Latin term *insertas*, not directly translated by Day Lewis, may mean "unshuttered", bringing the meaning very close to Jules' specific detail that his curtains were open. It seems that in this respect at least, both Jules' image of Hector and the description of his room are influenced by an unacknowledged passage of the *Æneid*; and it is very possible that several similar passages, describing supernatural visions or dreams, have contributed towards this section of *ES*I.

Nor is Virgilian influence in *ES*I apparently limited to this particular scene; still within the first half of the work, there are possible recollections of another passage, from book one of the *Æneid.* The passage in question is one where the disguised Venus, having told Æneas the story of Dido (during which she described the ghost of Sychæus, in the piece referred to above, p.127) and predicted a warm welcome for him in Carthage, fleetingly reveals her true identity and departs:

> "dixit et avertens rosea cervice refulsit,
> ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem
> spiravere; pedes vestis defluxit ad imos,

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[71] "revealed in a fullness of light, where the full moon's radiance was flooding through the windows of my room" (*ibid.*).

et vera incessu patuit dea"[72] (402-5).

For the first time, the passage of *ES*I involved here is primarily concerned with Henry, not Jules. The first hint of this recollection comes in the chapter immediately after that just considered, where Mme Renaud gives a ball, and Henry, whose love for her at this stage remains apparently unrequited, longingly admires her. Flaubert writes, "Henry la contemplait, dans sa robe jaune à reflets dorés. Elle se tenait calme comme une déesse" (*OC*I, p.301). Here, it seems possible that the goddess-motif of "comme une déesse" owes something to Virgil's "vera incessu patuit dea", although admittedly Venus in Virgil's description is moving, whereas Flaubert's Mme Renaud is still. Alone, this would constitute very scanty evidence; however, in the next paragraph of the ball scene, Flaubert writes, "Henry s'approcha d'elle et respira l'odeur qui s'échappait de tout son corps" (p.302); here, the detail seems connected to the *Æneid* 's "divinum... odorem". Slightly later in Flaubert's work, in chapter 14, Henry recalls to Morel Mme Renaud's appearance at the ball in the following terms:

> "Avez-vous remarqué, dit Henry, quand elle était assise dans le fond, sous ce candélabre de bronze, comme elle se détachait des autres femmes? on eût dit une auréole qui eût éclairé sa figure, n'est-ce pas?" (p.304).

Again, the *auréole* illuminating Mme Renaud's face recalls the glow emanating from Venus' neck in Virgil's account; and it may be that the detail that Henry's *inamorata* stands out, in his eyes, among other women is connected with the description of another goddess later in *Æneid* 1: Diana, to whom Dido upon

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[72] "She spoke. She turned away; and as she turned, her neck glowed to a rose-flush, her crown of ambrosial hair breathed out a heavenly fragrance, her robe flowed down, down to her feet, and in gait she was all a goddess" (*ibid.*).

her first appearance is compared, "gradiensque deas supereminet omnis"[73] (501). Taken singly, perhaps, the evidence for any one of these details' involvement in Flaubert's work is tenuous; but the combination of all of them, in passages describing M^me^ Renaud, suggests that Flaubert may, consciously or subconsciously, be exploiting several related and reasonably close passages early in the *Æneid*.

It is worth briefly mentioning at this point a passage where Virgilian influence is incontestable. In chapter 18 of *ES*I, Henry and M^me^ Renaud have become lovers; their relationship is described at some length. At one point, we are told that Henry is occasionally jealous of his mistress's attentions to her husband, but that his feelings of jealousy,

> "étaient vite apaisés par le regard ironique et tendre de celle qui les avait causés! plus vite, ma foi, que les flots calmés par le fameux *quos ego* de Neptune, tant admiré de mon professeur de rhétorique" (*OC*I, p.316).

The "*quos ego* de Neptune" is a reference to line 135 of *Æneid* 1, where Neptune calms a storm caused by Æolus simply by the menace contained in the two words uttered; interestingly, Flaubert has not only borrowed the words, but has formed a simile from the storm topos in the *Æneid*, suggesting considerable knowledge of at least that work's early books. Admittedly, this is not an extensive imitation of Virgil, and is considerably less significant than either of those just surmised; but it is notable both, as has been said, for Flaubert's actual engagement with the image Virgil offers, and for its status as the only direct quotation from a classical source in *ES*I.

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[73] "[She] in grace of movement excels all goddesses" (*ibid.*). Virgil's description may additionally imply that Diana is taller, as well as more graceful, than other goddesses.

This last example also represents one element of an important and widely-remarked aspect of *ES*I: its role as a precursor of Flaubert's better known adult works. The quotation of Virgil's *quos ego* prefigures that used in chapter 1 of *MB*, where the schoolmaster's voice instantaneously cuts short the chaos following Charles Bovary's arrival in class: " - Cinq cents vers à toute la classe! exclamé d'une voix furieuse arrêta, comme le *Quos ego*, une bourrasque nouvelle" (*OC*I, p.575). Given the school context in both cases of the use of this quotation, and the source Flaubert assigns to it in *ES*I ("tant aimé de mon professeur de rhétorique"), one might speculate it is owed to a genuine enthusiasm for its rhetorical qualities on the part of Flaubert's rhetoric teacher, Magnier, described by Bruneau as "un classique convaincu" (*op.cit.*, p.32); his influence upon Flaubert's tastes may have been extensive.

*ES*I prefigures Flaubert's later techniques in several other ways. For example, Flaubert here first uses italicization to designate *idées reçues* (e.g. in M. Gosselin's description [*OC*I, p.335]). Jules' pantheistic beliefs (p.355) prefigure the pantheism which Antoine eventually embraces in *TSA*III. And, despite Bertrand's sweeping claim (*op.cit.*, p.178) that the title is all *ES*I has in common with its successor of 1869, and despite the divergence between the plot and characters of both - so wide that to call one a rewriting of the other is clearly inaccurate - the two works do have common elements: the Jules-Henry pairing and that of Frédéric and Deslauriers; Jules' and Frédéric's artistic bent; and Henry's and M^{me} Renaud's affair, which parallels that of Frédéric and M^{me} Arnoux in the woman's visit to the man's room (in Henry's case at the start of the affair, in Frédéric's at the end), the *rendez-vous manqué*, and suchlike. The resemblance seems sufficiently close to suggest that the earlier work had

some influence upon the later; indeed, a number of Flaubert's later works appear to bear the mark of *ES*I. This being the case, it seems reasonable to surmise that some of the influences upon its composition, in terms of general sources, and even specific authors or works, might be found to play a part in Flaubert's published works.

*ES*I thus provided Flaubert with an opportunity to expound many classical theories. It furnishes in the body of the text and in Jules' theories a number of examples of imitation - often quite close - of a range of classical texts and authors, broadly consistent with Flaubert's pre-established sources. One final point is worth making here. It is noteworthy that of the three principal intertexts mentioned - Horace's *Ars poetica*, Juvenal's *Satires* and Virgil's *Æneid* - the sections having the greatest influence upon Flaubert tend to be from early in the relevant work, just as earlier in this chapter, the main influence upon *Smarh* was book one of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* - indeed, the first section of that book. This may be coincidence; but it may suggest that, while Flaubert's reading of the classics at the time of composition of *ES*I was wide, as has already been shown, he was generally more conversant with, and likelier to be influenced by the opening sections of classical texts. The main exceptions, such as the imitations of Lucretius in various of his juvenilia, where acquaintance with books three and possibly five of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* seems likely, are often examples of books whose study was probably compulsory during Flaubert's education, and with which extensive acquaintance may be assumed. Thus, although Flaubert was apparently sufficiently 'permeated' by classical texts at this stage to imitate them widely and in some depth, it would seem that, at least where texts he had read

on the work[75] to a close analysis of Flaubert's description of the inn at Carnac; and Naaman (*op.cit.*, p.272) summarizes well in saying that "les éloges sont presque unanimes sur la qualité des descriptions dans *Par les champs et grèves*"[76]; he cites works by Georges and René Dumesnil as examples. One dissenting voice regarding the quality of *PCG* is Maxime Du Camp's, the work's co-author; in his *Souvenirs littéraires*, he writes that,

> "Le livre est agressif, touche à tout, procède par digressions... s'attaque aux hommes et aux œuvres, réduit l'idéal humain à un idéal littéraire, mêle le lyrisme à la satire, et est fait pour rester ce qu'il est: un manuscrit à deux exemplaires" (p.88);

yet even he concedes that, "Je dirai cependant qu'il y a au milieu de ce fatras juvénile des pages de Flaubert qui sont excellentes et de sa meilleure main" (*ibid.*).

Extensive work has been done on the sources of *PCG* by various writers, including those already mentioned. Unsurprisingly, a major influence is the relatively modern genre of the *voyage*: in particular, Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem* (1811) and *Voyage en Amérique* (1827) are agreed to be important sources of Flaubert's work. In addition, Tooke suggests Montaigne, Chardin, Gautier and Chapelle and Bachaumont as influences. It is hard to discern among these more modern sources any classical authors that can be considered a major influence on *PCG*, with the possible exceptions of Pliny and Dio Cassius, whom Flaubert cites (Tooke,

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[75] 'Description, dissection: *Par les champs et par les grèves*', in P.M. Wetherill (ed.), *Flaubert, la dimension du texte*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1982, pp.141-56.

[76] *sic*. According to Tooke (*op.cit.*, p.67), an important manuscript of *PCG* is indeed entitled *Par les champs et grèves (Voyage en Bretagne)*.

voluntarily were concerned, his acquaintance was primarily with only a part, and not the whole of such texts. This, however, should not diminish the central point: that *ESI*, a seminal work in Flaubert's writings, was strongly influenced by several classical authors.

(iii) *Par les champs et par les grèves* (1848)

In *ESI*, as we have seen, Flaubert uses Jules to expound for the first time a complete æsthetic theory, which has been examined elsewhere: its principal theoretical elements are clarity, impersonality and objectivity. It is logical to consider Flaubert's next major work, *Par les champs et par les grèves*, a travelogue written after Flaubert's trip with Du Camp in Brittany, as the first implementation of that theory. This would explain why it was, according to Flaubert himself, in a letter of 1852 to Louise Colet, "la première chose que j'aie écrite péniblement"[74]; the implementation of Flaubert's newly-defined æsthetic principles was to prove no easy task.

The aspect of *PCG* which has most interested critics is Flaubert's technique of description, especially of landscapes, buildings and works of art; naturally, in a *Voyage*, such descriptions form a major part of the work. Thus, in the introduction to her critical edition of *PCG* (see ch.1, n.46), Adrianne Tooke comments that "les descriptions de *Par les champs* sont d'une grande densité" (Tooke, p.46). Raymonde Debray-Genette devotes much of an article

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[74] Letter 413, [Croisset, 3rd April 1852].

p.262) as being sources of the few authentic documents on the Druids; he may have read them as research, prior to the journey. Besides such possible preparatory reading - Flaubert refers to it little in his correspondence - it is worth recalling what classical works we know Flaubert read between the completion of *ES*I and the composition of *PCG*. In August and September 1845, he read Herodotus in some depth; around September 1846, he was rereading the *Æneid*; in late 1846 and early 1847, he read and enjoyed Lucretius and Theocritus.

Despite the paucity of direct classical sources, as in *ES*I, elements of Flaubert's classical education are apparent in *PCG*; like Flaubert's earlier works, it contains a number of classical references and allusions. His interest in sexual aspects of antiquity and classical history continues to be apparent: notably, they provide him with a rich range of possibilities for sexual euphemism. Thus, at the outset of the work, among the items that are listed as necessary for the journey is a,

> "cuir verni (costume de ville pour les visites diplomatiques, s'il s'en trouve à faire, ou les courses à Paphos, si par hasard les oies de cette divinité nous enlèvent dans le char de la déesse)" (p.83)

and towards the end of chapter 5, a traveller whom Flaubert and Du Camp meet is described thus: "c'était du reste un gaillard qui avait connu de Cythère le haut et le bas de l'échelle" (p.309). Cleopatra (see above, pp.102-3) remains a classical *point de répère*; during a reverie towards the end of chapter 3 upon the concept of owning the bed of Diane de Poitiers, Flaubert interjects "oh! que je donnerais volontiers toutes les femmes de la terre pour avoir seulement la momie de Cléopâtre!" (p.121); and the same applies to the more extreme Roman emperors: in the description, chapter 9, of Ambroise, a

huge negro who inhabits the prison at Brest, Flaubert speculates that,

> "Héliogabale devait nourrir chez lui quelque drôle de cette façon pour s'amuser, en soupant, à le voir étouffer à bras-le-corps un lion de Numidie, ou assommer à coups de poing les gladiateurs" (p.500 - see also p.24 above):

antiquity continues to feed Flaubert's imagination. In a slightly different way, at Combourg, Flaubert evokes, while describing Chateaubriand's career, the great Romantic writer's enthusiasm for classical antiquity, paraphrasing him thus:

> "Il part encore, il va remuant de ses pieds la poussière antique; il s'asseoit aux Thermopyles et crie: Léonidas! Léonidas! court autour du tombeau d'Achille, cherche Lacédémone, égrène dans ses mains les caroubiers de Carthage..." (p.625).

An interesting allusion in *PCG*, during a digression in Flaubert's account of the Château de Blois, evoking "les Etats de 1588", mentions two classical writers; Flaubert describes someone present at that historic event:

> "Un gentilhomme gascon y assista... Assis à l'écart dans son élégant costume noir, et jouant avec une badine qu'il portait toujours, sans doute qu'il remâchait en lui-même quelque passage de Salluste ou quelque vers de Lucain que les circonstances présentes lui remettaient en mémoire... Il s'appelait Michel de Montaigne" (p.97).

Both Sallust's and Lucan's work was partly or largely concerned with civil war. Interestingly, there is little evidence that Flaubert was particularly well acquainted with either; he mentions neither in his *Correspondance*, and only rarely refers to them in his works. Both, however, are cited by Montaigne, Lucan frequently, Sallust less so; Montaigne may well have been Flaubert's only source of direct contact with them.

However, as with *ES*I, *PCG* also contains some rather more specific references to classical work. The work itself, besides its more typical

'travelogue' elements, includes many digressions, often quite substantial, usually stimulated by some event or experience on the journey: it is here that most specific classical references occur. A prime example features in chapter 3, pp.180-1, where Flaubert makes a lengthy digression on "ce que l'on appelle les monstruosités de la nature" and their potential inherent beauty; the stimulus for this meditation is the sight, in the Nantes natural history museum, of preserved deformed fœtuses - one pair of pigs, one of humans; as an illustration for his argument that such 'monstrosities' can possess beauty, Flaubert once again demonstrates antiquity's place in his priorities by calling to witness "les anciens":

> "Les anciens ne le croyaient-ils point? et leur mythologie est-elle autre chose qu'un univers monstrueux et fantastique, revêtu de formes impossibles à notre nature, et belles pourtant tant elles sont justes en elles-mêmes et harmoniques l'une à l'autre" (p.180).

He proceeds to cite specific examples of such beauteous forms in classical myth; and it is here that there is evidence of direct influence upon his work by classical texts, mostly in a general fashion, but in at least one case most specifically.

Flaubert in this passage (p.181) refers specifically to four different mythical entities:

> "N'adorez-vous pas les cheveux glauques des naïades et la voix des syrènes, gouffre de mélodie qui faisait tourbillonner les navires? Qu'est-ce qui n'a pas trouvé la Chimère charmante, aimé sa narine de lion, ses ailes d'aigle qui bruissent et sa croupe à reflets verts? Ne croyez-vous pas comme s'ils avaient vécu, aux satyres ricaneurs qui passaient leurs oreilles pointues derrière les bouquets de myrte, et dont les pieds de bouc tombaient en cadence - la nuit - sur le gazon des jardins".

There may be a degree of direct imitation, perhaps unconscious, of the

classics in some of these descriptions; for instance, the Latin adjective *glaucus* (≈ 'bluish- or greenish-grey') is frequently associated with Naiads and nymphs, though not necessarily with their hair; thus Virgil, in a work which Flaubert definitely knew, writes of the nymph Juturna, "caput glauco contexit amictu"[77] (*Æneid* 12.885); Statius, in a work which he probably did not, mentions the "glaucarum... sororum"[78] (*Thebaid* 9.351); we may surmise that Flaubert's choice of adjective was influenced by such examples. Again, although the adjective of colour is different, Flaubert may have had a line of Horace in mind in writing this particular passage: in *Odes* 3.28.10, Horace refers to "Neptunum et viridis Nereidum comas"[79]. Most probably this line of the passage in question represents a subconscious conflation of several different sources.

More telling, however, is Flaubert's description - much the longest; indeed, the four descriptions consecutively increase in length - of the Satyrs, which may owe elements to several texts which he probably knew. Most elements of this description can easily be justified from classical texts. Thus, the reference to their "pieds de boucs" is paralleled by Lucretius in *De rerum natura* 4, which mentions "capripedes satyros", the "goat-footed satyrs" (580); similarly, their habit of dancing ("dont les pieds de bouc tombaient en cadence... sur le gazon des jardins") is well attested in ancient literature: for

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[77] "veiled her face in her grey-green mantle [the water]" (trans. Day Lewis).

[78] "[of the] grey-green sisters" (trans. Michael Dewar, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991).

[79] "Neptune and the green locks of the Nereids" (trans. Williams).

example, in his fifth *Eclogue*, Virgil writes "saltantis satyros imitabitur Alphesibœus"[80] (73). However, the principal intertext here seems to be another ode of Horace - the nineteenth of book two - and specifically its first stanza, which is worth citing in full:

> "Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
> vidi docentem, credite posteri,
> Nymphasque discentis et auris
> capripedum Satyrorum acutas"[81] (1-4).

Besides referring to Nymphs, this passage is important for its similarity to Flaubert's physical description of the Satyrs: "auris capripedum Satyrorum acutas" parallels Flaubert's "oreilles pointues" and "pieds de bouc", and suggests that this passage may have influenced his thoughts here. Most telling, however, is Horace's protestation of the veracity of his vision of Bacchus, the Nymphs and Satyrs: "credite posteri", one of the most commented aspects of this ode. It does not seem too far-fetched to suggest that Flaubert's rhetorical question, "Ne croyez-vous pas, comme s'ils avaient vécu, aux satyres ricaneurs...?", itself almost protesting the reality of the Satyrs, is an imitation of Horace's thought, albeit updated; Horace, perhaps, is genuinely trying to argue the existence, at least spiritual and symbolic, of Bacchus, the Satyrs and the inspirational force they represent - poetic inspiration is the ode's essential theme - whereas Flaubert, more modern, is

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80 "Alphesibœus [shall] dance like a fawn" (trans. Day Lewis). It is perhaps unlikely that Flaubert was here influenced by this specific text; I have argued (above, p.36) that he did not know the *Eclogues* by 1848; indeed, the only possible reference to them in his *Correspondance* occurs only in November 1878; and, even there, is rather flimsy evidence that Flaubert knew the work (see pp.69-70).

81 "Bacchus I saw on distant crags - believe me, ye of after time - teaching hymns, and I beheld the nymphs his pupils, and the goat-footed satyrs with their pointed [attentive?] ears" (trans. Bennett).

almost regretting that Satyrs do not exist, expressing a wish that they did. The intentions of the two pieces are different; yet it seems probable that Flaubert's musing upon classical mythology was indeed influenced by this ode.

In another digression of *PCG*, Flaubert seems briefly to engage with another classical author with whom he was well acquainted, Lucretius, on the matter of life and sensation after death. We have seen already (p.32 above) that chapter 1 of *PCG* (Tooke, p.111) contains an overt reference to Lucretius, connected, as so often in Flaubert's classical allusions, with sexual matters; in chapter one of this work (pp.31-2), it was argued that Flaubert 'rediscovered' Lucretius around 1847, which would certainly be consistent with the writer's ideas' being on his mind. The occasion for the digression in question is the travellers' visit, in chapter 5, to the abattoir of Brest, where they see a calf slaughtered. Flaubert during the vivid description of this event speculates on the precise definition of death:

> "Au premier coup du couteau, elle [la bête] a frémi dans toute sa chair, puis est redevenue morte. L'était-elle? Qui le sait? Qu'en savez-vous, philosophes et physiologistes?" (p.383).

He then suggests that traces of sensation may remain in the inanimate corpse:

> "Qui vous a dit que pour n'avoir plus de manifestation l'âme n'avait plus de conscience, et qu'elle ne sentait pas goutte à goutte, atome à atome, la décomposition de ce corps qu'elle animait" (*ibid.*).

The terms in which Flaubert couches his challenge, that the body decomposes "goutte à goutte, atome à atome" recall a passage of book three of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* (526-47), a book largely concerned with the nature and fate of the soul, where Lucretius describes a manner of death, rather than decomposition:

> "denique sæpe hominem paulatim cernimus ire
> et vitalem deperdere sensum"[82] (526-7);

yet Flaubert's speculation that sensation may persist after what is normally termed death - and especially that the soul may remain thereafter in the body - is diametrically opposed to Lucretius' claim that the soul disperses and dies immediately, ending any possibility of physical sensation, at the moment of death. Lucretius vehemently defends his opinion in book three, claiming that anybody who fears death is ignoring the soul's mortality: he says that whoever laments what will happen to them after death does not accept this fact:

> "scire licet non sincerum sonere, atque subesse
> cæcum aliquem cordi stimulum, quamvis neget ipse
> credere se quemquam sibi sensum in morte futurum"[83]
> (873-5).

Flaubert does not, of course, mention Lucretius by name in this passage; but his apostrophe to "philosophes" may be a nod in the writer's direction; and, if he had indeed 'rediscovered' Lucretius' work at this time, then questions of death and the definition of the soul may well have been on his mind: it seems likely that book three of the *De rerum natura* is the origin of this digression.

In a further lengthy digression in chapter 9 of *PCG* (Tooke, pp.505-8), Flaubert again uses the ancient world as a yardstick for measuring the modern, albeit somewhat flippantly; he once again manifests a sexual element in his interest in antiquity. After describing an exploration with Du Camp of the seedier areas of Brest, Flaubert launches into a lyrical encomium of the *fille de*

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82 "Again, we often behold a man pass away little by little and limb by limb lose the sensation of life" (trans. Bailey).

83 "you may be sure that his words do not ring true, and that deep in his heart lies some secret pang, however much he deny himself that he believes that he will have any feeling in death" (*ibid.*).

joie, deploring her decline and evoking the figure of the prostitute through the ages, including her ancient Greek incarnation:

> "Elle était belle jadis, au bord des promontoires, montant le péristyle des temples, quand sur ses pieds roses traînait la frange d'or de sa tunique blanche, ou lorsqu'assise sur des coussins persiques, elle devisait avec les sages, en tournant dans ses doigts son collier de camées" (p.505).

Slightly more specific, although still owing more to Flaubert's imagination than any particular data, is the description of the Roman prostitute:

> "Elle était belle, debout, nue sur le seuil de sa *cella*, dans sa rue de Suburre, sous la torche de résine qui pétillait dans la nuit, quand elle chantait lentement sa complainte campanienne, et qu'on entendait sur le Tibre des longs refrains d'orgie" (*ibid.*).

Both descriptions are vague, the latter especially, having much in common with several passages in Flaubert's juvenilia (*Smarh*, *Novembre*, etc.), with their generalized references to orgies, and so on; but certain elements of the description of the Roman *fille de joie* seem to be influenced by a specific text, in particular the use of the Latin term *cella* and the reference to the Suburra, an area of Rome. The status of the Suburra as Rome's red-light district is well-known, and attested by various ancient writers, such as Martial:

> "famæ non nimium bonæ puellam,
> quales in media sedent Subura"[84] (*Epigrams* 6.66.2-3).

However, although Martial wrote during the late imperial period, broadly preferred by Flaubert, there is no evidence that Flaubert was familiar with him; indeed, there is no mention of him anywhere in the *Correspondance*. An author with whom Flaubert *was* acquainted who does mention the Suburra

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[84] "a girl of none too good a reputation, such a one as those that sit in the middle of Subura" (trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb edition, 1993). There are several such references to the Suburra in Martial's work.

several times, not specifically in relation to prostitution, but as an area of ill repute, is Juvenal - a contemporary and acquaintance of Martial's: in his third *Satire*, Juvenal praises a friend's decision to leave the bustle of Rome, and states that "ego vel Prochytam præpono Suburæ"[85] (5); in similar vein, in the eleventh *Satire*, Juvenal refers to "ferventi... Suburæ"[86] (51) with equal implied disapproval. Moreover, although Flaubert's reference to the Suburra is not completely paralleled by references in Juvenal, his use of the word *cella* - endowed with various meanings, including "prostitute's garret" - *is* so paralleled, in the sixth *Satire*, with which, as we have already seen, Flaubert was probably acquainted (see above, pp.26, 82). Here, Juvenal writes, of the empress Messalina, that "intravit... cellam vacuam" (121-2) and, a few lines later, "... quod potuit tamen ultima cellam / clausit"[87] (128-9); the meaning of the word *cella* is indubitably the same as that Flaubert intends. Further elements of Flaubert's description may be owed to this poem: the "torche de résine" recalls Juvenal's reference to Messalina's *lucerna* (to which Flaubert referred more fully in *ESI*; see p.26); and it is possible that his somewhat prurient phrase "nue sur le seuil de sa *cella*" recalls Juvenal's detail that Messalina, while plying her trade, was *nuda* (*op.cit.*, 122). There appears, then, to be a strong case for some Juvenalian influence upon this passage; admittedly, certain elements of Flaubert's piece are likely to occur in any such

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85 "*I*'d choose Próchyta's rocks [a small, barren island near the Italian coast] before the Subúra" (trans. Rudd).

86 "the stifling Subura" (*ibid.*).

87 "[she]... entered an empty cell (her own)" and "she lingered as long as she could before closing her cell" (*ibid.*).

description, but the use of the Latin terminology does imply that he had a specific passage in mind, and Juvenal seems a strong possibility.

A final example of possible classical influence in *PCG* occurs in the work's eleventh chapter (Tooke, pp.594-5), once again in a digression. Here, Flaubert, after the description of a naked man bathing, contemplates the beauty of the human form "dans sa liberté native" (p.593), and contrasts the attitude of modern writers and society to that of the ancients. In this passage, Flaubert mentions specifically three Latin authors, two of whom have been posited as influences in *PCG*:

> "Les races antiques, par le seul fait de leur existence, ont ainsi détrempé sur les œuvres des maîtres la pureté de leur sang avec la noblesse de leurs attitudes. J'entends confusément dans Juvénal des râles de gladiateur; Tacite a des tournures qui ressemblent à des draperies de laticlave, et certains vers d'Horace ont des reins d'esclave grecque, avec des balancements de hanche et des brèves et des longues qui sonnent comme des crotales".

It is self-evidently difficult to pinpoint the source of any of these references with certainty, such is their vague and allusive nature, especially in the case of Tacitus; however, some suppositions can be made. Firstly, it is entirely possible that the reference to Horace is inspired by a passage to which we have already seen Flaubert allude several times (see above, pp.25-6, 100): *Odes* 3.6.21-2; as will be remembered, this passage describes a girl who performs sensuous Ionian - that is, Greek - dances; it appears to have made a strong impression upon Flaubert, and it is likely that the reference to "des reins d'esclave grecque" ultimately originates from this poem. Broadly speaking, however, with its reference to "des brèves et des longues" and similar technical terms, this passage is concerned more with the technical side of Horace's verse, the sensuality of his versification, than its subject matter. This

does suggest Flaubert had a grasp of Latin versification - never a straightforward matter, especially in Horace's work - or at least an instinctive appreciation of it; however, significant though such an understanding would be, it cannot be attributed to any specific work.

Much the same applies to the reference to Juvenal in the above passage: it implies quite extensive knowledge of that author, but it is unclear which specific works Flaubert can have had in mind here. In a seminal work on Juvenal, Gilbert Highet[88] lists in an endnote a total of nineteen passages in eleven of the sixteen *Satires* - including the sixth, mentioned above - where gladiators feature; although as Highet points out, Juvenal is not an enthusiast for the gladiatorial games: "The games Juvenal often mentions, and always with contempt. He did not feel that they were cruel so much as vulgar" (*op.cit*, p.151). Despite some fairly detailed descriptions of the games, there are no references in Juvenal to gladiators' death-rattles or groans, and it is difficult to discern which passage, if any, Flaubert had in mind here; it seems likelier, again, that what he is evoking is a general atmosphere conveyed by Juvenal - suggesting extensive knowledge of and regard for that author, rather than providing evidence of imitation here of a specific passage. One might add that, as well as implying that Flaubert admired the works of Tacitus, Horace and Juvenal, this passage adds force to any suggestions that Horace and Juvenal were on his mind when he wrote *PCG*, and might therefore have influenced that work.

It seems, then, that in *PCG*, while there is, needless to say, no evidence

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88 *Juvenal the satirist*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1954.

of classical influence in the work's conception and structure, such influence can in places be discerned shaping certain specific passages and perhaps informing the general atmosphere. It is perhaps significant that this influence is most apparent in the more reflective, digressive parts of the work, suggesting that classical literature has become natural to Flaubert in his intellectual life; it is part of his intellectual landscape. Like *ESI*, *PCG* contains elements of Flaubert's future works, although it may be argued that this dimension of the work is less obvious than in the previous one. However, to give one example, the portrait in chapter 9 (Tooke, pp.485-95) of monsieur Genès is rather in the manner of Flaubert's later bourgeois caricatures. Interestingly, at the chapel of the château d'Amboise, Flaubert notes among the scenes decorating the chapel's door one depicting Saint Antony, and an *Adoration of the Magi* at a museum in Nantes reminds him of Breughel's *Temptation of saint Antony* - the very work which supposedly inspired Flaubert's own. It is apparent, then, that while writing *PCG*, Flaubert was already contemplating his next task.

In a final conclusion upon the works considered in this chapter, a number of classical authors and works seem to recur as intertexts in the young Flaubert's works; arguably, the most strikingly recurrent writers are Lucretius, Juvenal and Horace, with the former's philosophical bent and the latters' satirical and sensual elements being uppermost in Flaubert's mind. Other works and authors are of great importance for one of Flaubert's juvenilia, or for a section of one of his works, without necessarily being prominent elsewhere; the clearest examples are the influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* upon *Smarh* and Virgil's *Æneid* in *ESI*. Obviously many other authors have a

degree of influence upon the young Flaubert, but the five mentioned are perhaps the most significant. The nature of the classical intertextuality in Flaubert's juvenilia is perhaps open to question: was it deliberate and conscious or a natural, involuntary result of Flaubert's taste for the classics? It seems that, while there can be no question of Flaubert's deliberately researching for his writings by reading classical authors (except arguably in the case of the more scholarly works *Rome et les Césars* and *Les Arts et le commerce*), nonetheless most significant classical influence in his juvenilia is conscious and deliberate. That this is so is suggested by the sheer similarity of some of Flaubert's imitations to the original text - the imitation of Ovid in *Smarh*, Virgil in *ESI* and Horace in *PCG* spring to mind - and by Flaubert's habit of 'signposting' his use of classical authors; with Ovid, by using an epigraph from that author, with Virgil by making Jules evoke within the text a Virgilian passage that may be a source, with Horace, Lucretius and Juvenal by mentioning them openly at various points in this work. A degree of ostentation - Flaubert showing off his erudition - may be surmised; certainly, this is a very different procedure from that in *Salammbô*, for example, of deliberately setting out to use classical works as a source of information, but not drawing attention within the text to his sources. The fact remains, nonetheless, that in his earliest works, Flaubert appears to have decided consciously to exploit the wide range of classical authors, topoi and images at his disposal, and that this decision leaves its mark upon many of those works.

Chapter 3: "L'œuvre de toute ma vie": classical influences in *La Tentation de saint Antoine*

> "la pensée qui te survient maintenant, elle a été amenée jusqu'à toi... par des successions, des gradations, des transformations et des renaissances; ce que chaque homme a songé depuis qu'il y a des hommes, y a contribué pour quelque chose..."
>
> (*La Tentation de saint Antoine*, 1849 version [*OC*I, p.445])

(i) Introduction

La Tentation de saint Antoine, although arguably the least studied of Flaubert's published works, clearly has a key position in this study. Unlike any work hitherto considered, its subject matter lends itself unambiguously to interpretation in the light of classical antiquity and its literature. Ever since its first publication as an integral work, in 1874, its historical aspects have been emphasized: shortly after that publication, Edouard Drumont wrote,

> "à l'heure où Antoine fuyait au désert, l'empire romain, si peu compris encore dans son fonctionnement et dans son essence, était dans tout le développement de sa grandeur prête à décliner"[1].

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[1] Edouard Drumont, '*La Tentation de saint Antoine* par M. Gustave Flaubert', in *Le Bien Public*, 8th April 1874; cited by Kim Yong-Eun, La Tentation de saint Antoine *version de 1849 - genèse et structure*, Chuncheon, Kangweon University Press 1990, p.326.

It is indeed the 'decline and fall' element of *TSA*'s historical setting that has most interested critics; in the introduction to his inaccurately-titled edition of *La Première Tentation de saint Antoine (1849-1856)*[2], Louis Bertrand claims that, writing the definitive version of the work, "[Flaubert] a limité sa tâche à reproduire la crise intellectuelle et morale qui a bouleversé l'âme antique, durant les derniers jours du paganisme" (page xxxii); this conclusion applies also, although perhaps to a lesser extent, to the other two versions of the work. Alfred Lombard[3], writing in 1934, is more specific:

> "Flaubert avait vu dans ses textes du IVe siècle tout autre chose que l'esprit de l'antiquité classique. Il a compris qu'au moment où le triomphe du christianisme coïncide avec la décomposition de la société romaine, une autre humanité commence, aussi différente de celle du temps de César que celle-ci pouvait différer de la Grèce héroïque" (p.85).

It is true that the setting of *TSA* is not purely classical antiquity as the term is usually understood, and certainly does not coincide with the golden age of either Greek or Roman culture. Therefore, although the work is, as Seznec[4] concedes, "faite à coups de livres" (*op.cit*, pp.14 and 15)[5], by no means all its written sources - even those which are contemporary, or nearly so - are classical as such. Despite the fact that many are written in Latin (and

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2 Paris, Charpentier, 1908.

3 *Flaubert et saint Antoine*, Paris, Victor Attinger, 1934.

4 *Nouvelles études sur la* Tentation de saint Antoine (London, Warburg Institute, 1949), citing Thibaudet, *Gustave Flaubert*, 1922.

5 Strictly, Thibaudet's description applies only to the episode of the Heresies, but Seznec not only accepts the charge as expressed, but proceeds to apply it to the entire work: "toute la *Tentation*, de la première ligne à la dernière, est faite de cette façon" (p.15).

a few in Greek), some are nonetheless medieval and renaissance texts; equally, Flaubert consulted many modern works, notably Creuzer's *Les Religions de l'antiquité*, for precise information on the various periods evoked in the work. Most strictly 'classical' influence manifests itself in *TSA* in the form of 'flashbacks' of one sort or another within the work: episodes including those of Simon and Helen, Apollonius of Tyana and the Olympian gods. Alternatively - and more consistent with examples of classical influence that have been suggested for other works - there are several subconscious or semi-conscious classical allusions in passages that do not possess a strictly classical setting or subject. It is on the more 'purely' classical references within the work that I intend to concentrate in this chapter, without, of course, neglecting those classical works Flaubert used as sources of documentation.

Following the procedure of other writers on *TSA*, notably Seznec and Jeanne Bem[6], I intend to consider the three versions of the work - 1849, 1856 and 1874 - simultaneously rather than in their 'proper' chronological place within this study. Bem argues (*op.cit*, p.61) that all three versions possess a broadly similar structure and therefore merit study simultaneously as "un texte unique"; she further points out that, since Flaubert never disowned any of the versions, and all are different renditions of the same story, they should all be considered as the same myth: a unity to which all the different stories of Saint Anthony contribute. One might add that many of the sources and the influence they brought to bear in the 1856 and 1874 versions were already present in the 1849 version; as Seznec establishes, much of Flaubert's reading for the

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[6] *Désir et savoir dans l'œuvre de Flaubert - étude de la* Tentation de saint Antoine, Neuchâtel, Editions de la Baconnière, 1979.

definitive version was in fact *re*reading. It would be sterile to proceed strictly chronologically, identifying the same or similar sources in corresponding passages of the three versions. In cases where significant differences between such passages do exist, or where relevant new sources appear, this will of course be indicated, but the overall approach will be to consider the three versions of *TSA* as a unified work.

Just as pointless as to consider the three versions separately would be to indicate every passing classical reference in the work. As stated above, the overall classical nature of *TSA*, with qualifications, is self-evident, and it would be fruitless and impossible to pinpoint every element that contributes to it; thus, allusions such as the "long jet de falerne" of Envy's discourse (*OC*I, p.383) will not usually be considered in isolation, being fairly superficial and in any case difficult to attribute to any one source. Accordingly, this chapter's overall structure will be as follows:

(i) A broadly chronological overview of *TSA*'s three versions, indicating a variety of relatively isolated but nonetheless significant classical references, many of which are consistent with surmised sources of earlier works; this should establish the work's classical flavour.

(ii) A closer examination of four episodes / passages, all but one of which feature in an identical or similar form in all three versions: Simon Magus and Helen; Apollonius and Damis; the Lampito and courtesan / Shepherd and woman / Diana triptych (only in the 1849 and 1856 versions); the *êpisode des dieux*, especially the section of it describing the Olympian gods.

(iii) A general conclusion.

Finally in this introduction we should note the usefulness of the

bibliography for *TSA*III given in Bertrand's edition of the 1856 version (see above, p.150); this gives a broad guide, in those sections where it refers to classical texts, as to likely influences upon the work. Possible relevant authors it mentions include Procopius, Cicero, Plato, Plotinus, Philostratus, Ælian, Pliny, Lucian, Pausanias, Macrobius, Aulus Gellius and Apuleius. However, as Bertrand himself states, "Il est évident que ce catalogue ne représente qu'une faible partie des lectures de Flaubert" (*op.cit.*, p.282). Many other authors seem to have shaped *TSA*; conversely, the bibliographic list represents only an account of what Flaubert *read* as research for the work; it does not necessarily imply that he *used* all these sources in its composition.

(ii) <u>An element of continuity</u>

Considering what has been suggested in earlier chapters regarding possible classical influences upon Flaubert's work, it is unsurprising to discover such influences in *TSA*; equally, it is natural that some continuity should exist in the nature of Flaubert's classical preoccupations, especially given that the work's first version was finished only the year following the completion of *PCG*, the last work considered. It is perhaps significant that Antoine's first temptation in all three versions is broadly sexual in nature; some continuation of Flaubert's interest, last expressed through Jules (see above, p.116), in the classics as "matière à convoitise" may be surmised. In this connection, a familiar intertext may operate in the 1849 version of *TSA*, during the first temptation and a subsequent speech by Lust in the second part of the work. During the first temptation, an unidentified voice, probably that of Lust, attempts to distract the

saint with lubricious thoughts about the repentance and self-flagellation of a female sinner. Describing the woman undressing, the voice refers to "ces seins, ce ventre lisse" (*OC*I, p.381). In the later passage, Lust, enumerating various scenes of debauchery refers to "la louve du lupanar" with her "lanterne" who "fait signe aux passants" (p.414). Both references seem influenced by a passage of Juvenal's *Satires* which we have previously seen to occupy Flaubert's attention (see above, pp.26, 82, 144-5), concerned with the Roman empress Messalina. Specifically, the first passage cited above seems to mirror one where Juvenal produces a similar, equally gratuitous description of the empress' physical attributes, displayed in the brothel she frequents:

> " nuda papillis
> prostitit auratis...
> ostenditque tuum, generose Britannice, ventrem"[7] (6.122-4).

The comparison between the two is clear. In the case of Lust's words about the prostitute in the brothel, the same passage seems to have influenced Flaubert: in line 121, the same word occurs in the reference to the "calidum lupanar", the 'warm brothel'; in line 123, the phrase "titulum mentita Lyciscæ" indicates that Messalina's pseudonym as a prostitute meant "she-wolf", equivalent to Flaubert's "louve du lupanar"[8]; in line 125, Messalina, like the prostitute in Lust's description, solicits custom - "excepitque blanda intrantis

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7 "Undressing she stood there with gilded nipples... displaying the womb which gave the lordly Britannicus birth" (trans. Rudd).

8 It should be recalled that *lupa*, 'she-wolf', was a common Latin term for prostitutes, and may also have influenced Flaubert here; however, given the rest of this passage, a specific reference to Juvenal's use of the term seems likely.

atque æra poposcit"[9] - and in line 131, she travels home "fumo[que] lucernæ", 'with a smoky lantern'. The various elements of Flaubert's description apparently owe much to this passage, which he almost certainly knew.

The element of sexual temptation, naturally, figures prominently throughout *TSA*, and is frequently associated with classical intertexts. Several such are suggested by Kim, who proposes as sources for the figure of Fornication in the 1849 version (*OC*I, pp.428-9) works by Aristophanes, Euripides and Pausanias:

> "les sources du personnage de la Fornication ne sont pas seulement la tradition biblique mais aussi la tradition grecque antique. Notamment sa coiffure en bandeau évoque les Thesmophories (Aristophane, *Les Thesmophories*, vers 940) et les mystères bachiques (Euripide, *Les Bacchantes*, vers 349; Creuzer...). Les bois sacrés évoquent les mystères des grandes déesses, Cérès (Pausanias, *Description de la Grèce*. Paris, Eberhart, 1817, t.II, p.231)" (*op.cit.*, p.171, note 85).

Another Greek writer whose influence is apparent in this area is Herodotus. Part three of the 1849 version contains a dialogue between the figures of Lust and Death, each seeking to depict its own strength; one of the situations where Lust emphasizes her influence thus: "l'embaumeur d'Egypte, poussant au verrou la porte des salles basses, se rue comme un tigre sur le corps des belles femmes mortes" (*OC*I, pp.453-4). Flaubert's source for this scenario appears to be book two of Herodotus' *History*, dealing with Egypt; in that book, Herodotus recounts precautions taken, in the cases of wives of notable men and women of great beauty, against necrophilia of the sort Lust describes, and goes on to note that, "λαμφθῆναι γὰρ τινά φασι μισγόμενον νεκρῷ

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[9] "she smilingly greeted all who entered, and asked for her 'present'" (trans. Rudd).

προσφάτῳ γυναικός, κατειπεῖν δὲ τὸν ὁμότεχνον"[10] (89.2). Like Juvenal, Herodotus is a figure whose familiarity to Flaubert and influence in some of his work has been demonstrated (see above, pp.35-6, 44, 51-2, 58, 67), and who in fact will prove to be of some significance in *TSA*.

The scene of *TSA* depicting another brand of temptation, that of heresy, features in all three versions of the work (*OC*I, pp.389-411, 478-91, 535-50 [effectively part 4 of the definitive version]). It has been thoroughly analysed by Seznec in his second work on *TSA* (see note 4), whose second chapter is devoted to this section of the work in the 1849 version; it seems reasonable, however, to assume that most findings for that version could equally apply to the other two. Most of the sources Seznec identifies for this episode are contemporary to Flaubert: works by Beausobre, Vacherot, Renan and Strauss; others are by fathers of the Church: the *Légende dorée*, the Pseudo-Clement, Tertullian, St. Epiphanus, Augustine and Eusebius[11]. These texts are outside the scope of this study; however, besides the two large sections of the Heresies scene which feature Simon Magus and Apollonius (to be considered separately later), some elements of the classical environment of *TSA* are apparent here. Most obvious, arguably, is the reference in the Manicheans' speech (p.392 - 1849 version), as they describe the afterlife, to Scipio: "On avait dit à Scipion que les bienheureux seuls, débarrassés des liens du corps,

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[10] "For they say that one of them was caught copulating with a freshly dead woman and that a fellow-workman told on him" (trans. David Grene, Chicago; London, University of Chicago Press, 1987).

[11] Kim (*op.cit.*, pp.377-9) also cites a letter of Firmilian, a priest of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, quoted in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical history*, as a source of the False Prophetess of Cappadocia, who features in all three versions.

revivaient dans les étoiles". This is an oblique reference to the *Somnium Scipionis*, a section of the sixth and last book of Cicero's *De re publica*, which Flaubert may have encountered in Macrobius' commentary, but which also features independently in the 1874 bibliographical list[12]. The Manicheans' citation of the work is quite precise: the phrase "débarrassés des liens du corps" finds its parallel in chapter 15 of the *Somnium Scipionis*, in the phrase "nisi... deus is... istis te corporis custodiis liberaverit"[13]; and their implication that it is only the righteous who achieve eternal life, the setting for which is the stars, is also explicit in chapter 16:

> "sed sic Scipio... iustitiam cole et pietatem...; ea vita via est in cælum et in hunc cœtum eorum qui iam vixerunt et corpore laxati illum incolunt locum quem vides... quem vos ut a Grais accepistis orbem lacteum nuncupatis"[14].

The imitation is quite close; and one might add that since, as the reference to "locum *quem vides*" suggests, Scipio is in the original undergoing a vision of the galaxy, the *Somnium Scipionis* may have influenced Flaubert's conception of the similar episode in *TSA*, where the Devil shows Antoine the universe (although the roots of that scene go back to Flaubert's juvenilia, and probably owe more to Quinet's *Ahasvérus*). It is interesting in this context to note that Kim (*op.cit.*, pp.142-3) draws attention to a reference in Flaubert's

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12 Bertrand, *op.cit.*, p.294. The "éclaircissement bibliographique" appended to the reference specifies: "CICÉRON, *Le songe de Scipion* (fragment du VIe livre de la *République*), trad. en français par l'abbé J.-B. Geoffroy. Paris, 1725, in-12".

13 "unless that god has freed you from that bodily prison" (trans. J.G.F. Powell, Warminster, Aris and Phillips, 1990).

14 "but you, Scipio... must practise justice and do your duty... By living thus you may find the way to heaven, into this gathering of those whose have lived their lives, and being nowfreed from the body, inhabit that place which you see... which you have learnt from the Greeks to call the Milky Way" (*ibid.*).

notes for the work to another work of Cicero, the *Tusculanes*:

> "raison physique qui fait monter l'âme au ciel: l'air & le feu montant en ligne droite tandis que la terre & l'eau sont arrivées vers le centre du monde. Ainsi l'âme tend à s'élever qu'elle soit le feu ou l'air".

There is, then, evidence for Ciceronian influence in several passages of *TSA*.

An interesting problem arises in the definitive version of the Heresies scene, into which, on possibly dubious grounds, Flaubert inserts a new element, the Indian Gymnosophist who commits suicide, stoically, by burning himself alive. Antoine comments upon this spectacle thus: "Cette mort est commune parmi les sages indiens. Kalanos se brûla devant Alexandre; un autre a fait de même du temps d'Auguste" (*OC*I, p.544). A number of possible sources for this fact exist: the story of Kalanos (or Calanus), an Indian sage who joined Alexander's entourage, and committed suicide upon falling ill, was widespread in antiquity, and according to J.R. Hamilton[15], "most writers on Alexander included it in their works" (*op.cit*, p.192); he later cites the episode in the works of Arrian, Ælian and Diodorus, as well as Plutarch. However, Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, 69.8), not only describes Calanus' death in detail, but goes on to recount that, "τοῦτο πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἄλλος Ἰνδὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις Καίσαρι συνὼν ἐποίησε· καὶ δείκνυται μέχρι νῦν τὸ μνημεῖον Ἰνδοῦ προσαγορευόμενον"[16]. The further detail of the case of the Indian in Augustus' retinue is also recounted by Strabo, at some length, in his account of Calanus' death, and by Dio Cassius. Any of these could be the source of

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[15] *Plutarch*: *Alexander - a commentary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969.

[16] "The same thing was done many years afterwards by another Indian who was in the following of Cæsar, at Athens; and the 'Indian's Tomb' is shown there to this day" (trans. Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb edition, 1914).

Flaubert's reference, but the account by Plutarch - an author Flaubert knew well (see above, pp.10, 15, 23, 51, 57, 67) - is perhaps closest to that in *TSA*.

One of the most consistent episodes, in all but position, throughout all three versions of *TSA* is that of the Queen of Sheba; it remains in all three one of the longest episodes and was among those published by Flaubert in 1857, indicating that he was himself pleased with it. Although it is clearly not classically inspired in the main, one element of it may be shaped by possibly subconscious classical influences: the evocation, both in its appearance decribed by the narrator, and its attributes described by the Queen, of the fabulous Simorg-Anka, the Queen's avian spy (*OC*I, pp. 435, 500, 532). Arguably this passage shares several characteristics with the description in *Æneid* 4 (173-88) - itself concerned with another exotic queen, Dido - of the personified *Fama*, Rumour. Besides both creatures' resemblance to birds, or flying creatures of some sort, their clearest physical parallel is their possession of many eyes. Virgil describes *Fama* as a creature,

> " cui quot sunt corpore plumæ,
> tot vigiles oculi subter"[17] (181-2).

This characteristic is perhaps paralleled by the Simorg-Anka's "queue de paon", common to all three versions; although it is not explicitly stated that the eyes of this peacock's tail are capable of sight, they do seem to serve as more than decoration, since when Antoine rejects the Queen, they begin to rotate. More striking is the resemblance between the activities of the two figures. They share several qualities: their medium of travel (the Simorg-Anka in the

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[17] "each feather upon whose body... has a sleepless eye beneath it" (trans. Day Lewis).

1849 version "traverse les immensités"; *Fama* "volat cæli medio terræque"[18] [184]); their speed (the Simorg-Anka "vole comme le désir"; *Fama* is a "malum qua non aliud velocius ullum"[19] [174]); their function of gathering information (the Queen states of the Simorg-Anka that, having traversed the world, "il me raconte ce qu'il a vu"; the same activity in *Fama* is implied by references to its fabulously numerous tongues, mouths and ears [183] and its status as a *custos*, a sentinel [186], suggesting vigilance). Overall, then, the similarity between the two passages is general rather than specific, and may be coincidental; but it seems as likely that Flaubert owes at least a subconscious debt to Virgil's work.

As with the Heresies episode, the sources for the passage containing descriptions of monsters and exotic races (pp.436-42, 501-4, 568-71) are well documented by Seznec in his *Nouvelles études*. Many of the sources are medieval and renaissance bestiaries - the pseudo-Epiphanus' *Physiologus*, Mayence's *Hortus sanitatis*, Sorbin's *Tractatus de monstris* - with a contemporary work, Berger de Xivrey's *Traditions tétratologiques*[20] being most important. This latter work contains several medieval texts, together with references to Bochart's *Hierozoïcon* and at least one properly classical work, Ælian's *De natura animalium*, which is the source for beasts including the Cynocéphales, the Martichoras and the Griffon. One should also note that

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[18] "flits midway between earth and sky" (*ibid.*).

[19] "the swiftest traveller of all the ills on earth" (*ibid.*).

[20] In full *Traditions tétratologiques ou récits de l'antiquité et du moyen-age en occident sur quelques points de la fable du merveilleux et de l'histoire naturelle* (1836).

another indirect source for this section, often quoted though not reproduced fully by Xivrey, is Pliny the Elder's *Natural history*, especially books five and seven; to this are owed details on the Astomi, the Blemmyes[21], the Sciapodes and the Catoblepas. These texts seem to account for most details of the monster episode; as Seznec says, Flaubert has given his imagination virtually no rein here, having a documentary source for nearly every detail.

Shortly after the Monsters in the 1849 version of *TSA* comes the episode where the Devil shows Antoine the cosmos; again, this episode appears in all three versions, varying principally in its position. As we have seen (pp.156-8), Cicero is a possible source for the general concept, although Quinet's *Ahasvérus* is undeniably more important. In the definitive version of the work, the Devil alludes to the ideas of several classical philosophers: "l'antichtone de Platon, le foyer de Philolaüs, les sphères d'Aristote" and "le bon Pythagore" (*OC*I, p.564). Although this is clearly a case of influence by these philosophers, it is hard to discern its precise nature - whether Flaubert is using direct acquaintance with a classical source, or a more general knowledge of the philosophers through an intermediary. However, in the 1849 version (p.444), another unacknowledged text influences the Devil's speech (the passage recurs in the 1856 version [p.505], but in a very truncated form); as with Juvenal, the imitation of the author in question, Lucretius, is unsurprising, given findings in previous chapters (see above, pp.31-2, 34, 36, 60-1, 72, 82-4, 86-7, 89, 122, 141-2, etc.). The passage thus influenced is the Devil's speech from "Les soleils, mais pas la lumière qui est en eux... c'est de

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[21] The first attested reference to a tribe of this name is in Theocritus' seventh *Idyll*, according to A.S.F. Gow (see ch.1, n.110); as will be argued below (see pp.186-7), Flaubert may well have used the *Idylls* as a source for other sections of *TSA*.

là que se tire l'absolu", expounding the eternal nature of physical material, including within this category the substance of the soul; specifically two sections of this passage seem influenced by Lucretius, and are worth citing in full:

> "A la dissolution de l'homme, quand se défait l'assemblage momentané qui constituait sa personne, tous les éléments qui le composaient repartent en liberté vers leur patrie première. Alors des mondes s'organisent dans son cadavre à peine froid, des races se dépêchent de naître..."
>
> "Et l'âme aussi, délivrée de l'unité qui la retenait, se diffuse pour pénétrer d'autre matière...".

As can be seen, the Devil's speech at this stage is principally concerned with the fate of body and soul after death, seeking to instil in Antoine various pagan beliefs; this is also the subject, as we have seen, of book three of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*. Sources for the above passages occur at several points in this work. In particular, the argument that all parts of the body (including the soul) dissolve at death features in the exhortation to,

> "crede animam quoque diffundere multoque perire
> ocius et citius dissolvi in corpora prima,
> cum semel ex hominis membris ablata recessit"[22] (437-9).

The specific idea that the soul also dissipates is reiterated at lines 582-3,

> "quid dubitas quin ex imo penitusque coorta
> emanarit uti fumus diffusa animæ vis...?"[23].

We can even surmise direct textual influence here: Flaubert's "patrie première" recalls Lucretius' "corpora prima"; his statement that the soul "se diffuse"

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[22] "you must believe that the soul too is scattered and passes away far more swiftly, and is dissolved more quickly into its first-bodies, when once it is withdrawn from a man's limbs, and has departed" (trans. Bailey).

[23] "why do you doubt that the force of the soul has gathered together from deep down within, and has trickled out, scattering abroad like smoke?" (*ibid.*).

reflects Lucretius' "diffusa". Again, the second section of the first quotation from *TSA*, referring to the establishment of "new worlds" in the dead body, seems to owe something to the following passage:

> "unde cadavera rancenti iam viscere vermes
> expirant, atque unde animantum copia tanta
> exos et exsanguis tumidos perfluctuat artus?"[24] (719-21).

Admittedly, Lucretius' unscientific argument, that worms in the corpse are the offspring of fragments of the newly dissolved human soul, is rather distant from the point the Devil is making, but the similarity in image and concept is striking. Some Lucretian influence does seem to be operating here.

Most of the classical references in *TSA* identified so far have been in passages common to all three versions, and certainly found in the 1849 version. It is broadly correct, for this, as for most purposes, to regard the 1856 version as little more than a truncated reproduction of the first; there is little, if anything, in it which intensifies the work's classical atmosphere. However, this clearly is untrue of the definitive version, a substantial development from either of its predecessors; several new or altered passages here seem to introduce new classical intertexts to the work, besides those which I intend to consider in more detail. One new element of the definitive version is the introduction of quite extensive, precise reference to the topography and historical situation of the city of Alexandria (*OC*I, pp.523-4, 528-9). As one would expect, Flaubert ensured his description of that city was accurate; Jacques Heuzey, in a 1953

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[24] "how is it that corpses, when the flesh is now putrid, teem with worms, and how does so great a store of living creatures, bloodless and boneless, swarm over the heaving frame?" (*ibid.*).

article[25], recounts the assistance given by his grandfather Léon, a regular correspondent of Flaubert's, for the author's research on Alexandria. He mentions especially a letter of April 1870, where Flaubert, researching for *TSA*, is recommended Arrian, Quintus Curtius, Vitruvius, Cæsar, Dio Cassius, Dio Chrysostom, Flavius Josephus, Philostratus, Suetonius and Plutarch; but above all, Heuzey recommends Strabo, whom, he says, Flaubert already knows (Jacques Heuzey suggests this acquaintance may date back to the writing of *Salammbô*), and whose description of the city in Roman times is detailed and accurate. Jacques Heuzey suggests that several elements of the scenes set in or describing Alexandria derive from parts of Strabo's *Geographia* (which features in the 1874 bibliographical list, implying that Flaubert adopted the suggestion), including Antoine's ambition to set up in business as a "publicain au péage de quelque pont" (p.524), the description of the Paneum (pp.523, 528) and the reference to the scavenging birds in the city (p.528).

Another new episode of the definitive version, connected with those just mentioned, is that where Antoine commits various acts of violence in Alexandria: "Antoine retrouve tous ses ennemis... il les outrage. Il éventre, égorge, assomme, traîne les vieillards par la barbe, écrase les enfants, frappe les blessés" (p.529). Earlier in Flaubert's work, a similarly violent passage in the juvenile work *Smarh* (p.212) is comparable. However, there is more than a passing resemblance between this passage and one in a work already cited as a possible source earlier in this chapter (see above, pp.159-60), and

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25 'Quelques sources inédites de «*La Tentation de saint Antoine*»', *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 53, 1 (January - March 1953), pp.65-85.

indeed in the previous chapter: Virgil's *Æneid*. The passage in question - the description of the fall of Troy - is in *Æneid* 2; specifically (526-558), it recounts the brutal deeds of Pyrrhus son of Achilles, Priam's killer. In it, Pyrrhus pursues and kills Priam's young son, Polites, before his father's eyes:

> "Ecce autem elapsus Pyrrhi de cæde Polites,
> unus natorum Priami, per tela, per hostis
> porticibus longis fugit et vacua atria lustrat
> saucius. illum ardens infesto vulnere Pyrrhus
> insequitur, iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta.
> ut tandem ante oculos evasit et ora parentum,
> concidit ac multo vitam cum sanguine fudit"[26] (526-32).

In this section we find reference to the killing of children ("unus natorum Priami") and of the wounded ("saucius"). Further on (547-50), in response to the reproach of Priam (referred to in line 544 as "senior", "an old man" - cf. Flaubert's reference to "les vieillards"), Pyrrhus sarcastically insults him (cf. Flaubert's "il les outrage"), before killing him in turn:

> "... hoc dicens altaria ad ipsa trementem
> traxit et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati,
> implicuitque comam læva, dextraque coruscum
> extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem"[27] (550-3).

Here again, the dragging of Priam by his hair may shape Flaubert's phrase "il traîne les vieillards par la barbe"; and one might add that Pyrrhus specifically

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[26] "But picture it, Priam's son, Polites, had just avoided a death-blow from Pyrrhus, and wounded was running the enemy gauntlet, running away down the long colonnades and across the great hall alone. Pyrrhus hotly pursued him, always about to strike, each moment seeming to have him, so close did the spear point come. Just when Polites emerged before his parents' eyes, he fell, and his life ebbed out in a deep river of blood" (trans. Day Lewis).

[27] "Even as he spoke, he dragged the old man, trembling, and sliding in the pool of his son's blood, right to the altar; twined Priam's hair in his left hand, raised with his right the flashing sword and sank it up to the hilt between the ribs" (*ibid.*).

kills Priam by disembowelling him - just as Antoine "éventre" his enemies. As with the previously-suggested comparison between the Simorg-Anka and Virgil's personification of *Fama*, it seems that the classical text is not exactly a direct model for Flaubert, but rather one upon which he draws, consciously or unconsciously, for certain elements of *TSA*.

To conclude these general remarks upon the classical environment of *TSA*, I would like to refer to a few less easily attributable elements of the work which exemplify Flaubert's general immersion in the classics, rather than recalling specific texts. On page 80 of her work, Bem points out the fruits of Flaubert's status as a "bon latiniste" in Hilarion's discourse on the Latin gods (*OC*I, p.562); effectively, she implies, Flaubert's knowledge of Latin made the names of the various gods tautologous, their attributes being implicit in the names:

"«Domiduca devait l'amener...»	domum ducere: conduire à la maison
«les deux nourrices Educa et Potina»	edere: manger potare: boire
«Carna berceuse»	carmen: chant".

She goes on to point out the linguistic nature of various other gods' names: Ossipago, the knee-strengthener, is derived from *os*, knee, Barbatus, who causes beard growth, from *barba*; the derivations of Stimula and Volupia, who incite the first desires, are clear; Fabulinus, who teaches speech, is derived from *fari*, to speak; and so on. More generally, Bem persuasively argues (*op.cit.*, pp.152-63), under the heading 'Fragments de mythes', that *TSA* is saturated with various mythical archetypes: Acteon (to be examined more closely later), Orpheus, Narcissus and Proteus.

It is finally worth mentioning, in relation to Proteus the possibility of

some connection between the depiction of that god in a classical text, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (again, a work we have seen Flaubert use before - see especially above, pp.88-99), and the description in *TSA* of the metamorphosing Indian god (*OC*I, pp.456, 510). The main source for the Indian god is, of course, indubitably the *Rig-Veda*; but, as with the Simorg-Anka, there may be a case for seeing in Flaubert's adaptation some dilution of the oriental source with classical texts. The god, as depicted by Flaubert, assumes the form of various animals, or parts thereof: successively, a snake's head, a fish's tail, a hermit, a horse, a lion. Finally, he grows tusks. This succession of metamorphoses echoes a list of forms Proteus takes in *Metamorphoses* 8.732-4:

> "nam modo te iuvenem, modo te videre leonem,
> nunc violentus aper, nunc, quem tetigisse timerent,
> anguis eras, modo te faciebant cornua taurum"[28].

The two lists clearly have several items in common: the snake and the lion directly, with Ovid's reference to a boar perhaps suggesting the god's tusks, although they may also be those of an elephant. More generally, the fact that each set of metamorphoses takes the form of a rapid succession of changes, one after the other, with no clearly discernable link, is a point of resemblance between the two passages. Again, the classical work cannot be considered a model as such for *TSA*, but it does arguably supply some of its inspiration.

It has been demonstrated so far that all three versions of *TSA* share with Flaubert's earlier works considerable debts to classical literature in

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28 [Addressing Proteus], "For they have seen you now as a young man, now as a lion; now you were a savage boar, now a snake they would fear to have touched; now horns made you into a bull" (trans. D.E. Hill, *Metamorphoses* 5-8, Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1992).

general, in some cases with specific imitation of classical works, in most with relatively broad classical allusions. The rest of this chapter will deal not with the work as a whole, but with closer examination of a series of passages for specific, direct classical influence by a variety of works; it should become apparent that the debt *TSA* owes to classical texts is both deep and wide-ranging.

(iii) Simon and Helen

The episode where Simon Magus and his companion Helen-Ennoïa appear to Antoine figures in all three versions of *TSA* (*OC*I, pp.394-6, 481-2, 545-6) as one of the heresies which confront the saint. All three accounts maintain roughly the same structure, despite being progressively shortened in length: essentially, Helen, at Simon's bidding, tells her story, including the description of her mystical origins as Ennoïa, an account of her abduction by and life with Paris, as Helen of Troy, and her discovery, in her present 'incarnation', by Simon. The latter then expounds the complex tenets of his heresy, based around "celle-là qu'on appelle Charis, Σιγη, Ennoïa, Barbelo" (p.395, etc.). As mentioned, the first version of the scene is the longest, and subsequent versions contain few new additions (although there is one, of minor significance, which will be outlined at the relevant point); accordingly, it is upon the 1849 version of the scene that I shall concentrate, although I shall first examine the findings of a previous investigation of influences upon this episode.

Seznec, in his *Nouvelles études*, covers the Simon and Helen episode

in the course of his treatment of the sources of the Heresies. He concentrates upon the definitive version, but his observations usually apply also to those of 1849 and 1856. He notes numerous different sources for the material of Simon's discourse: Grabius' *Spicilegium (Fragmenta librorum Simonis Magi)*, and the pseudo-Clement's *Recognitiones* are among them (*op.cit.*, p.22-3); broadly, Flaubert's depiction of Simon corresponds with the historical picture we have of him. Seznec also indicates (p.25) the Roman historian Suetonius, with whom Flaubert was familiar, as a source; specifically, chapter 22 of Suetonius' *Caligula* provides Simon's boast, "Caïus César Caligula en est devenu amoureux, puisqu'il voulait coucher avec la Lune!"[29] (22.4) (*OC*1, p.545 - it is this phrase which is unique to the definitive version). It may be worth adding to this the possibility - to put it no more strongly - that the persistent reference to Lucretia as one of Helen's incarnations ("Elle a été Lucrèce, la patricienne violée par les rois" - p.545, though present in a similar form in all three versions) is partly owed to the story of Lucretia in chapters 57-59 of book one of Livy's *History*.

Seznec states (*op.cit.*, p.37) that the reference to the Greek poet Stesichorus in this episode ("Elle a été l'Hélène des Troyens, dont le poète Stésichore a maudit la mémoire" [p.545]) derives from Matter's *Histoire du gnosticisme*, vol.1, p.281. Matter quotes Tertullian: "O Helenam, inter poetas

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29 The Latin phrase in question, quoted by Seznec, is "et noctibus quidem plenam fulgentemque lunam invitabat assidue in amplexus atque concubitum" - "at night he used constantly to invite the full and radiant moon to his embraces and his bed" (trans. J.C. Rolfe, Loeb edition, 1970); as will become apparent, it is not unusual for Flaubert in *TSA* to take passages from Suetonius with no apparent connection with a historical figure - Simon in this case - and nonetheless use them in his evocation of that figure.

et hæreticos laborantem!"[30] (*De anima* 34). However, more may be said on this.

In the first version of *TSA*, although in none of the subsequent ones, Flaubert expands on his reference to Stesichorus: "Elle a été cette Hélène dont le poète Stésichore a maudit la mémoire, et qui devint aveugle pour le punir de son blasphème" (*OC*I, p.395) (*sic* - despite the sentence's ungrammaticality, the idea is that Stesichorus, not Helen, was blinded in punishment for blasphemy). Little of Stesichorus' work has survived; of that which has, the only item which refers at length, albeit not by name, to Helen is a Palinode, which runs as follows:

> "Οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος,
> οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν νηυσίν ἐϋσέλμοις,
> οὐδ' ἵκεο πέργαμα Τροίας"[31].

This is clearly not a curse upon Helen's memory; however, it does play a part in the legend to which Flaubert alludes. Numerous ancient sources recount how Stesichorus did attack Helen in writing, was blinded in retaliation, and atoned for his blasphemy by writing the Palinode, after which his eyesight was restored. Which of these sources Flaubert followed is difficult to ascertain. In the Loeb edition referred to above, several versions of the story are recounted: the *Suda*, a late tenth century lexicon, containing some texts and various second-hand abridgements and selections, states, "φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν γράψαντα ψόγον Ἑλένης τυφλωθῆναι, πάλιν δὲ γράψαντα Ἑλένης

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[30] "O Helen, caught between poets and heretics!" (my translation).

[31] "That story is not true, and you did not go on the well-benched ships and you did not reach the citadel of Troy" (trans. David A. Campbell, *Greek lyric III (Stesichorus, Ibycus, Simonides and others)*, Loeb edition, 1991, p.93).

ἐγκώμιον ἐξ ὀνείρου, τὴν παλινῳδίαν, ἀναβλέψαι"[32]. The *Suda*, given Flaubert's erudition, may well have been a source for the legend; but other possibilities exist. Pausanias, in the story of one Leonymus, has as almost an aside the story of how Leonymus claimed to have seen Helen:

> "Ἑλένην... προστάξαι δέ οἱ πλεύσαντι ἐς Ἰμέραν πρὸς Στησίχορον ἀγγέλειν ὡς ἡ διαφθορὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξ Ἑλένης γένοιτο αὐτῷ μηνίματος. Στησίχορος μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν παλινῳδίαν ἐποίησεν"[33].

Plato, too, recounts the story in his *Phædrus* (which was among the works of Plato's mentioned in the 1874 bibliographical list - see above, pp.152-3), linking it to the widespread belief in Homer's blindness: "τῶν γὰρ ὀμμάτων στεπηθεὶς διὰ τὴν Ἑλένης κακηγορίαν οὐκ ἠγνόησεν ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος, ἀλλ' ἅτε μουσικὸς ὢν ἔγνω τὴν αἰτίαν"[34]. Plato then quotes the Palinode, and states that upon its composition, Stesichorus regained his sight. The same Loeb edition cites similar stories from Isocrates' *Helen* and Dio Chrysostom's *Discourses*[35]. Although Dio Chrysostom is among the authors Heuzey recommended to Flaubert (see above, p.164), the likeliest source for Simon's reference to Stesichorus in the 1849 version of *TSA* is either Plato or Pausanias; and it is perhaps marginally likelier to be Plato, with whom

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[32] "They say that he was blinded for writing abuse of Helen and recovered his sight after writing an encomium of Helen, the Palinode, as the result of a dream" (*ibid.*, p.29).

[33] "Helen... had ordered him to sail to Himera and tell Stesichorus that his blindness was the result of Helen's anger"(*ibid.*, pp.42-3 - from Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.19.13 - 20.1).

[34] "when [Stesichorus] was blinded because of his slander of Helen, he was not unaware of the reason like Homer, but being devoted to the Muses recognised the cause..." (*ibid.*, p.93 - from Plato, *Phædrus* 243a).

[35] *ibid.*, pp.93 and 95.

Flaubert was probably, through Le Poittevin, familiar at this date.

For Helen's actual discourse - or at least for that section of it concerning her incarnation as Helen of Troy - Seznec gives relatively little information. Bem, however (*op.cit.*, p.94), names the main sources for that section as Homer's *Iliad* and Gœthe's *Faust*, although without closely detailing the nature of the section's debt to either work. That the two paragraphs from "A la proue de la trirème..." to "... le long du rivage de la mer" (*OC*I, pp.394-5 - the two subsequent versions contain few significant additions to these) bear overall Homeric influence is undeniable; and one may in fact identify some specific passages that may have served Flaubert as sources.

The section of Helen's speech describing the scene of her abduction cannot derive from such a description in the *Iliad*, since that event lies outside the work's timeframe. However, the general details of a ship sailing may well be influenced by Homer's poem. The description in *TSA* reads as follows:

> "A la proue de la trirème, où il y avait un bélier sculpté qui, à chaque coup des vagues, s'enfonçait sous l'eau, je restais immobile, le vent soufflait, la quille fendait l'écume" (p.394).

The description varies little in the 1856 version (p.481), except that the word "quille" is replaced by "carène"; but in the definitive version (p.545), the whole phrase is shortened to "La voile restait bombée, la carène fendait l'écume"; the detail of the sail is new. Several elements of this description occur in the *Iliad*. In book one of the work, Odysseus returns from a mission to return the daughter of Chryses to her father. His return is narrated thus:

> "οἱ δ' ἱστὸν στήσαντ' ἀνά θ' ἱστία λευκὰ πέτασσαν,
> ἐν δ' ἄνεμος πρῆσεν μέσον ἱστίον, ἀμφὶ δὲ κῦμα
> στείρῃ πορφύρεον μεγάλ' ἴαχε νηὸς ἰούσης·

ἡ δ' ἔθεεν κατὰ κῦμα διαπρήσσουσα κέλευθον"[36] (480-3).

Here we have several ingredients of Flaubert's description: the ship's swiftness, the furrow it cuts across the sea and, from the definitive version, the detail of the wind billowing the sail. The detail of the ship's prow sinking beneath the waves may owe something to a simile in the *Iliad*'s fifteenth book:

"οἱ δ' ὥς τε μέγα κῦμα θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο
νηὸς ὑπὲρ τοίχων καταβήσεται, οππότ' ἐπείγῃ
ἴς ἀνέμον· ἡ γάρ τε μάλιστα γε κύματ' ὀφέλλει"[37] (381-3).

For Paris' words, reported by Helen in *TSA*, expressing equanimity at the trouble he is bringing upon his people, there is little parallel in the *Iliad*, except that his sentiment "Que m'importe... si je trouble ma patrie" (*OC*I, p.394) somewhat resembles Hector's addressing of Paris in book three as "πατρί τε σῷ μέγα πῆμα πόληί τε παντί τε δήμῳ"[38] (50)[39]. However, the details of Helen's life in Paris' palace have several direct sources in the *Iliad*. Among other details, we learn that Paris "passait dans les corridors

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[36] "Stepping the mast they shook their canvas out, and wind caught, bellying the sail. A foaming dark blue wave sang backward from the bow as the running ship made way against the sea" (trans. Robert Fitzgerald, Oxford, O.U.P., 1984).

[37] "Like a surging wave that comes inboard a ship when a gale blows - wind giving impetus to sea" (*ibid.*).

[38] "Ruin for your father and all his realm" (*ibid.*).

[39] It is possible that the detail that "Ménélas en pleurs agita les îles" (p.395) is derived from Homer's phrase, occurring twice in book two of the *Iliad* (356 and 590), "Ἑλένης ὁρμήματά τε στοναχάς τε". Most English translators render this as referring to sorrows *of* and tears shed *by* Helen; however, the *Pléiade* French translation, while acknowledging the phrase's ambiguity, gives it as "toutes les alarmes et tous les sanglots *dont Hélène fut cause*". Given that the second use of the phrase occurs in a passage referring to the contingent brought by Menelaus, and to Menelaus' own actions, it may be that if Flaubert read a similar translation, or himself interpreted the Greek similarly, he assumed that the *sanglots* in question were Menelaus', and transferred the image to his own work.

embaumés" (*OC*I, p.395), and that his palace contained "lits d'ivoire"; furthermore, Helen is stated to have been frequently occupied in weaving ("pendant que sur mon pouce tournait le fuseau rapide..."), and to Paris' playing with "le bout de ma chevelure". All these recall passages of the *Iliad*. In book three, Paris is rescued from battle by Aphrodite and set down "ἐν θαλάμῳ εὐώδεϊ"[40] (382) - admittedly Flaubert transfers the attribute from the bedchamber to the corridors of the palace, but the concept is identical. Several references to ivory beds in Paris' palace feature in book three of the *Iliad*: in line 391, the phrase "δινωτοῖσι λέχεσσι" appears, and in line 448, "τρητοῖσι... λεχέεσσιν". Fitzgerald renders the former as "ivory-inlaid bed" and the latter as "inlaid ivory bed", although other translators do not mention ivory; however, it seems that this was Flaubert's interpretation, or that of the translation he used, of these phrases. For reference to Helen's weaving, there is, again in book three, the phrase, "ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν ὕφαινε"[41] (125); possibly, too, Flaubert's mention of Helen's hair partly derives from an epithet often applied to her in the *Iliad*, for example at line 355, book seven, where Paris is "Ἑλένης πόσις ἠϋκόμοιο"[42].

Finally on this episode, it is possible similarly to isolate a number of passages in the *Iliad* which may be considered probable sources of the second paragraph of Helen's discourse (*OC*I, p.395), where she describes her view from Troy's ramparts. As a general observation Helen does indeed,

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[40] "in his own fragrant chamber" (trans. Fitzgerald).

[41] "she was weaving a great web" (my translation; Fitzgerald's is rather free).

[42] "husband of the fair-haired beauty, Helen" (trans. Fitzgerald).

again in book three, go onto the ramparts to watch the battle, albeit not, as Flaubert has it, in the evening; similarly, references to camps, battles between the two armies and suchlike are so numerous in the *Iliad* that it is impossible to ascribe any one source to much of this paragraph. However, some informed observations may be made. In *Iliad* 8.554-63, a lengthy description of watchfires occurs (cf. "les fanaux qu'on allumait"), beginning "πυρὰ δέ σφισι καίετο πολλά"[43]. Furthermore, although sources for the references to Ulysses and Ajax, despite their specificity, are elusive, the phrase "Achille tout armé qui faisait courir son char le long du rivage de la mer" is apparently a composite from several different passages of Homer's work. For example, in *Iliad* 19.369-403, Achilles arms himself and mounts into his chariot, a situation comparable to that Flaubert describes - in particular, the phrase "ὄπιθεν δὲ κορυσσάμενος βῆ Ἀχιλλεύς"[44] (397) has some resemblance to that in *TSA*; and for the detail of his going "le long du rivage de la mer", line 40 in the same book may be a source: "Αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ παρὰ θῖνα θαλάσσης δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς"[45].

As so often with Flaubert, the imitation of Homer is not direct, but arises from the conflation of several passages of the classical writer; indeed, given Homer's habit of repeating epithets, and indeed phrases and passages, in different parts of a work, the exact identification of points of reference can be difficult. Nonetheless, it is noticeable that several references identified above

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[43] "while many camp-fires burned around them" (*ibid.*).

[44] "at his back Achilles mounted in full armour" (*ibid.*).

[45] "And prince Achilles passed along the surf-line" (*ibid.*).

are from a relatively limited range of the *Iliad* - many of the references to Helen's life in Troy are from book three, the two identified sources of the description of Achilles are from book nineteen - and may therefore be considered quite likely sources. The influence in *TSA* of Homer - an author Flaubert fervently admired - is considerable, and not limited to the Simon and Helen passage; as we will see, Homer was an important source for the *épisode des dieux*; and Bem suggests a more general way in which the writer may have affected Flaubert's work: "Beaucoup de tirades [dans *La Tentation*] ont pour modèle le récit homérique, reconnaissable à la majesté des incipit, souvent ternaires chez Flaubert" (*op.cit.*, p.255). She cites the openings of speeches by Helen, Priscilla, Maximilla and Apollonius (*OC*I, pp.394, 399 and 404) as examples. The principal although not unique source of the next episode under consideration - that of Apollonius and Damis - does not have such widespread influence, but is nonetheless central in the composition of that episode.

(iv) Apollonius and Damis

Like the episode of Simon Magus and Helen, that of Apollonius and Damis recounts one of the heresies which confront Antoine, and features in a similar form in all three versions of *TSA* (pp.401-10, 484-90, 546-50), its length successively diminishing in each. Accordingly, it will again be the first version of the episode, with the greatest wealth of material, which will provide this section's principal focus.

Like the Simon and Helen episode, that of Apollonius and Damis is a

kind of flashback within *TSA*. As Seznec (*op.cit.*) points out in his third chapter, dedicated to consideration of this episode, Apollonius of Tyana died during the reign of the emperor Nerva, around the end of the first century, while Saint Anthony lived between approximately 250 and 355 A.D.; his appearance in *TSA* cannot be taken literally, but attests to the status of events in the work as being more hallucinations undergone by Antoine than 'real'. Flaubert's obvious main source[46] for Apollonius and Damis' account of their travels is clearly Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, supposedly based on Damis' memoirs, and probably written in the early third century A.D.; Seznec furthermore states (*op.cit.*, p.47) from the 1874 bibliographical list that Flaubert used for the definitive version Chassang's 1862 translation from the Greek (under the title *Le Merveilleux dans l'antiquité*), and conjectures that his reading of the work for earlier versions depended on Westermann's recent Greco-Latin edition of Philostratus.

Broadly speaking, Flaubert follows Philostratus' account of Apollonius' life very closely, condensing the ancient author's text, but adhering roughly to his facts. Thus the story Damis tells about the young man possessed of a female vampire (*OC*I, pp.406, 488, 549) is very close to that recounted by Philostratus (4.25); in particular, Damis' phrase, "A la fin le Maître lui dit: «O beau jeune homme, favori des belles dames; tu caresses un serpent, un serpent te caresse, à quand les noces?»", almost exactly parallels one in Philostratus: "'σὺ μέντοι', εἶπεν, 'ὁ καλός τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν

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[46] A comment in the *Journal* of the *Voyage en Orient* of June 1850 (*OC*II, p.611; see above, p.44) confirms that Flaubert knew this work at that time.

γυναικῶν θηρευόμενος ὄφιν θάλπεις καὶ σὲ ὄφις'"[47]. Apollonius' enquiry regarding the date of the wedding is made slightly later in Philostratus. Similarly, the story of Apollonius' and Damis' arrival at Rome, shortly afterwards, is very close to Philostratus' account (4.39) in detail - the man singing poetry by Nero, the cithara string and the reference to the Pythian Games all feature in the original text - and in phrasing: for instance, the fact that the man is singing "d'une voix douce" (*OC*I, p.407) recalls Philostratus' "οὐκ ἀγλευκῶς τῆς φονῆς ἔχων"[48]. Flaubert does sometimes elaborate on Philostratus' text for his own purposes, for instance, in the story of the "amoureux de Vénus" (p.406). In Flaubert's version, Damis states that, in order to cure a young man besotted with a statue of Venus, "Le Maître cependant lui mit la main sur le cœur et l'amour s'en est allé". Not only is this considerably shorter than Philostratus' version (6.40), which goes into great detail about the attitude of Venus' worshippers to the young man, but it also implies a mystic dimension to the incident, whereas in Philostratus, Apollonius in a lengthy speech simply persuades him of the foolishness of his delusion, without the intimations of exorcism implied by Flaubert.

As well as identifying Philostratus as the main source for Apollonius and Damis, Seznec also exposes Flaubert's less obvious use of the Roman historian Suetonius in this episode, in a similar way to that in which he uses him in the definitive version of the Simon and Helen episode (see above,

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47 "he said, 'You are a fine youth and are hunted by fine women, but in this case you are cherishing a serpent, and a serpent cherishes you'" (trans. F.C. Conybeare, Loeb edition, 1949).

48 "with a far from harsh voice" (*ibid.*).

p.169); that is, the details adduced from the classical text are, in their original context, unconnected with Apollonius. It seems unnecessary to engage in close textual reference for most of the passages Suetonius influences; briefly, the references to Nero's "maison des Esquilies" and to his favourite, Sporus (*OC*I, p.407), derive respectively from mentions in Suetonius' *Nero*, 31 and 28; and the prophecy of Vespasian's assumption of the imperium (p.406), recounted by Apollonius alternately with Damis' account of the young man and the vampire, is based on chapter 5 of Suetonius' eighth book, although Apollonius' presence when the omen occurred is absent from that account. To appreciate the extent of Flaubert's debt to Suetonius, however, one must consider the account of Apollonius' vision of the death of Domitian (p.407); although the fact of this vision is recounted in chapter 26 of Philostratus' eighth book, the actual details of the assassination as seen by Apollonius are textually based upon Suetonius' account (8.17) very closely indeed, as Seznec shows (*op.cit.*, p.52).

Seznec is also accurate in proving the conflation in this section of the work of several other classical writers with Philostratus, where Apollonius and Damis recount their lengthy travels. The journey to India (*OC*I, pp.404-5) is largely as Philostratus describes, including incidents *en route*, such as the encounter with the *empusa*; the same is true of the account of events in India. However, the much briefer description of their return (p.405, "Nous sommes revenus... le royaume des Pygmées") derives mainly from two different classical sources, and contains little to be found in Philostratus; most of the elements in it are from Ptolemy's *Geographica* 6 and 7 and Pliny's *Natural history* 4, 6 and 7. Seznec summarizes Flaubert's method of research and

composition for the Apollonius and Damis episode thus: "Il renforce, condense ou amalgame, selon le cas; mais il n' invente jamais" (*op.cit.*, p.56).

Seznec's work on the sources of this episode is accurate to the highest degree, and needs little corroboration; worth consideration, however, is another possible facet - maybe subconscious - of Philostratus' influence upon Flaubert. There is some evidence that Philostratus may provide material not only for the details of Apollonius' and Damis' discourse, but also, less predictably, for some of Antoine's reactions to them. A prime example is Antoine's self-interrogation and comments on page 407, unique to the 1849 version: "Sont-ce des prophètes? Sont-ce des démons? leurs yeux étincellent, leurs lèvres tremblent. Il me semble qu'ils grandissent, qu'ils ne touchent plus terre". Two sections of Philostratus' work may have suggested elements of this phrase. At the beginning of the *Life of Apollonius*, Damis' first encounter with Apollonius is recounted. His first reaction bears comparison with Antoine's: "ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀσσύριος προσηύξατο αὐτόν, ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, καὶ ὥσπερ δαίμονα ἔβλεπε"[49] (1.19). The second part of Antoine's comment, remarking upon the two travellers' supernatural appearance - likely enough, since they are elements of a vision he is undergoing - may derive from a supernatural manifestation in Philostratus' book, to which Flaubert's account does not otherwise refer. In chapter 16 of book four of Philostratus' work, Apollonius tells his followers of an interview with the spirit of Achilles, at the latter's burial mound. At the start of the account, he describes Achilles' physical appearance, remarking upon his beauty and stating that his ghost

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[49] "Thereupon the Assyrian [Damis] worshipped him, when he heard this, and regarded him as a demon" (*ibid.*).

was at first some five cubits in height. However, he goes on to say that "μείζων ἐγίγνετο καὶ διπλάσιος καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο, δωδεκάπηχυς γοῦν ἐφάνε μοι"[50]. Here, then, we have the concept of the vision growing in size, as Antoine says Apollonius and Damis do, and even, arguably, in the use of the word *ἐφάνε* ("appeared") a prefigurement of Antoine's "il me semble". It is difficult to tell whether these similarities are coincidence - a subconscious effect upon Flaubert of Philostratus' work manifesting itself during the episode's composition - or a deliberate aspect of Flaubert's use of the classical text, a means of using the original perhaps to compare Antoine's experience of Apollonius with that of Damis, and with Apollonius' own experience of the supernatural. At any rate, it is clear that the *Life of Apollonius* was central to this section of *TSA*, although without wide-ranging importance in the book as a whole; it evidently made a considerable impression upon Flaubert, who not only mentioned it in the *Journal* of his travels in Egypt (see above, note 46), but was to use it to defend various details of *Salammbô*. The next section of *TSA* to be investigated, in contrast, draws upon a wide range of mainly more familiar classical sources.

(v) A Classical Triptych? - Lampito and the Courtesan; the Shepherd and the Woman; Diana

This succession of three scenes suffers the most sweeping alteration between the 1849 / 1856 versions of *TSA* and the definitive version. Essentially, all

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50 "he grew bigger, till he was twice as large and even more than that; at any rate he appeared to me to be twelve cubits high" (*ibid.*).

three are excised in the definitive work; they occur in the second section of the first two versions (*OC*I, pp.429-31, 495-7). There are even, as will be seen, considerable variations between these scenes in those versions where they do feature; notably, the 1856 version has interpolated between the first and second scenes a brief vision of Antoine's aged mother and a nostalgic review of his youth.

The three scenes appear during a succession of temptations, and have been ascribed various sources; however, there is a case for considering the second scene, that of the Shepherd and the Woman, to be classically-influenced - besides other influences - serving to connect the more overtly classical elements of its predecessor and successor, forming a sort of classical triptych near the centre of the two earlier versions of *TSA*.

Although this section of the work is not among those Seznec investigated in detail in either of his studies of *TSA*, some work has been done on the sources of its component scenes. In particular, Kim (*op.cit.*, pp.372-3) analyses convincingly the sources of Lampito and the Courtesan, where an upper-class Greek courtesan (whose name, we discover late in the scene, is Demonassa) discusses with her servant Lampito her imminent departure for the court of the king of Pergamum. Kim notes that in at least one plan of *TSA* the intended name of the Courtesan is Mania, not Demonassa, and Lampito's is Croco or Crocale. Thus, of the four names contemplated or used for the two figures, two occur in Lucian's *Courtesans' Dialogues*: Demonassa in the sixth, Crocale in the fifteenth. The name Mania occurs in Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*; but most interesting of the four is the case of Lampito. Two obvious occurrences are pinpointed by Kim: chapter 71 of book six of Herodotus'

History (a work with which, as we have seen, Flaubert was familiar); and Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (it should be remembered that Du Camp in his *Souvenirs littéraires* refers to translating *Lysistrata* with Flaubert in 1846 - see above, p.37). The former occurrence refers to the daughter of Leotychides, king of Sparta, and clearly has little in common with Flaubert's use of the name; however, in the latter case, the character Lampito is a Spartan, accompanied by a Bœotian and a Corinthian (in the Lampito and Demonassa scene, Demonassa is Corinthian); furthermore, *Lysistrata*'s overall atmosphere is clearly closer to that of the scene than Herodotus' work, and it seems a likelier source for the name.

More generally, Kim identifies several factual sources for this scene, writing,

> "En effet, les éléments descriptifs sont eux aussi très composites. Flaubert a recueilli des données empruntées à des auteurs grecs classiques ou plus tardifs: Hérodote, Aristophane, Platon, Plutarque, Lucain et Athénée. Ce qu'il emprunte à tous ces auteurs, ce sont des données concrètes, des usages, des coutumes, une tonalité esthétique et philosophique reliés à la vie des courtisanes grecques" (*op.cit.*, p.373).

She concludes that the scene is one of general significance rather than a reproduction of any one scene in Greek literature; a synthesis of the *idea* of the Greek courtesan, with Flaubert employing his various sources much as he did in the case of Apollonius, to produce an overall effect which is original despite depending on earlier works. The scene's status as a general evocation of the ancient courtesan bears comparison with the passage of *PCG* (see above, p.143) where Flaubert evokes the age-old figure of the prostitute, including her Greek incarnation: "Elle était belle, jadis, au bord des

promontoires, montant le péristyle des temples..." (*op.cit.*, p.505). Several points arise here. Firstly, as in much of his work, Flaubert is seeking to achieve not a documentary effect, an accurate historical depiction of antiquity, but a more æsthetic description of a general feeling associated with the classics; this is consistent with the status of many of the classical sections of *TSA* as retrospective evocations of a lost past. Secondly, Flaubert's choice of scene here is another manifestation of his interest in sexual aspects of antiquity, alluded to above in a general way (see above, pp.153-6) and implicit in the figure of Helen. Thus, the classical credentials of the first scene of the 'triptych' are impeccable: not only does it have several identifiable classical sources, it is also consistent with various constant aspects of Flaubert's interest in classical antiquity, in *TSA* and elsewhere.

The credentials of the following scene in the 1849 version (as we have seen, a brief scene is interposed in the 1856 version), that of the Shepherd and the Woman, are less clear-cut. The scene's principal source is undoubtedly biblical: the story, in *Genesis* 38, of Judah and Tamar, where Tamar, disguised as a prostitute (possibly a further connection with the preceding scene), seduces her father-in-law. Although Flaubert names neither protagonist, several plans for the 1849 version and letters of the time[51] do contain names, and Antoine's reading of the relevant biblical passage, which spurs the vision of the two in the 1856 version, clarifies matters. Certainly most details in the scene, and the circumstances, are biblical: the

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[51] Du Camp in a letter of January 1847 (*Pléiade* edition of Flaubert's *Correspondance*, vol.1, p.821) reports that "[Flaubert] s'est mis à me lire la Bible; cinq ou six fois il m'a répété l'épisode de Thamar...", implying that the episode was on Flaubert's mind during *TSA*'s composition.

woman's veil and the shepherd's stick are integral elements of the bible story. However, this is not true of all of them: for instance, there is no biblical source for the detail "Il y a des tentes sur les collines, avec des troupeaux de moutons noirs", nor for the Shepherd's "sandales de peau de bouc"[52] (*OC*I, p.430).

However, although most details of the events and setting of the Shepherd and Woman scene are clearly from *Genesis*, the same is not true of the dialogue of the tableau; the biblical story has relatively little dialogue; what there is mainly involves the transaction between Judah and Tamar. In Flaubert's version of the scene, there is little or no hint of such a transaction, although in the 1856 version, the dialogue is cut considerably, and the woman's reluctance to show her face suggests indirectly what is happening. The 1849 version of the scene, however, differs radically in tone from the biblical scene; whereas the latter has sombre undertones of incest and bereavement, no such darker element arises in Flaubert's interpretation: rather, the two figures indulge in flirtatious badinage: the woman tells the shepherd, "Tu es sot comme un enfant, pasteur à barbe longue!"; the shepherd laughingly replies, "Quelle joyeuse fille tu fais, toi!" (p.431). Overall, the tone recalls more the detached sensuality of classical writers of pastoral poetry than the Bible, although this is less obviously so in the 1856 version. Additionally, two possible sources suggest themselves as classical intertexts

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[52] It must be conceded, however, that this passage of *Genesis* seems to have made a strong impression on Flaubert. Seznec in his work on the *épisode des dieux* (*Les Sources de l'épisode des dieux dans la* Tentation de saint Antoine *(Première version, 1849)*, Paris, J.Vrin, 1940, p.180) cites a passage of *ES*I which refers to "ces regards doux et intenses que les pasteurs, dans la Genèse, versaient sur les filles de Sion, le soir, au bord des citernes où ils menaient boire les troupeaux" (*OC*I, p.325). This passage's similarity to that in *TSA*, together with some specific similarities, such as the reference to cisterns, and the identification of *Genesis* in the earlier work, provides more evidence supporting the biblical passage as the main source for this scene.

which might provide more than generalized inspiration for the piece's tone: Theocritus' *Idylls* and Virgil's *Eclogues*, to a large extent themselves modelled upon Theocritus' work.

Before investigating the possible influence of these works upon this scene, it should be acknowledged that any such influence is clearly secondary to the Bible's. It should also be remembered that, as we have seen (above, pp.69-70), evidence that Flaubert knew or imitated the *Eclogues* in any detail is scanty, although some does exist (see especially p.140). Bearing these considerations in mind, it is unsurprising that direct influence upon the passage - as opposed to influence of atmosphere and general inspiration - appears to be minor; one element of the scene, however, does appear likely to be based on Theocritus. In the 1849 version (again, it is excised from that of 1856), shortly after the exchange cited above, the woman's discourse becomes more seductive: "Tu mettras ta bouche sur mon cou et tu baiseras mon sein nu; il est dur comme une grenade et blanc comme la lune" (*OC*I, p.431). These details appear to owe something to a passage of Theocritus' eleventh *Idyll*, a comic evocation of Polyphemus' love for the nymph Galatea; we have already seen evidence (above, pp.69-70) that Flaubert knew this poem, and alluded to it in a letter. In lines 19-21 of the poem, Polyphemus lists his love's attributes as follows:

> "λευκοτέρα πακτᾶς προτιδεῖν, ἀπαλωτέρα ἀρνός,
> μόσχῳ γαυροτέρα, φιαρωτέρα ὄμφακος ὠμᾶς;"[53].

The Greek evidently contains the idea of the woman's whiteness, without

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53 "whiter than curd,to look on, softer than the lamb, more skittish than the calf, sleeker than the unripe grape" (trans. Gow).

specifically applying it, as Flaubert does, to her breast, although the point of comparison is different (Flaubert may have wished to abandon the rather rustic point of comparison, cream cheese; it is also possible that his lunar imagery somewhat anticipates the next scene of the 'triptych', involving Diana, often associated with the moon); similarly present is the idea of firmness, this time with the point of comparison, a fruit, resembling that which Flaubert uses. Bearing in mind that Flaubert discovered Theocritus in the 1840s, shortly before writing the first version of *TSA*, it seems likely that his work is influential here. It is also arguable that one of Virgil's *Eclogues* has some influence, probably indirect, upon the portrayal of the shepherd. We have seen that the shepherd in Flaubert's work is a "pasteur à barbe longue"; that this detail may recall one in *Eclogue* 8, the first half of which is closely based on Theocritus' Polyphemus and Galatea. Here again, a shepherd laments his lover's disdain:

> "dumque tibi est odio mea fistula dumque capellæ
> hirsutumque supercilium promissaque barba"[54] (34-5).

The similarity to Flaubert's shepherd is more generic than specific, with the idea of hairiness in common, but some Virgilian influence may conceivably be at work here. On the whole, despite this scene's clearly biblical elements, it seems likely that some of its inspiration is owed to the Greco-Roman pastoral tradition, and there is evidence that it is intended, at least in the first version of *TSA*, to link the two scenes that precede and follow it. For, just as the classical elements of the Lampito and Courtesan scene are undeniable, so too are

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[54] "It's me she loathes - my flute, my goat flock, my uncouth face [literally 'hairy eyebrows'] with its long beard asprawl" (trans. Day Lewis).

those of the next scene, depicting Diana, goddess of hunting.

Relatively little attention has been paid to the 'Diana' scene. Bem (*op.cit.*, pp.152-63) indicates its obvious debt to the myth of Acteon, who was transformed into a stag and killed by his own hounds as a punishment for seeing Diana bathing; in Flaubert's 'retelling' of the legend, the metamorphosis is transferred to the subsequent scene, depicting Nebuchadnezzar's transformation into an ox. As with the previous scene, differences exist between the first and second versions of this tableau; indeed they are probably the most significant of all the variations in the 'triptych'. Whereas the 1856 version of *TSA* elucidates the identity of Tamar and Judah, it obscures Diana's: she is identified by name in the first version, but is merely "une jeune femme" (*OC*I, p.497) in the second; her attendant nymphs similarly become "d'autres femmes" (*ibid.*), although their description and the goddess' is similar in both. Moreover, in the 1856 version, the scene is evoked by Antoine's reminiscences of hunting during his own youth; no such rationalization features in the earlier version, which includes a lengthy description of a hunt and of the countryside. Broadly speaking, the scene's overtly classical elements are suppressed in the 1856 version (although this does not necessarily preclude that version's containing classical elements, possibly including new ones), just as the overtly biblical ones are emphasized in the previous scene. In the definitive version, of course, the scene is suppressed altogether; this is no doubt partly because in the final version's *épisode des dieux*, the goddess Diana not only features more prominently than in the equivalent parts of the 1849 and 1856 works (where she is merely alluded to), but also for the first time has a 'speaking part'. Effectively in the

final version, Flaubert is tidying his work by suppressing the main depiction of a classical goddess outside the *épisode des dieux*, this process arguably beginning in the second version of the work with Diana's effective depersonalization in this scene. However, in both the 1849 and 1856 versions of the scene, numerous classical intertexts are apparent.

Four such intertexts, known to Flaubert, spring to mind, themselves textually related: the story of Acteon in book three of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, (131-252, especially 143-93), two hunting scenes in Virgil's *Æneid* (1.314-37; 4.129-59) and the opening scene of Seneca's *Phædra*. Comparisons may be established between these texts and both the 1849 version and that of 1856, despite its less overtly classical status.

As already implied, there is considerable variation in this scene between the first and second versions of *TSA*. In the 1849 version, the vision of Diana is introduced by a hunt viewed by Antoine; in that of 1856, this is replaced by Antoine's reminiscences of hunting as a youth, rather than a direct evocation: these recollections, although they share elements with the scene in the earlier version, are considerably shorter. Both evocations, however - direct and indirect - share various features with the classical passages mentioned above. The time at which the hunts take place in several of the texts is similar: in the 1849 scene, a night apparently passes in a few sentences, between the phrase "Un côté du ciel blanchit, la nuit vient" and the statement, applied to Diana, that "la fraîcheur du matin a rendu rose sa figure ovale" (*OC*I, p.431)[55]; Flaubert seems to have in mind a hunt at, or shortly

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55 Given that the phenomenon apparently preceding the coming of night is a *lightening* of the sky, "la nuit vient" may in fact be an error on Flaubert's part, and the entire passage may take place at dawn.

before, dawn. Similarly, the hunting scene of *Æneid* 4 begins with a standard evocation of dawn - "Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit"[56] (129) - and in the opening to *Phædra*, Hippolytus' list of instructions to his companions includes the specific statement that the hounds should be allowed to track game,

> " dum lux dubia est,
> dum signa pedum roscida tellus
> impressa tenet"[57] (41-3).

Equally, the hunt's setting owes something to Flaubert's classical precursors: in the 1849 version, the setting is mountainous - "les montagnes disparaissent dans la vapeur qui monte des gorges" (*OC*I, p.431) - and in that of 1856, Antoine remembers "quand je courais sur les montagnes" (p.497). Again, this parallels the classical texts: the hunt in the *Æneid* begins "postquam altos ventum in montis atque invia lustra"[58] (4.151); in *Metamorphoses* 3, Acteon's story is introduced thus: "mons erat infectus variarum cæde ferarum"[59] (143); and again, in *Phædra*, Hippolytus instructs his companions to hunt in "summaque montis iuga Cecropii"[60] (2). A further point of comparison between the 1856 version of Antoine's memories and the classical texts

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[56] Roughly, "now, as Aurora was rising out of her ocean bed" (trans. Day Lewis).

[57] "while light is dim, while tracks of beasts imprint the dewy earth" (trans. Boyle).

[58] "When they had reached the mountains, the trackless haunt of game" (trans. Day Lewis).

[59] "There was a mountain stained with the slaughter of many kinds of beast" (trans. Hill).

[60] "Cecrops' mountain's highest ridge" (trans. Boyle).

occurs as he recalls the sounds of his youthful hunting forays: "la voix des chiens m'arrivait avec le bruit des torrents et le murmure du feuillage" (*OC*I, p.497). The sound of running water is paralleled in Ovid's phrase "fons sonat"[61] (3.161); and in *Phædra*, Hippolytus refers to places,

> " quæ Thriasiis
> vallibus amnis rapida currens
> verberat unda"[62] (5-7).

Similarly, the reference to "la voix des chiens" (itself perhaps a development from the first version's "L'écho vous apporte des bruits vagues") recalls the sound of Acteon's pack in pursuit of their master - "resonat latratibus æther"[63] (3.231) - and Hippolytus' phrase,

> " veniet tempus,
> cum latratu cava saxa sonent"[64] (37-8).

Broadly, it might be added that most of the hunting scenes in question take place in wooded country, with overall similarity of the quarry in several: the hunt in the 1849 version of *TSA* is in pursuit of "le cerf haletant" (*OC*I, p.431), and the young Antoine in the 1856 version hunted "les cerfs légers" (p.497); similarly, in the *Æneid*, some of the beasts hunted are *cervi*, 'stags' (4.154); in the *Metamorphoses*, Acteon is transformed into a stag; and in *Phædra*, Hippolytus includes "Cretæas... cervas", 'Cretan hinds' (60-1) in his list of potential quarries. The similarities between the evocation of hunts by Flaubert

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61 "there was the sound of a... spring" (trans. Hill).

62 "those too in Thria's vale which the racing stream lashes with swift waters" (trans. Boyle).

63 "the ether resounded with barking" (trans. Hill).

64 "time will come when the hollows sound with their bark" (trans. Boyle).

and that in several classical texts is striking, then; but this alone would probably not suffice to prove that this scene is influenced by such texts - the shared elements are, after all, fairly standard 'hunting' motifs - were it not for clearer parallels between the second part of the scene, where Antoine sees Diana bathing, and several of the same classical texts.

The pieces to which Flaubert owes most for the element of the scene involving Diana herself are the section from book one of Virgil's *Æneid* where Æneas meets his mother Venus disguised as a huntress (314-37), and, more obviously, once again, the story of Acteon in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. There is little or no debt to *Phædra*; although Diana is invoked in Hippolytus' opening speech, she is not physically described.

The scene with Diana comprises two sections: an evocation of the setting, different from that of the hunt described in the 1849 version; and a description of Diana herself and her attendant nymphs, with Antoine's reaction to the scene. Apart from the usual shortening in the 1856 version of the scene, and its already-mentioned depersonalization of Diana, there is little difference between the two versions of *TSA* at this point.

For the actual setting of the Diana-scene, some caution is necessary: Acteon is a favourite subject with painters of mythical scenes, and Flaubert's description may owe much to one of these. Nevertheless, his description of the setting is sufficiently similar to Ovid's for it to be reasonable to suspect some influence. Flaubert's scene takes place in "le fond de la vallée" (*OC*I, p.431), as does Ovid's ("vallis erat..."[65] [155]); Flaubert specifies:

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[65] "There was a valley..." (trans. Hill).

> "de grands feuillages entourent une eau tranquille étalée sur l'herbe fine. L'onde, qui cache ses bords sous des bandes étroites de gravier ou des touffes de cresson pareilles à des édredons verts, va se perdant parmi les troncs d'arbres..." (*OC*I, p.431)

Admittedly Flaubert's description continues considerably beyond this; but this basic setting is very similar to Ovid's. In his version of Acteon's story, too, the valley is full of trees (Flaubert's "grands feuillages" and "troncs d'arbres"), "piceis et acuta densa cupressu"[66] (3.155); Flaubert's "eau tranquille étalée sur l'herbe fine" (*OC*I, p.431) recalls several elements of Ovid's description, notably line 162 of his work, where the spring is "margine gramineo patulos incinctus hiatus"[67]. The basis at least of Flaubert's physical description of the setting seems very similar to Ovid's.

Diana appears accompanied by two dogs, and is described at some length. Flaubert writes that she is,

> "court vêtue. Elle marche en regardant derrière, son petit carquois lui bat sur le dos, elle tient un arc de la main gauche, le bas de sa tunique voltige sur sa cuisse ronde; la fraîcheur du matin a rendu rose sa figure ovale, couronnée de cheveux bruns humides" (*OC*I, p.431).

The possession of a quiver and a bow is a standard attribute of Diana in classical evocations, and features in Ovid's account (166, "pharetramque arcusque"); Diana's hair is also mentioned here (169, "sparsos per colla capillos"[68]). However, it seems arguable that Flaubert's description is closer to Virgil's of Venus disguised as a huntress. Although it is a different goddess being described, Æneas does ask at one point whether she is Phœbus' sister

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[66] "thick with spruce and tapering cypress trees" (*ibid.*).

[67] "with its spreading pool surrounded by a grassy bank" (*ibid.*).

[68] "her hair, which was streaming over her neck" (*ibid.*).

(i.e. Diana - *Æneid* 1.329: "an Phœbi soror?"); and her description likens her strongly to Diana; like Diana in Ovid, she is carrying a bow - "umeris de more habilem suspenderat arcum"[69] (318) - and quiver: she says, substantiating her supposed identity as a Carthaginian maiden, "virginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram"[70] (336). Attention is drawn to her hair also - "dederatque comam diffundere ventis"[71] (319); and her clothing resembles that of Flaubert's Diana: like her, she is *court vêtue*, and emphasis is placed upon the flesh thus exposed, "nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis"[72] (320). It seems possible that Flaubert's evocation of Diana herself owes something to one or both of these passages, both of which he certainly knew.

It would also seem that, although Antoine, unlike Acteon, is not directly punished, some of the incidents of Ovid's description of that punishment have nonetheless been incorporated into Flaubert's description of Diana. In Ovid's story, when Acteon sees her, one of Diana's means of concealing herself is to turn around, and in order to address Acteon, to turn her head - "oraque retro / flexit" (187-8); Flaubert has transferred this element to her first appearance, where, as we have seen, "Elle marche en regardant derrière" (*OC*I, p.431). Similarly, Flaubert's emphasis upon the nudity of Diana and the nymphs - "elles rient d'être nues" (*ibid.*) - necessary for the scene's erotic element, may

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69 "in huntress wise she had handily slung her bow from her shoulder" (trans. Day Lewis).

70 "it is the fashion for Tyrian girls to carry a quiver" (*ibid.*).

71 "and her hair was free to blow in the wind" (*ibid.*).

72 "bare-kneed, with the flowing folds of her dress kilted up and securely knotted" (*ibid.*).

derive from a similar emphasis in Ovid when they see Acteon, "sicut erant nudæ"[73] (178). Again, the detail of the nymphs splashing each other playfully with water - "elles... s'en jettent au visage" - recalls the water Diana uses in Ovid to place her curse upon Acteon, throwing it at his face:

> " hausit aquas vultumque virilem
> perfudit spargensque comas ultricibus undis"[74] (189-90).

Thus, although Flaubert chose not to transfer Acteon's punishment into *TSA*, he nonetheless does seem to have transplanted some elements of it from their original context into his own narrative.

It is finally worth mentioning briefly one other possible source for an element of this description - as with other instances of classical influence in *TSA*, the end result unites elements of many disparate texts. When Diana first appears, as we have seen, she is accompanied by two dogs. Although other sources may be operating here, this detail may owe something to book two of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, better known as the *Golden Ass*, a work Flaubert enjoyed immensely (and which is of some importance as a source later in *TSA*). Chapter 4 of this book contains a description of a statue of Diana and Acteon, depicting the goddess with two dogs: "canes utrimquesecus deæ latera muniunt"[75]. Apuleius' description of the statue seems in general to owe something to Ovid, although the dogs are a new element. Perhaps a

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[73] "naked... just as they were" (trans. Hill).

[74] "she drew... the water, and soaked the man's face and showered his hair with avenging streams" (*ibid.*).

[75] "there were dogs protecting both flanks of the goddess" (trans. J.Arthur Hanson, Loeb edition, 1989).

reference slightly later to the pool "discurrens in lenem... undam"[76] may have had some bearing upon Flaubert's phrase "une eau tranquille"; but Ovid's influence is greater than Apuleius' in this scene.

It seems clear, then, that to a greater or lesser degree, these three consecutive scenes, especially in the 1849 version of *TSA*, have varied classical sources, and that Flaubert deliberately introduced at this stage of the work a classical 'flavour'; in effect, all three are another example of the classical 'flashback' which seems to be common in *TSA*. This aspect remains in the 1856 version, although Flaubert seems to have consciously attempted to tone it down somewhat by this stage. Why this should be is unclear, but one possible explanation has already been proposed; just as Flaubert wished to avoid repeating himself in the later *épisode des dieux* by disguising Diana's identity in her 1856 appearance - and eventually by abandoning the scene altogether - it may be that he deliberately sought to excise overtly classical elements of his triptych in order to avoid its spoiling the effect of that arguably more important scene - in some ways the centrepiece of the whole work.

(vi) The *épisode des dieux*

The *épisode des dieux* is common, and arguably central, to all three versions of *TSA* (*OC*I, pp.454-70, 509-20, 551-63), although its presentation and position vary substantially from version to version. Its importance is reflected by the amount of study accorded it; in her work, Bem analyses thoroughly the

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[76] "that runs along... in a gentle wave" (*ibid.*).

changes between the three versions (interestingly, she finds that the only new 'god' in the definitive version is Buddha; other gods may attain a new degree of importance, for instance by gaining a 'speaking part' for the first time, but they have always featured in earlier versions); and Seznec, of course, devotes an entire work to a meticulous investigation of the episode's sources (see n.52 above). He well summarizes the key elements of the changing significance of the episode in the three versions:

> "En 1849, la seule pensée qu'inspire à saint Antoine la vision des dieux en l'agonie, c'est que «puisqu'ils sont passés, le sien passera». En 1856, il raisonne davantage, il esquisse certains rapprochements. En 1874, Hilarion lui fait un véritable cours de mythologie comparée" (*op.cit.*, p.11).

It is nonetheless with the sources of the first version of the episode only that Seznec engages, although clearly many apply to one or both of the subsequent versions. Most of his conclusions are incontestable, although one may expand on them; it is, however, indispensible to outline them to some degree here. Obviously of all the sections of the *épisode des dieux*, which include evocations of primitive idols, Zoroaster and the gods of Norse mythology, the most important for this study are those evoking the Olympian and Latin gods, although those depicting the gods of Egypt also have some significance.

Such is the breadth of Seznec's findings regarding the sources of the *épisode des dieux* that they cannot be summarized briefly; it is, however, appropriate to give a brief outline. As mentioned, his work concentrates on the 1849 version of the episode, which as usual is the longest of the three equivalent sections; however, despite considerable differences in the two versions' structure, it is also relevant to the 1874 episode. For the Egyptian

gods, mainly represented in 1849 by the ox-god Apis, Seznec (*op.cit.*, pp.71-7) suggests Creuzer's *Les Religions de l'antiquité* as an obvious source; Strabo and Diodorus as possible sources of minor details; and Herodotus, an author whose influence on *TSA* was detected earlier (see above, pp.155-6) as a major source. Most features of Apis' appearance and attributes, described in the text and revealed in the god's dialogue can be traced to chapters 27-9 of Herodotus' third book, which also contains the supposedly historical detail of the Persian king Cambyses' wounding the Apis-ox - hence the reference (*OC*I, p.458) to "la blessure que m'a faite Cambyse". Further data Flaubert uses derive from chapters 38-40 of Herodotus' second book, on Egypt; these are principally the details of sacrifices to Apis.

In a general introduction (*op.cit.*, pp.78-87) to his section on the Olympian gods, Seznec, drawing upon the 1874 bibliographical list, suggests as obvious sources for Flaubert's information Creuzer once again, and Greek or Latin authors including Pausanias, Lucian, Macrobius, Aulus-Gellius, Apuleius, Ælian and Pliny; to these he adds, from evidence in Flaubert's *Correspondance*, Herodotus, Plutarch, Tacitus, Quintus Curtius, Homer, Æeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Virgil, Horace and Lucretius; he finally suggests, from other evidence, that Juvenal and Plautus may also be sources. From findings earlier in this study, most of these conclusions seem justified, including the tentative mention of Juvenal and Plautus; the sheer length of this list shows the range of documentation on which Flaubert drew for his work.

More specifically, Seznec suggests (pp.88-96) various sources for the pre-Jupiter gods and goddesses: Uranus, Earth, Saturn and Rhea. For the

evocation of primeval times by Uranus and Earth, Seznec detects several paraphrases of parts of books five and six of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* with their evocations of primitive man. For elements of the gods' genealogy, and aspects of the descriptions of primitive ways of life, in Saturn's and Rhea's speeches, Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and days* are major sources, with slight influence exercised by the works of Juvenal and Macrobius. Interestingly, another minor source suggested for this section is from book one of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*[77], already suggested as an important influence (pp.95-7 above) in Flaubert's earlier description of primitive days in *Smarh*, although the specific line here was not considered a source in that instance.

For Jupiter's description and speech, (*op.cit.*, pp.96-101), Seznec considers Creuzer an important source, especially in the facts of the god's attributes. Among ancient sources, he pinpoints several Homeric and Hesiodic epithets - "Poséidon tumultueux" (*OC*I, p.460) in Jupiter's speech recalls the Hesiodic epithet ἐρίκτυπος, while the evocation of the sea surrounding the earth recalls the Homeric γαιήοχος. Books ten and eleven of Pausanias' *Description of Greece* influence the evocation of Phidias' statue of Jupiter, while Suetonius (*Caligula* 57) is a source for the story of Caligula's attempts to move another of the god's statues. Horace also emerges as a source for Jupiter's final boast, "Tout entier cependant je ne descendrai pas dans le Tartare": Seznec suggests that this mirrors Horace's

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77 Line 96, "nullaque mortales præter sua litora norant" ("and mortals knew no shores besides their own" [trans. Hill]) closely parallels Flaubert's "le laboureur ne savait pas qu'il y eût des mers, ni le pêcheur des plaines" (*OC*I, p.459).

"non omnis moriar multaque pars mei
vitabit Libitinam"[78] (*Odes* 3.30.6-7);

this coincides with other sections of this study which have posited Horace as a source for various parts of Flaubert's juvenilia. Seznec (*op.cit.* pp.101-5) considers the sources of Juno to be Pausanias' *Description of Greece* and Hesiod's *Theogony* for the goddess' appearance, with her quarrel with Jupiter recalling elements of Lucian's *Dialogi deorum*; here again, though, Homer is a major source. The appellation "Fils de Saturne", applied in Juno's speech to Jupiter, and her own characteristics of "bras blancs" and "grands yeux" (*OC*I, pp.460-1) recall the Homeric epithets *Κρονίδη*, *λευκώλενος* and *βοῶπις*; and her choice of mount Ida (p.460) as the setting for her seduction of Jupiter derives from Homer's similar scene between the two deities in book fourteen of the *Iliad*.

Seznec (*op.cit.*, pp.106-9) considers Creuzer's work the main source for Minerva, although the references in her speech to "les sucs de Médée" and "Circé la lascive" (*OC*I, p.461) may have their origins in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (7.152 and 215; 14.25-7); equally, her reference to the Calydonian boar recalls Pausanias, and her mention of "mon palmier de Delphes" and of gold may derive from Callimachus' *Hymns* to Apollo and to Delos. Mars (*op.cit.*, pp.109-11) recalls, like Juno, various elements of the *Iliad* - specifically, the appearance and actions of the god Ares, his Greek equivalent, in books three, five, six and eleven of that work. Ceres (pp.112-4) is drawn mainly from information provided by Creuzer, with some debt to Pausanias for the detail of

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[78] "I shall not all die, and a great part of me shall escape the goddess of funerals" (trans. Williams).

Neptune's pursuit of her, and a few items taken from Aristophanes. Neptune's speech similarly (pp.114-7) owes much to Creuzer, with some details from Pausanias and Hesiod's *Works and days*. Interestingly, Horace's *Odes* 3 again provides some details here: Neptune's complaint (*OC*l, p.462) that "on m'a serré les côtes avec des digues de pierre" derives from the first ode of that book:

> "contracta pisces æquora sentiunt
> iactis in altum molibus"[79] (33-4).

Neptune's memory of his "Néréides aux cheveux verts" (*OC*l, p.462) is based closely upon ode 28 of the book, "Neptunum et viridis Nereidum comas"[80] (10). Seznec also persuasively argues for the attribution of the god's lengthy description of a storm at sea ("A chaque flot... dans les cordages", *OC*l, p.462) to similar tableaux in books one of Virgil's *Æneid* and eleven of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, itself based upon the earlier text, and whose influence is thus difficult to separate from Virgil's; certainly relatively specific details, such as the reference to "Eole et tous les vents" are owed to definite lines of the classical texts. Seznec attributes (*op.cit.*, pp.118-24) Flaubert's depiction of Hercules mainly to Creuzer and to Moreri's *Dictionary*, although some apparent references are made to Diodorus and books nine and ten of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

For the Syrian, Phrygian and Phœnician gods (principally Adonis, Cybele and Attis), Seznec detects (pp.123-40), besides considerable

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[79] "the fish feel their waters contract, as piles are driven down into the deep" (*ibid.*).

[80] "Neptune and the green locks of the Nereids" (*ibid.*); for two earlier allusions to this source by Flaubert, see above, pp.139, 222-3.

information from Creuzer, numerous classical sources. Specifically, much of the tableau depicting Adonis' worshippers derives from Theocritus' fifteenth *Idyll*, which describes a festival in that god's honour; there is possibly also some reference to the story of Adonis told in book ten of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and to Plutarch's *Lives* of Alcibiades and Nicias. The procession of Cybele is very closely based upon Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 8.25-30, where the hero, Lucius, whose transformation into and adventures as an ass constitute the plot of the work, temporarily belongs to some unsavoury priests of Cybele; for the priest's enumeration of Cybele's attributes, Flaubert seems to have utilized the hymn to Isis in *Metamorphoses* 11.25. A few details of Cybele's cult derive from passages from book two of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, with Lucian's *De Syria dea* providing numerous details for the description of the goddess' temple. The brief reference to Attis - who in the 1849 and 1856 versions of *TSA* does not speak - is ascribed to Creuzer, and more generally to the obvious classical source, Catullus' sixty-third poem, about Attis (for further discussion of this possible influence, see below; the idea of Attis' divinity was probably supplied by Creuzer's work: in Catullus, he is depicted as purely mortal). Finally in this section, "Dercéto de Babylone" (*OC*I, p.465) is mentioned not only by Creuzer, but also briefly by Diodorus and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.44-5 ("Babylonia... / Derceti, quam versa squamis velantibus artus"[81]).

Creuzer excepted, the main classical source Seznec adduces for the Dianas and gods of Latium (*op.cit*, pp.141-9) is Pausanias. Death's

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81 "Dercetis of Babylon, who... changed her shape and covered her limbs in scales" (trans. Hill).

description of Apollo is also mainly attributed to Creuzer (pp.152-4), although some attributes probably derive from Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, Pausanias and Athenæus. Bacchus too owes much to Creuzer (pp.155-9), with some reference made to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, books three, four and six and to Catullus' sixty-fourth poem, addressed to Bacchus. Seznec believes (pp.160-4) that Flaubert's evocation of the dispossessed Muses is of a very personal nature, owing little to any outside source: "Flaubert y exhale sa propre nostalgie de l'art et de la poésie antiques, et son propre dégoût des temps modernes" (p.160). He nonetheless concedes that the Muses' phrase, addressed to Death, that, "Nous t'avons célébrée autrefois, lorsque nous ciselions les tombeaux et que nous immortalisions les grandes batailles" (*OC*I, p.467), may allude to the Muses' lamentations over Achilles' death in book twenty-four of the *Odyssey* and invocations to them at the beginning of warlike epics such as the *Iliad*. Minor allusions to the works of Herodotus, Apollonius Rhodius and Macrobius are also suggested.

For the depiction of Venus, Seznec suggests (*op.cit*, pp.165-8) Creuzer again as a major source, with some influence exerted by Apuleius' evocation of the goddess in the 'Cupid and Psyche' section of his *Metamorphoses* (4.28 and 30); Cupid (*op.cit*, pp.169-72) has similar sources, with *Metamorphoses* 5.30 being specified. Seznec believes (pp.173-6) the depiction of the Lares derives principally from Creuzer, with some allusions to the passages in book one of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* where the termination of the Golden Age and its high standards of morality and hospitality is described. Finally, although the existence of the god Crepitus, to Flaubert's chagrin, may be doubtful, his attributes may include allusions to Aristophanes, Herodotus, Pliny, Ovid's *Fasti*

and Suetonius, for the reference to the emperor Claudius. Here, Flaubert is using Suetonius and other writers much as he did in his evocation of Apollonius of Tyana: taking an original text with no direct reference to his immediate subject, but moulding it so that it becomes relevant to his work.

Seznec's work on the 1849 *épisode des dieux* is undeniably thorough, and requires very little correction. It is possible, however, to extend his conclusions slightly. Firstly, there may be room for developing on his various references to Virgil's *Æneid*. We have seen that in the tableau of Neptune, the description of the storm may owe much to a passage of *Æneid* 1; there is no mention, however, of book eight, whose influence upon the *épisode des dieux* may be considerable. It is possible that Hercules' words "j'ai tué Geryon qui avait trois corps, et Cacus, fils de Vulcain, qui vomissait des flammes" (*OC*I, p.462), besides being influenced by Moreri, may also allude to a passage of book eight (184-267) where the story of Hercules' victory over Cacus, upon return from his expedition against Geryon, is told. The descriptions of the two monsters are very close to Flaubert's: Geryon is called *tergeminus* (202), 'triform', while we are told of Cacus,

> "huic monstro Volcanus erat pater: illius atros
> ore vomens ignis magna se mole ferebat"[82] (198-9).

The details are identical to Flaubert's, with even some textual similarity between the words "vomissait" and "vomens"; admittedly, similar points apply to Moreri's text. Earlier in the *épisode des dieux*, the god Mars mentions "mes Saliens qui dansaient d'un pas lourd en frappant leurs boucliers" (*OC*I, p.461).

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[82] "This ogre was the son of Vulcan; as he moved in titan bulk, he breathed out his father's deadly flame" (trans. Day Lewis).

Seznec attributes this description of an order of priests of Mars to a passage of Creuzer; however, again, a passage of *Æneid* 8 may be relevant here. Towards the end of the book, Vulcan, at Venus' request, makes Æneas a shield depicting scenes of Roman culture and history, including a picture of the "exsultantis Salios"[83] (663). Perhaps the most suggestive reference to *Æneid* 8 occurs still earlier in the episode, during Saturn's speech (*OC*I, p.459). In book eight, Saturn is said to have ruled over Latium, in Italy, during the Golden Age; this is evoked in the god's speech in *TSA*, beginning, "Autrefois, c'était le bon temps, le regard de l'homme était pacifique comme celui des bœufs". In the *Æneid*, Virgil recounts that having found in his flight from Jupiter "genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis"[84] (321), Saturn brought about a situation where "placida populos in pace regebat"[85] (325); this seems quite close to the situation described in *TSA*. It seems reasonable to conclude that, taking this influence together with that identified by Seznec, and allusions elsewhere in Flaubert's work, the *Æneid* represents a major source for *TSA*.

As mentioned above, Seznec considers Creuzer the principal source in Flaubert's portrayal of the god Cupid (*OC*I, p.468), although he does not find a specific reference for every aspect of the god's appearance, as he does for some others. The only classical intertext he admits is Apuleius'

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83 "the dancing Salii" (*ibid.*). *Salii* is etymologically associated with the Latin verb *salio*, 'to leap or jump'.

84 "this intractable folk scattered among the hills" (*ibid.*).

85 "so peacefully serene were the lives of his subjects" (*ibid.*). Lewis translates this freely: the literal meaning is, "he ruled over the people in peaceful tranquility".

Metamorphoses; but even this he considers relevant only in the description of Cupid's torch and the god's plaintive "Où est donc ma Psyché?". Apuleius' influence seems, however, to go beyond this. Between chapter 28 of his fourth book and chapter 24 of his sixth, Apuleius indulges in the longest and best-known of his many digressions, telling the story of the romance between the human girl Psyche and the god Cupid. It is in effect a fairy story, sharing elements with *Beauty and the beast*, *Cinderella* and others. Cupid as represented in it is far removed from the ridiculous figure that Flaubert, reacting to later, more romantic portrayals, makes of him; however, many elements of Apuleius' depiction are incorporated in Flaubert's tableau.

Cupid appears in *TSA* as a god in a lamentable state: "la figure écarlate de fard...". This detail may owe something to a passage in Apuleius (5.22) where Psyche, overcome by curiosity, breaks a rule that she must not look at her husband. Among the attributes of the sleeping god as she gazes at him are his "genas[que] purpureas" - 'rosy cheeks'; the same attribute, albeit in a different context, as in Flaubert's work. The same passage mentions Cupid's "crinium globos decoriter impeditos"[86]; these resemble the "cheveux frisés" of Cupid's description of himself in happier times. In his speech, Cupid lists his misfortunes: notably, he has lost the symbolic items that provided his power: "mon flambeau s'est éteint, j'ai perdu mes flèches, j'ai mal au pied, j'ai mal à la tête, j'ai mal au cœur...". It is as if he has suffered the punishments which, in Apuleius, his mother Venus, furious at his love for Psyche, whom she considers her rival, wishes upon him: "pharetram explicet et sagittas dearmet,

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[86] "the neatly shackled ringlets of his locks" (trans. Hanson).

arcum enodet, tædam deflammet, immo et ipsum corpus eius acrioribus remediis coerceat"[87] (5.30). It is possible that the general tone of Venus' complaint in the definitive version of *TSA* that "C'est l'Amour qui m'a déshonorée" (*OC*I, p.561 - the only remaining reference to Cupid in that version) may owe something to the overall tenor of this passage, where the goddess' complaint is similar. If so, it is a development upon a similar accusation by Venus in the 1849 version (p.467), where she accuses "Besoin" and "jouissance immonde" of dishonouring her.

Cupid goes on in *TSA* to recall his former power: "je me jouais dans l'Olympe avec les attributs des dieux... je jouais avec le lyre d'Apollon, la massue d'Hercule et le sceptre même de Jupiter". This parallels several passages of Apuleius. In 4.33, a riddling oracle calls Cupid a monster "quod tremit ipse Iovis, quo numina terrificantur"[88]; in 6.22, Jupiter himself addresses Cupid respectfully: "istud pectus meum... convulneraris assiduis ictibus"[89]. This passage of Apuleius may additionally have had some influence upon Jupiter's speech in *TSA*: there, the supreme god lists his transformations in search of mortal lovers, "in serpentes, in ignes, in feras, in aves et gregalia pecua"[90]. Not dissimilarly, Jupiter (*OC*I, p.460) recounts his transformations: "Taureau, cygne, pluie d'or, aigle". Although the items in the list are mostly

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87 Speaking of Sobrietas (Temperance),"[I want her to] dismantle his quiver and disarm his arrows, unknot his bow, defuse his torch, yes and even curb his body with harsher medicines" (*ibid.*).

88 "[which] makes Jove himself quake and the gods tremble" (*ibid.*).

89 "[you] have wounded my heart with repeated blows" (*ibid.*).

90 "into snakes, flames, beasts, birds and herd-cattle" (*ibid.*).

different, the idea behind them is similar, and Flaubert may have had Apuleius in mind at this point, as well as in his evocation of Cupid[91]. Finally in this respect in *TSA*, Death accuses Cupid of being too insipid for the taste of the present world: "Tu lui as agacé les dents avec le sirop de ta tendresse". This image may owe something to Venus' words to her son as she beseeches him to punish Psyche for her beauty: she appeals to him "per flammæ istius mellitas uredines"[92] (4.31). Certainly there is some parallelism between the two phrases.

Apuleius' overall influence upon Cupid's tableau in the *épisode des dieux*, and marginally upon other aspects of it, is unmistakable. It seems likely that Flaubert was familiar with the author by the time he wrote the first version of *TSA*; although the first enthusiastic reference to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in his letters occurs only in the early 1850s (see above, pp.50-1), Apuleius is mentioned in *Rabelais*, a work of late 1838 or early 1839 (see pp.14-15); Flaubert was probably familiar with his works, possibly thanks to Le Poittevin, even at that early stage.

Although Seznec's work does not deal directly with the *épisode des dieux* in *TSA*III (*OC*I, pp.551-63), that version of the episode is sufficiently similar in structure and substance to permit the assumption of broadly similar sources for both; Creuzer's work thus remains crucially important. One

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91 A list of Jupiter's disguises occurs also in *TSA*III, in *Juno's* speech (*OC*I, p.559): "Aigle, taureau, cygne, pluie d'or, nuage et flamme...". It is in fact the same list, with *aigle* brought to the front, and "nuage et flamme" added; this reinforces the view that much of what can be said of sources for the first version of the *épisode des dieux* applies also to the definitive version.

92 "by your flame's honey-sweet scorchings" (*ibid.*).

interesting new source suggested for it by Jacques Heuzey in the article already referred to (see above, n.25), is his grandfather, Léon Heuzey's 1860 thesis *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*; this largely historico-geographical work, he claims, was a useful source for Flaubert's evocation of Mount Olympus itself (*OC*I, p.558).

There is much evidence of continuity in and extension of sources between the three versions of the *épisode des dieux*; there is very little proof, despite Heuzey's article, that Flaubert discovered many new ones. One element of continuity is the retention of Homeric influence. Admittedly, this is not merely a question of Flaubert's drawing upon the same passages, sometimes in different ways - although this does happen: Juno's "grands yeux" (see above, p.200) have become "gros yeux" (*OC*I, p.558), and been transferred from her speech to the initial description of her; but they are presumably still based, as Seznec maintains, on the Homeric epithet *βοῶπις*. Homer's influence has, indeed, extended slightly; a new Homeric epithet appears in the description of Minerva, who has "yeux glauques" (*ibid.*), based on the Homeric phrase *γλαυκῶπις*. During Jupiter's speech (p.559), Flaubert writes, "Hébé en pleurs lui présente une coupe"; similarly, in *Iliad* 4,

> " μετὰ δέ σφισι πότνια Ἥβη
> νέκταρ ἐωνοχόει"[93] (2-3).

Again, Pluto's "les Kères étendaient leurs ongles pour retenir les âmes" (*OC*I, p.560) may have a Homeric origin: the word *Κήρ*, meaning 'fate' but with the implication of 'death', 'doom' or 'demon' (as used by Pluto) occurs frequently in Homer.

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[93] "graciously Hebe served them nectar" (trans. Fitzgerald).

Pluto's speech also conatins evidence of Horace's continued influence upon Flaubert. Pluto begins his speech by accusing Hercules of engineering his downfall by entering Tartarus - "C'est ta faute, Amphitryonade!". He goes on to list the effects of Hercules' invasion, including the following:

> "Le vautour qui mange les entrailles de Tityos releva la tête, Tantale eut la lèvre mouillée, la roue d'Ixion s'arrêta.
>
> "Cependant, les Kères étendaient leurs ongles pour retenir les âmes; les Furies en désespoir tordaient les serpents de leurs chevelures; et Cerbère, attaché par toi avec une chaîne, râlait en bavant de ses trois gueules" (*ibid.*).

This passage recalls quite closely one in book three - again - of Horace's *Odes*, already tentatively suggested as a source for a passage in *Smarh* (see above, pp.89-90). It recounts the effects of Orpheus' descent into Hades:

> "cessit immanis tibi blandienti
> ianitor aulæ,
>
> Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum
> muniant angues caput eius atque
> spiritus teter saniesque manet
> ore trilingui.
>
> quin et Ixion Tityosque voltu
> risit invito, stetit urna paulum
> sicca, dum grato Danai puellas
> carmine mulces"[94] (11.15-24).

Not only is the overall idea of the passage broadly similar; so too are several of the characters evoked: Tityos (although unlike Flaubert, Horace does not go into details of his punishment), and Cerberus, who in both passages slavers (indeed, "en bavant de ses trois gueules" is almost a direct translation of

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[94] "to you, as you soothed him, the janitor of the vast hall gave way, Cerberus - though a hundred snakes may fortify his fearful head and foul breath and venom flow from his triple-tongued mouth. Yes, even Ixion and Tityos smiled with unwilling faces, and the urn stood for a time dry as you won the daughters of Danaus with a delightful song" (trans. Williams).

"saniesque manet / ore trilingui"); his serpentine locks in Horace are transferred to Flaubert's Furies. Another passage of Horace's *Odes* may in fact provide other material: dealing with a similar situation, the thirteenth poem of book two contains the following passage:

> "quid mirum, ubi illis carminibus stupens
> demittit atras belua centiceps
> aures et intorti capillis
> Eumenidum recreantur angues?
>
> quin et Prometheus et Pelopis parens
> dulci laborum decipitur sono"[95] (33-8).

Here again, another figure in Pluto's speech, Tantalus, appears; the Furies are actually described, with serpentine hair, as in Flaubert, and although the snakes when described are quiescent, their normal state is *intorti*, semantically close to Flaubert's "tordaient"; and here, as with the Danaids in the previous passage, Horace introduces the idea of Tantalus' torments' briefly ceasing. Although the situations Flaubert and Horace describe are different, and the reactions of the denizens of hell, as opposed to the souls in torment, markedly so, nonetheless Horace's *Odes* do seem to be a major source for this speech. Also influenced by them is Apollo's speech (*OC*I, p.561). This god is more forceful than the wan figure of the 1849 and 1856 versions, and claims for himself a form of immortality: "j'aurai des poèmes sublimes, des monuments éternels". This clearly recalls one of Horace's poems adduced by Seznec as a source for Jupiter's speech (see above, pp.199-200), the thirtieth and final ode of book three, which opens with the

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95 "What wonder, when lulled by such strains, the hundred-headed monster [*sic* - the number of Cerberus' heads varied according to metrical requirements] lowers his black ears, and the serpents writhing in the locks of the Furies stop for rest! Yea, even Prometheus and Pelops' sire [Tantalus] are beguiled of their sufferings by the soothing sound" (trans. Bennet).

resounding line, "exegi monumentum ære perennius"[96], referring, like Apollo, to the author's poetic work. Thus, it seems that Horace's influence, like Homer's, not only persists, but broadens in *TSA*III.

A similar process is apparent where Herodotus' influence is concerned. Various sections of his work have featured as intertexts for parts of *TSA* (see above, pp.155-6, 198) including the tableau of Apis in the *épisode des dieux* of the two earlier versions of the work. In the definitive version, however, Apis, like Cupid, is reduced to a brief allusion, "Apis, depuis longtemps, n'a pas reparu" (*OC*I, p.558). This occurs in the discourse of the Egyptian deity who replaces him, the goddess Isis; and much of the factual detail of her discourse derives, again, from Herodotus. Much of it is, of course, difficult to trace to a source - general references to the Pyramids, for instance - and much of the religious detail presumably derives from Creuzer. However, one might suggest that Isis' reference to Egypt's having "son labyrinthe au milieu" (p.557) is from Herodotus' description of such a labyrinth in chapter 148 of his second book. Deeper, however, is Herodotus' influence upon one specific paragraph at approximately the middle of Isis' speech, which should be quoted in full:

> "Les animaux de son zodiaque se retrouvaient dans ses pâturages, emplissaient de leurs formes et de leurs couleurs son écriture mystérieuse. Divisée en douze régions comme l'année l'est en douze mois, - chaque mois, chaque jour ayant son dieu, - elle reproduisait l'ordre immuable du ciel; et l'homme en expirant ne perdait pas sa figure; mais saturé de parfums, devenu indestructible, il allait dormir pendant trois mille ans dans une Egypte silencieuse" (*ibid.*).

Many elements of this paragraph occur in Herodotus' second book, albeit at widely-separated intervals. Towards its start, Herodotus asserts that Egyptian

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[96] "I have created a memorial more lasting than bronze" (trans. Williams).

priests told him that,

> "πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ἐξευρεῖν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, δυώδεκα μέρεα δασαμένους τῶν ὡρέων ἐς αὐτόν· ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἄστρων"[97] (4.1).

Here the idea of the twelve months reproducing "l'ordre immuable du ciel" occurs. The further detail of Egypt's division into twelve regions, although not overtly connected with the twelve months of the year, is from the same book:

> "οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέος διαιτᾶσθαι, ἐστήσαντο δυώδεκα βασιλέας, δυώδεκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν"[98] (147.2).

It is stated that these twelve kings built the labyrinth to which Flaubert alludes. Elsewhere in book two is the detail that the Egyptians had a god for each month and day: "μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἑκάστη θεῶν ὅτευ ἐστί"[99] (82.1). For the latter part of the paragraph, concerning the immortality conferred by embalming, Herodotus is apparently again a source: the idea that the embalmed man is "saturé de parfums" presumably derives from Herodotus' report that the embalmers fill the bodies of the dead with cedar oil (2.87). Finally, although the figure of 3,000 years for the amount of time for which the embalmed sleep may result simply from an assumption that the period Flaubert evokes was some 3,000 years before his own time, it may also be based on Herodotus' exposition of the Egyptian theory of reincarnation

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97 "[they said] that the Egyptians were the first of mankind to invent the year and to make twelve divisions of the seasons for it. They said that this invention of the year was based on the stars" (trans. Grene).

98 "they could not live a day without a king; so they set up twelve of them and divided all Egypt into twelve provinces" (*ibid.*).

99 "[They find] each month and each day belongs to a god, whichever he may be" (*ibid.*).

(2.123). He says of the human soul:

> "ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὖτις ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνειν, τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι"[100].

The theory itself differs greatly from Isis' speech, but that passage may nonetheless provide the figure. Overall, then, this section is strongly influenced by Herodotus.

A similar change of balance to that between Apis and Isis occurs in the definitive version's *épisode des dieux* in the Cybele-Atys tableau. In the previous versions of the episode, Atys (Attis in the 1849 version) had a non-speaking rôle; as has been seen, Seznec attributed his brief appearance to Creuzer, with a tentative suggestion that Catullus might have been involved; moreover, although Attis appeared directly after Cybele, he was not explicitly connected with her in the earlier versions, as he is in the definitive. The most important development in the definitive version, however, is that Atys speaks. Some of his words can be attributed to Catullus; moreover, one may argue that that author's influence on the earlier versions was greater than Seznec allowed.

In those earlier versions, the high priest of Cybele states that the goddess is "assise entre deux lions" (*OC*I, pp.464, 516). Seznec does not ascribe this a source, but it seems possible that it derives from Catullus' statement (63.76) that her chariot is pulled by lions. Her worship is associated with percussion instruments - "Frappez du tambourin! sonnez des cymbales

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100 "and when it has gone through all things, of land and sea and the air, it creeps again into a human body at birth. The cycle for the soul is, they say, three thousand years" (*ibid.*).

claires!" (*OC*I, p.464 - a similar phrase occurs on page 516); Seznec ascribes this phrase to Lucian, but it seems as likely that Catullus 63 is the source, with phrases such as,

> "niveis citata cepit manibus leve tympanum
> tympanum tuum, Cybebe[101]..." (8-9)
>
> "leve tympanum remugit, cava cymbala recrepant"[102] (29).

In the 1849 version, when Attis appears (*OC*I, p.465), the Devil states that "il court tout furieux" - again, Seznec does not ascribe this a source; however, it recalls the repetitive use of *citus*, 'swift', and cognate words in Catullus' poem and the phrase of line 89 "illa demens fugit"[103]; similar sources may be adduced for the 1874 version's statement (*OC*I, p.556) that Atys "se met à courir furieux". In all three versions, the use of the term "Archi-Galle" for Cybele's priest may recall Catullus' *Gallæ*.

Catullus' demonstrable influence in the 1849 and 1856 versions of the *épisode des dieux* is thus greater than Seznec implies; and, although some of the passages referred to above are absent from the definitive version, this influence does seem to increase in that version. The acknowledgement of a connection between Attis and Cybele and the actual presentation of Attis' self-emasculation as it were 'on stage', as it happens in Catullus' poem, lends weight to this extension of influence. For the first time too, Attis' action is given,

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101 *sic* - the goddess' name had two Latin forms, which Catullus uses interchangeably.

102 "in snow-white hand she [Attis, recently emasculated, so feminine in gender] swiftly seized the light tambourine, your tambourine, Cybébe"; "the light tambourine was thumping, the hollow cymbals clanged" (trans. Guy Lee, Oxford, O.U.P., 1990).

103 "she [Attis again], demented, runs off" (*ibid.*).

in his speech, some sort of motivation: "Ma virilité me fait horreur!" (*OC*I, p.556), recalling Catullus' similar explanation, that Attis acts "Veneris nimio odio"[104] (17). It might be added that the use for the first time of the word *tympanons* in the Archi-Galle's speech is a move towards the Latin term for 'tambourine'. Another instance of close textual imitation arises when Attis castrates himself "avec une pierre tranchante" (*OC*I, p.556) - virtually a translation of "acuto silice" (5). Finally, Cybele's reference to famine - "la famine ravageait les campagnes"(*OC*I, p.556) - may be influenced by the phrase "sine Cerere"[105] at line 38 of Catullus' poem, although this merely denotes the hunger of Attis and his companions. The only difficulty in ascribing such extensive influence to Catullus is that he is among the few well-known Latin authors not to feature at length in Flaubert's correspondence, or any of the other normal sources of information about his reading. However, it is tempting to connect the poet's increased rôle in the 1874 version - whose composition was begun in the late 1860s - with the one letter that does mention him[106], in which Flaubert thanks Alfred Canel for the translation of Catullus that Canel recently sent him.

Finally on the definitive *épisode des dieux*, it is worth indicating a phrase of the goddess Diana's speech (*OC*I, p.560) - she too here speaks for the first time - with a number of possible classical antecedents. Among the omens of her imminent dissolution, the goddess mentions the following: "La

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104 "through excessive hatred of Venus [i.e. of sex]" (*ibid.*).

105 "without Ceres [i.e. food]" (*ibid.*).

106 Letter 1515, [Croisset, 8th December 1867].

lune tremble sous l'incantation des sorcières". The superstition that witches - usually Thessalian - could affect the moon, or even pull it from the sky, was widespread in ancient times, and is outlined in several texts that Flaubert probably knew. In Virgil's eighth *Eclogue*, for instance (see above, p.187), the phrase "carmina vel cælo possunt deducere lunam"[107] occurs (70), and Horace's fifth *Epode* contains lines evoking a witch,

> "quæ sidera excantata voce Thessala
> lunamque cælo deripit"[108] (45-6).

The superstition is not restricted to the Romans; Plato, in *Gorgias* 513 refers to "τὰς τὴν σελήνην καθαιρούσας τας Θετταλίδας"[109]. But arguably the most interesting possible source for this reference is one already mentioned concerning scenes connected with Diana in this chapter: Seneca's *Phædra*. In lines 406-23 of that play, Phædra's nurse offers a prayer to Diana, asking the goddess to soften Hippolytus' attitude towards her mistress. Among the wishes she makes to propitiate Diana is the following:

> "sic te regentem frena nocturni ætheris
> detrahere numquam Thessali cantus queant"[110] (420-1).

It may also be said that one of the fates that she hopes Diana will avoid -

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[107] "magic spells can inveigle the moon from the sky" (trans. Day Lewis).

[108] "who with Thessalian incantations bewitches stars and moon and plucks them down from heaven" (trans. Bennett).

[109] "the women who draw down the moon, the Thessalian women" (trans. Terence Irwin, Oxford, O.U.P. 1979).

[110] "so as you manage the heaven's night reins may Thessaly's chants never pull you down" (trans. Boyle).

" sic te lucidi vultus ferant
et nube rupta cornibus puris eas"[111] (418-9)

- figuratively does befall her in *TSA*, as the goddess states that "Je veux boire des poisons, me perdre dans les vapeurs" (*OC*I, p.560)[112] and is eventually carried away by a passing cloud. Given the extent of the apparent allusions to this passage, Seneca seems perhaps the likeliest source for Diana's speech, which, like the rest of the *épisode des dieux*, is strongly influenced by classical texts.

(vii) Conclusion

It is clear that, as much as any other work of Flaubert's, *TSA* is strongly influenced by classical literature, continuing a trend already established in his work. Similarly, key themes of *TSA* coincide with already-established areas of Flaubert's interest: all versions of the work contain references to figures who featured in his earliest letters, Nero and Caligula; there remains a fascination with the sexuality of antiquity; this continuity is even, conceivably, demonstrated by the 'Poètes et Baladins' of the 1849 version (*OC*I, pp.432-3), who may be considered a realization of Flaubert's youthful dreams of being an artist in ancient times. Certainly their impersonality - "nous n'avons pas d'amour, nous qui faisons rêver d'amour!" (p.432) - recalls Jules' self-imposed

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111 "so may you travel with features clear, pass through rifted clouds with your crescent pure" (*ibid.*).

112 Just possibly Diana's reference to drinking poison implies a connection to Emma Bovary; it is entirely possible, especially in view of arguments to be advanced in the next chapter, that this connection is deliberate on Flaubert's part, and that Diana is meant in some ways to recall the heroine of his first novel.

impersonality in *ESI*, and that espoused by Flaubert in his work.

However, most consistent with Flaubert's correspondence, continuity occurs in the evocation of the æsthetic beauty of antiquity as depicted in *TSA*. In the 1849 and 1856 versions of the work, Antoine's reaction to Apollo - god of art and inspiration - is one of delight:

> "Quels sons! qui chante ainsi? *(Il écoute)* Quels ravissements! quelle douceur! sur une corde d'or sautillent, il me semble, des notes aux pieds légers; cela pétille, bourdonne, gazouille!..." (p.466).

This reaction, despite Apollo's imminent humiliation, is very much that of Flaubert to the classics as a whole. It is above all in the definitive *épisode des dieux* that the evocation of classical beauty takes place: before their individual speeches, the gods are depicted in glory on Olympus. Antoine's reaction to this tableau is almost ecstatic: "Ah! ma poitrine se dilate. Une joie que je ne connaissais pas me descend jusqu'au fond de l'âme! Comme c'est beau! comme c'est beau!" (p.559). Immediately afterwards comes Hilarion's evocation of antiquity as a lost time of familiarity with the gods and of artistic beauty; of the connection of the two, the classical fusion of art and religion:

> "Ils [les dieux] se penchaient du haut des nuages pour conduire les épées; on les rencontrait au bord des chemins, on les possédait dans sa maison; et cette familiarité divinisait la vie.
>
> "Elle n'avait pour but que d'être libre et belle. Les vêtements larges facilitaient la noblesse des attitudes. La voix de l'orateur, exercée par la mer, battait à flots sonores les portiques de marbre. L'éphèbe, frotté d'huile, luttait tout nu en plein soleil. L'action la plus religieuse était d'exposer les formes pures" (*ibid.*).

It should, of course, be remembered that, in its immediate context, the function of this speech - which ends with Hilarion drawing parallels between classical religions and Christianity - is to seduce Antoine away from his own religion. Despite this ulterior motive, however, the overall perspective of the speech

can be closely equated with Flaubert's own; by the time of the composition of *TSA*III, he was as enamoured of the classics as ever - and perhaps more articulate in rationalizing his enthusiasm.

It is noticeable, nevertheless, that, just as Apollo's lyre - the ultimate classical artistic symbol - breaks in all three versions, so too does the vision of Olympus, as Antoine recites the Nicene Creed, crumble: the ancient gods fall, Christianity rises. Flaubert's message in *TSA* is perhaps the same as that in a relatively early letter, to Louise Colet[113], in which, having expounded the idea that the ancient Greeks were artistically fortunate in their exposure to natural beauty, he goes on to write,

> "Mais vouloir se chausser de leurs bottes est démence. Ce ne sont pas des chlamydes qu'il faut au nord, mais des pelisses de fourrures. La forme antique est insuffisante à nos besoins et notre voix n'est pas faite pour chanter ces airs simples. Soyons aussi artistes qu'eux, si nous le pouvons, mais autrement qu'eux. La conscience du genre humain s'est élargie depuis Homère".

Allowance should be made for the fact that this was written during the composition of *MB*: Flaubert may have partly been trying to justify his concentration on an apparently rather modern subject. But the general implication is clear, and consistent in Flaubert's thought as revealed by the three versions of *TSA*: the classics are an ideal. One can imitate and exploit them as sources, but never mould a work exactly upon them; any imitation is necessarily incomplete. *TSA* - among many other things - is an evocation of the glories of antiquity, but set at a time when antiquity was coming to an end, when Christ was replacing the old gods. Among its messages is that the classics are to be recalled, admired and partially imitated; but never equalled.

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[113] Letter 520, [Croisset, 15th July 1853].

Chapter 4: *Madame Bovary*: modern subject, classical themes

"La forme antique est insuffisante à nos besoins et notre voix n'est pas faite pour chanter ces airs simples. Soyons aussi artistes qu'eux, si nous le pouvons, mais autrement qu'eux".

(Letter 520 [Club de l'Honnête Homme], to Louise Colet, [Croisset, 15th July 1853])

Madame Bovary is indubitably Flaubert's most studied text. It has accumulated a vast critical literature, dating from its initial publication; and one can follow closely Flaubert's trials and tribulations during its composition, thanks to the *Correspondance*, especially in the letters to Louise Colet, before the definitive rupture in 1854. Although for obvious reasons, *MB* is not remotely as abundant in classical references as *TSA*, it nevertheless contains many examples of allusions, conscious or otherwise, to classical works, some of them familiar, providing evidence of continuity in this respect.

That this should be so is perhaps unsurprising: despite the work's superficially modern setting, several factors relevant to its composition should

be recalled. Firstly, whatever the truth regarding the origins of Flaubert's choice of subject for his novel, it was clearly one he adopted reluctantly, his mind still full of the classical texts he had studied for *TSA*. It was written directly after Flaubert's journey in the Middle East, Greece and Italy - another circumstance that might predispose him to classical allusion, overt or covert. Finally, Flaubert himself referred to three possible subjects he wished to cover - *Une Nuit de don Juan*, *Anubis* and the work which was to become 'Un Cœur simple' - which were essentially one and the same, all of which in some sense contributed to *MB*. Since one of these is clearly inclined towards the ancient period, if not the classical, one is surely justified in seeking, at least, vestigial classical allusions in Flaubert's modern novel.

(i) Some familiar intertexts

One scene of *MB* that has attracted much critical attention, thanks to its pivotal place in the plot and its latent symbolism, is Emma's and Léon's visit, in chapter 3 of the work's second part, to Berthe's nurse. It forms, for example, the subject of Phillip A. Duncan's article 'Symbolic green and satanic presence in *Madame Bovary*'[1]. Duncan, undoubtedly correctly, sees erotic elements in the scene, especially in the detail that:

> "[La rivière] coulait sans bruit, rapide et froide à l'œil; de grandes herbes minces s'y courbaient ensemble, selon le courant qui les poussait, et comme des chevelures vertes abandonnées s'étalaient dans sa limpidité" (*OC*I, p.606).

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[1] *Nineteenth Century French Studies*, 13, 2 and 3 (Winter - Spring 1985), pp.99-104.

The image of green hair waving in water is familiar in Flaubert's work; we have seen it twice occur, once in *PCG* in the phrase "les cheveux glauques des Naïades" (*PCG*, p.181 - see above, pp.138-9), once in *TSA*I, where Neptune speaks of his "Neréïdes aux cheveux verts" (*OC*I, p.462 - see above, p.201). Both examples have involved the same classical source: Horace's *Odes* 3.28.10, with its phrase "Neptunum et viridis Nereidum comas"[2]. Although the classical reference here is less overt than previously, it nonetheless seems likely that this passage at least subconsciously influenced Flaubert here. It may well be that all three instances are subconscious imitation; even so, the argument would still remain that Horace's work made a strong impression on Flaubert.

Another familiar intertext can be adduced for a specific line of *MB*: book three of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*. Shortly after Emma leaves Rodolphe for the last time - in a passage which, as we shall see, is centrally important to this study - Flaubert writes that, full of her humiliation, she "sentait son âme l'abandonner par ce souvenir, comme les blessés, en agonisant, sentent l'existence qui s'en va par leur plaie qui saigne" (*OC*I, p.680). The image of a person 'dying by inches', gradually abandoned by their physical soul, is vital in Lucretius' argument of the soul's mortality. In particular, book three, lines 526-32 closely resemble Flaubert's simile:

> "denique sæpe hominem paulatim cernimus ire
> et membratim vitalem deperdere sensum:
> in pedibus primum digitos livescere et unguis,
> inde pedes et crura mori, post inde per artus
> ire alios tractim gelidi vestigia leti.
> scinditur itque animæ hæc quoniam natura, nec uno

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[2] "Neptune and the green locks of the Nereids" (trans. Williams).

tempore sincera existit, mortalis habendast"[3].

However, broadly speaking, besides one vital precursor which we shall investigate, there are few such clear classical allusions in *MB*; those that exist tend to be more general than specific. On this basis, one may perhaps detect in *MB*, principally in Emma's depiction, the exploitation of another of Flaubert's favourite texts, Juvenal's sixth *Satire*, a tirade against women, albeit one more misogynistic in tone than Flaubert's work. An example is Juvenal's phrase,

> "quem præstare potest mulier galeata pudorem,
> quæ fugit a sexu? vires amat"[4] (252-3).

This allegation of mannishness as a common female vice arguably recalls Emma during her affair with Rodolphe (and more generally, her perceived tendency towards conventionally masculine characteristics); during her ride with Rodolphe the day he seduces her, Emma wears "un chapeau d'homme" (*OC*I, p.628) - like Juvenal's she-gladiator's helmet; more scandalously, after the club-foot operation, Flaubert writes,

> "elle eut même l'inconvenance de se promener avec M. Rodolphe une cigarette à la bouche, *comme pour narguer le monde*; enfin, ceux qui doutaient encore ne doutèrent plus quand on la vit, un jour, descendre de l'*Hirondelle*, la taille serrée dans un gilet, à la façon d'un homme" (p.639).

Another accusation which Juvenal levels at women of his time is their extravagance:

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[3] "Again, we often behold a man pass away little by little and limb by limb lose the sensation of life; first of all the toes and nails on his feet grow livid, then the feet and legs die, thereafter through the rest of his frame, step by step, pass the traces of chill death. Since this nature of the soul is severed and passes away, nor does it come forth all intact at one moment, it must be counted mortal" (trans. Bailey).

[4] "what sense of shame can be found in a woman wearing a helmet, who shuns femininity and loves brute force?" (trans. Rudd).

"ut spectet ludos, conducit Ogulnia vestem,
conducit comites, sellam, cervical, amicas,
nutricem et flavam cui det mandata puellam.
hæc tamen argenti superest quodcumque paterni
levibus athletis et vasa novissima donat.
multis res angusta domi, sed nulla pudorem
pauperitatis habet nec se metitur ad illum
quem dedit hæc posuitque modum...
prodiga non sentit pereuntem femina censum.
ac velut exhausta recidivus pullulet arca
nummus et e pleno tollatur semper acervo,
non umquam reputant quanti sibi gaudia constent"[5]
(352-9, 362-5).

Virtually all Juvenal's points might equally apply to Emma. A more specific similarity between the works may occur in Juvenal's evocation of a noblewoman's passion for a gladiator, of whom he says,

" hic Sergius idem
accepta rude cœpisset Veiiento videri"[6].

This suggestion of adultery's ultimate tedium bears comparison to Flaubert's famous apothegm, that Emma, not long before her death, "retrouvait dans l'adultère toutes les platitudes du mariage" (*OC*I, p.672). It seems, then, reasonable to surmise that Flaubert, in depicting Emma, exploited, perhaps

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5 "In order to watch the games, Ogulnia hires a dress; she hires a retinue, a chair, a cushion, some personal friends, a conniving nurse, and a fair-haired slave-girl to carry notes. The same woman presents what is left of the family plate, down to the very last ewer, as a gift to some beardless athlete. Many at home are hard up, but none pays due regard to her poverty. They never think of adjusting themselves to the limits which it assigns and imposes... Extravagant women are never aware of their dwindling assets. As though the coins continued to burst into teeming life in their empty box, and the pile, when drawn on, never diminished, they give not the slightest thought to what their pleasures are costing" (*ibid.*).

6 "had this very Sergius received his discharge, he would soon have come to resemble Veiento [presumably the woman's husband]" (*ibid.*).

indirectly, Juvenal's misogynistic vision of women.

Much the same applies in *MB* to Apuleius, whose importance as a source for *TSA* we have already seen. The possibility that the *Golden ass* might be a source for *MB* was suggested soon after the book appeared, if one may believe Du Camp: he states, among some rather odd opinions, that "les plus férus parlaient de l'*Ane d'or* d'Apulée" (*op.cit.*, p.247). Certainly several of Flaubert's letters of the time, especially in 1852, refer to Apuleius enthusiastically (see above, pp.50-1). However, although general similarities may exist between Emma's story and the myth of Cupid and Psyche as told by Apuleius (as Margaret Lowe argues[7]), there are relatively few apparent direct textual references. Possibly the reference in the description of Yonville early in *MB* part 2 to "un Amour, le doigt posé sur la bouche" in a garden (*OC*I, p.598), derives from Cupid's speech in *TSA*I, (p.468), where the god describes his former self in exactly those words, and is thus an indirect reference to Apuleius' work, upon which that depiction of Cupid is partly based. Furthermore, Lowe suggests several arguable allusions to Apuleius within the text: she proposes that Emma represents, among other things, an Isis-figure, comparing Charles' view of her - "l'univers, pour lui, n'excédait pas le tour de son jupon" (p.586) - with Lucius' vision of the all-embracing Isis in the *Golden Ass*. She also compares Emma's worship of her men - Rodolphe, whom she idolizes, Lagardy, "l'incarnation de l'amour même" (p.651), Léon whom she

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[7] *Towards the real Flaubert (A study of* Madame Bovary*)*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1984. We will discuss her work in detail later.

considers a god - to Psyche's veneration of her lover Cupid. Although these comparisons may well be valid, nonetheless, as with Juvenal, any such allusions seem to be more in the realm of ideas than specifically textual.

(ii) A classical atmosphere - indirect allusion

MB, thus, apparently contains relatively few recognisable, direct classical allusions (other than, as has been mentioned, a case concerning one specific work whose importance justifies separate discussion at greater length later in this chapter). However, despite its overtly modern setting, one might claim to detect a degree of indirect classical allusion - sufficient at least to keep the reader in mind of classical antiquity - within the work, creating perhaps a kind of classical atmosphere. Examples of this procedure occur in the depiction of various objects and places - thus, during the 'tour' of Yonville, the *mairie* is described as follows: "La mairie, construite *sur les dessins d'un architecte de Paris*, est une manière de temple grec... Elle a, au rez-de-chaussée, trois colonnes ioniques..." (*OC*I, p.598). The reference to the statue of Cupid, on the same page, is comparable (see p.226). More often, though, this classical atmosphere manifests itself etymologically. Plays are made on words derived from Greek or Latin: thus, early in his career, Charles Bovary is left speechless by a conglomeration of Greek-derived scientific terms:

> "Le programme des cours, qu'il lut sur l'affiche, lui fit un effet d'étourdissement; cours d'anatomie, cours de pathologie, cours de

> physiologie, cours de pharmacie, cours de chimie, et de botanique, et de clinique, et de thérapeutique, sans compter l'hygiène, ni la matière médicale, tous noms dont il ignorait les étymologies et qui étaient comme autant de portes de sanctuaires pleines d'augustes ténèbres" (*OC*I, p.577).

A similar aura of misunderstanding - here shared by the reader - surrounds the club-foot operation, later in Charles' career, to more serious effect: in preparation for it, Flaubert writes,

> "il étudiait les équins, les varus et les valgus, c'est-à-dire la stréphocatopodie, la stréphendopodie et la stréphexopodie (ou, pour parler mieux, les différentes déviations du pied, soit en bas, en dedans ou en dehors), avec la stréphypopodie et la stréphanopodie (autrement dit: torsion en dessous et redressement en haut)" (p.633).

Together with the generic term for the club-foot condition - *stréphopodie* - mentioned at the start of the chapter, there is a total of six convoluted, related Græcisms for the unfortunate Bovary to confront.

A tone not of misunderstanding, but of misappropriation and misuse also prevails in certain passages containing this 'classical atmosphere' - particularly in ones involving the written or spoken word. This tone is especially associated with the infinitely loquacious Homais. Homais' speeches abound in classical allusion: in his very first tirade, he proclaims, "Mon Dieu, à moi, c'est le Dieu de Socrate..." (p.600); he later fulminates that "l'absurde législation qui nous régit est comme une véritable épée de Damoclès suspendue sur notre tête!" (p.658). The same phenomenon prevails in Homais' journalism, where his classical allusion is more linguistic than historical or allegorical. In his *tour de force* on the *comices*, Homais

writes of "l'air martial de notre milice" and to the "sortes de patriarches qui étaient là, débris de nos immortelles phalanges..." (p.626), blending words of Latin and Greek origin to produce his effect; on page 690, he ends a diatribe against the blind beggar with the rhetorical question, "A quoi songent nos édiles?". Much the same is true of Conseiller Lieuvain's speech at the *comices*, with his reference to the "développement des races chevalines, bovines, ovines et porcines!" (p.624). Similarly, as implied above, both Homais' and Lieuvain's rhetoric is distinctly classical in tone, especially in its use of rhetorical questions: examples are Lieuvain's phrase, "si, écartant de mon souvenir ces sombres tableaux, je reporte mes yeux sur la situation actuelle de notre belle patrie: qu'y vois-je?" (p.622), and, again in his article on the *comices*, Homais' series of enquiries,

> "Pourquoi ces festons, ces fleurs, ces guirlandes? Où courait cette foule, comme les flots d'une mer en furie, sous les torrents d'un soleil tropical qui répandait sa chaleur sur nos guérets?" (p.626).

There is only one apparent narratorial comment upon this penchant for classicism of the bourgeoisie in general and Homais in particular. This occurs in the scene on page 658 where, in his agitation at Justin's invasion of the *capharnaüm*, Homais quotes two Latin phrases, of uncertain origin: *Fabricando fit faber, age quod agis*. Immediately after this, the narrator comments, "Il citait du latin, tant il était exaspéré. Il eût cité du chinois et du grœnlandais, s'il eût connu ces deux langues...". This implies that Homais' quotation of Latin is baseless; it, and all his classical allusions, is a

meaningless parroting of *idées reçues*. This conclusion is true of all bourgeois uses of classical commonplaces, linguistic or otherwise - it could be applied, for instance, to the classicism of the statue of Cupid or the *mairie* of Yonville (mentioned above, p.227)[8]. Not only are general commonplaces of classical culture thus misappropriated by Flaubert's bourgeois characters, though; in the *comices* speeches, the same fate apparently befalls several classical texts.

That this is so in one specific passage of Lieuvain's speech is almost indisputable; again, the classical source is one we have seen Flaubert exploit before (see p.97), although not in the manner here adopted. At one stage of his speech, Lieuvain recounts the process of manufacture of bread:

> "L'agriculteur... fait naître le blé, lequel broyé est mis en poudre au moyen d'ingénieux appareils, en sort sous le nom de farine, et, de là, transporté dans les cités, est bientôt rendu chez le boulanger, qui en confectionne un aliment pour le pauvre comme pour le riche" (*OC*I, p.623).

Although arguably somewhat classical in tone, this is not as overtly an adoption of classical *idées reçues* as some of the rhetorical passages considered above. However, it is very close in style and content to a passage of the ninetieth of Seneca's *Epistulæ morales*, where Seneca quotes the opinion of the Greek philosopher Posidonius that the process of baking was invented in imitation of the process of eating, and compares the two:

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[8] It is implied more strongly in the case of the *mairie* by the italicization of the phrase "sur les dessins d'un architecte de Paris" - perhaps suggesting complacent bourgeois satisfaction founded on the flimsy basis of the building's supposed artistic (and classical) credentials.

> "hoc aliquis secutus exemplar lapidum asperum aspero inposuit ad similitudinem dentium, quorum pars immobilis motum alterius exspectat; deinde utriusque attritu grana franguntur et sæpius regeruntur, donec ad minutiam frequenter trita rediguntur. tum farinam aqua sparsit et adsidua tractatione perdomuit finxitque panem, quem primo cinis calidus et fervens testa percoxit, deinde furni paulatim reperti et alia genera, quorum fervor serviret arbitrio"[9] (90.23).

Here, the imitation principally involves the subject, certain items of vocabulary - "farine"/"farinam" for example - and the pedantic tone of both passages. More interesting is the case of the speech of Derozerays, the *président du jury*, reported in *style indirect libre* (*OC*I, p.624).

One immediately noticeable element of this speech is the return of a classical commonplace familiar in Flaubert's work: that of primitive man (see above, pp.95-8, 121-2, 205). Flaubert writes,

> "Remontant au berceau des sociétés, l'orateur nous dépeignait ces temps farouches où les hommes vivaient de glands, au fond des bois. Puis ils avaient quitté la dépouille des bêtes, endossé le drap, creusé des sillons, planté la vigne...".

Much the same intertexts as proposed for similar, earlier passages apply here: for instance, book one of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, especially lines 106, where man eats "quæ deciderant patula Iovis arbore glandes"[10], and 123-4, where,

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[9] "Following this model, somebody placed one rough stone on top of another, like teeth, one set of which is motionless and awaits the motion of the other. Then, by the friction caused by the two stones the grains are broken up in a frequently repeated process, until the constant grinding reduces them to a powder. This meal he then sprinkled with water and by a long process of kneading with his hands he moulded it into the form of a loaf. At first this was baked in a hot earthenware pot standing in glowing ashes; then gradually ovens were invented, and other devices in which you could regulate the heat" (trans. C.D.N. Costa, Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1988).

[10] "acorns which had fallen from the spreading tree of Jove" (trans. Hill).

in the Silver Age,

> "semina tum primum longis Cerealia sulcis
> obruta sunt"[11].

Another possible source (albeit one with which Flaubert was not necessarily familiar) is Virgil's *Georgics*:

> "prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere terram
> instituit, cum iam glandes atque arbuta sacræ
> deficerent silvæ et victum Dodona negaret"[12]
> (*Georgics* 1.147-9).

Possibly the likeliest source, though, is another which Flaubert certainly *did* know: Lucretius' *De rerum natura*. In book five of this work, Lucretius describes the end of the Golden Age in terms similar to Derozerays' speech:

> "sic odium cœpit glandis, sic illa relicta
> strata cubilia sunt herbis et frondibus aucta.
> pellis item cecidit vestis contempta ferinæ...
> tunc igitur pelles, nunc aurum et purpura curis
> exercent hominun vitam belloque fatigant"[13] (1416-8, 1423-4).

The parallels are evident: the idea of the abandonment of acorns as food and of the wearing of animal skins; their replacement by agriculture and manufactured clothing. Lucretius thus seems the likeliest source for this

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[11] "then first were the seeds of Ceres buried in long furrows" (*ibid.*).

[12] "The Corn-goddess taught men first to turn the earth with iron - that was the time when acorns and arbute berries grew scarce in the sacred wood, and Dodona refused them sustenance" (trans. Day Lewis).

[13] "So loathing for acorns set in, and the old couches strewn with grass and piled with leaves were deserted. Likewise the garment of wild beasts' skin fell into contempt... It was skins, then, in those days, and now gold and purple that vex men's life with cares and weary them out with war" (trans. Bailey).

section of the *président*'s speech.

More significant, however, if only because it apparently introduces a source new to Flaubert's writing, is the reference in Derozerays' speech to Cincinnatus, the dictator: we are told that he "citait Cincinnatus à sa charrue, Dioclétien plantant ses choux...". Both allusions are classical commonplaces: the Roman emperor Diocletian was renowned for being among the very few holders of that office to have voluntarily abdicated and gone into retirement; Cincinnatus was supposedly found working the land when summoned to take charge of the Roman state. He was considered by ancient writers as an exemplar of rural virtue and simplicity, and is cited thus by, among others, Cicero (*De senectute* 56), Livy (*History* 3.26.7-9) and Lucan (*De bello civile* 10.151-4). However, we might suggest one specific, and as we shall see, apposite source that Flaubert may have exploited while writing this speech: the first century Roman satirist Persius.

It was mentioned earlier (pp.52-3 above) that Flaubert discovered Persius' *Satires* while composing *MB*; specifically, he stated in late November 1852 that he had just finished reading Persius, and in April 1853 expressed the wish that *MB* should be "de ces œuvres dont parle Perse, qui veulent que l'on se morde les ongles jusqu'au sang". Flaubert's *Correspondance* reveals that the *comices* scene was written over an extended period, between July and October or November 1853: after he had read Persius, but not so long after that its obviously striking impression could have dissipated. In his first

Satire, Persius writes:

> "ecce modo heroas sensus adferre docemus
> nugari solitos Græce, nec ponere lucum
> artifices nec rus saturum laudare 'ubi corbes
> et focus et porci et fumosa Palilia feno,
> unde Remus sulcoque terens dentalia, Quinti,
> cum trepida ante boves dictatorem induit uxor
> et tua aratra domum lictor tulit'" (69-75)[14].

The passage is difficult, both in meaning and intention: it is indeed a considerable tribute to Flaubert's fluency in Latin if he could cope with Persius' writing, as he seems to have. Initially, there seems to be little, other than the reference to Cincinnatus - itself no rare thing - in common with Derozerays' speech; however, further parallels do exist.

Derozerays' speech (and Lieuvain's) might, for example, be described as a *rus saturum* ('Praises of rich countryside') of the sort Persius mentions: a highly rhetorical, contrived piece, containing an element of moral didacticism; both Lieuvain and Derozerays mention the "race porcine", the former during his speech (see above, p.229), the latter while distributing prizes, thus echoing Persius' "porci" - a standard feature of the *rus saturum*. The coincidence - of subject and of Flaubert's recent acquaintance with Persius - seems too great to ignore; especially given Persius' apparent intention. His precise aim - the object of his parody - in this passage is unclear, although he seems to be

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[14] "Just look - we're teaching utterance of Heroic Thoughts to persons used to toying with Greek, no artists at their 'Description of a Grove' or 'Praises of Rich Countryside', with baskets, hearth, hay-smouldering Palilia and pigs; whence Remus and, scraping the share-head in the furrow, thou, o Quintius [i.e. Cincinnatus], when, feverishly in front of the oxen a Dictator was dressed by his wife and the lictor took thy plough home" (trans. Jenkinson).

attacking contemporary rhetorical and literary practices. Jenkinson concludes, in the appendix to his translation, that,

> "it perhaps would not be disputed that Persius' general drift is to criticise the lack of preparation of contemporaries, and possibly their methods of preparation, for compositions on grand themes" (*op.cit.*, p.102).

Both Persius and Flaubert, then, apparently satirize their subjects' pretentions by attributing to them overblown, overly rhetorical speeches.

It is worth mentioning briefly that in his third *Satire*, Persius mentions Damocles, although not by name:

> "anne...
> ... magis auratis pendens laquearibus ensis
> purpureas subter cervices terruit"[15] (39-41).

This reference recalls, of course, Homais' expostulation (mentioned p.235), although it is not as suggestive a parallel as that between Persius' work and Derozerays' speech. In general, however, it seems clear that there is some intentionality in Flaubert's placing of classical commonplaces in the mouths of his most explicitly bourgeois characters: he is - as might be expected - mocking bourgeois pretention. One might ask, then, whether Flaubert counterbalances this negative paradigm of the 'use' of the classics with his own positive paradigm: does he show, or attempt to show, by example, how one 'should' use the classics?

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15 "did... the sword hung from a golden ceiling more terrify the purpled neck beneath?" (*ibid.*).

(iii) A positive paradigm?

In one sense, of course, an example of the 'right' use of the classics arises from unacknowledged intertextual references including those we have considered: the incorporation of classical texts into a new, seamless work. In this respect the references Derozerays makes to the Golden Age and Cincinnatus are in certain respects 'redeemed': on one level, they are ridiculous bourgeois misappropriations; but on another, they represent the narrator's legitimate use of classical texts.

A further use of the classics by Flaubert in *MB* which might represent a 'legitimate paradigm' is the level of the work which can be considered a retelling of (mainly classical) myth. As Margaret Lowe states in the preface to her book (*op.cit.*, p.xi), Flaubert considered himself, partly at least, to be a troubadour, "the finder and re-teller of traditional tales". Lowe's book investigates this element of *MB* very fully, and this is not the place to summarize her conclusions. Some general comments are, however, appropriate here.

Many of Lowe's suggestions in *Towards the real Flaubert* are clearly correct. For example, *MB* undoubtedly contains a network of imagery surrounding weaving, embroidery, spiders and the workings of fate as

envisaged by the ancient Greeks[16], drawing upon the myth of Arachne; this imagery is indicated by the *tête de Minerve*, drawn by Emma herself, on the wall of the room where we and Charles first encounter Emma (*OC*I, p.579). Similarly, it is certainly conceivable that Emma, as Lowe maintains, occasionally recalls the goddess Diana (this will be considered in more detail later), and that certain other characters within the novel apparently reflect the gods of classical myth as envisaged by Flaubert in the *épisode des dieux* of *TSA* - particularly convincing is the parallel established between Jupiter as there depicted and Bovary *père*, a jovial old womaniser. Sometimes, however, Lowe's parallels seem forced. The suggestion that Rodolphe is also a Jupiter-figure because his surname, Boulanger, reflects that of Jupiter Pistor in an obscure Roman myth; that Charles symbolizes death because he has a horse; that Emma represents Demeter, the mare-headed goddess, on the strength of the metaphor (p.587) of the bit slipping from between her teeth at the convent, seem distinctly tenuous. Lowe sometimes appears to demand too much from Flaubert's symbolism, endowing it with too much significance, too many meanings, some of them virtually contradictory. For example, Emma's name is supposedly *both* a (near-) anagram of *âme* (consistent with the *Cupid and Psyche* myth, previously mentioned, whose presence within *MB* is practically unquestionable) *and* a corruption of Embla, the first woman in

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16 In this respect, Yvonne Rollins' article, '*Madame Bovary* et *Effi Briest*' (*Stanford French Review*, 5,1 [Spring 1981], pp.107-119) is interesting in its identification of Binet as a personification of Fate: "Binet joue le rôle de la Parque Clotho: il est là, silencieux, dans l'ombre, quand Emma arrive à Yonville et Flaubert annonce déjà qu'il a un tour" (p.116).

Norse mythology; indeed, besides Demeter, Psyche and Embla, Emma is supposed to represent, at various different points, Venus, Minerva, Diana and Isis.

It is, naturally, quite possible that Flaubert *did* fill *MB* with hints of such myth-parallels; in fact he almost certainly did. The danger lies perhaps in reading too much into the work, in finding such a wealth of meaning in every aspect and character that consistent, meaningful interpretation becomes well-nigh impossible. It might also be said that Lowe rarely backs up her ideas with close textual evidence from classical writers (although she does refer regularly to Creuzer, clearly a major source for Flaubert, as demonstrated in the previous chapter). The relevant question, then, for our purposes, is whether there is a consistent myth to which *MB* visibly alludes, indicated by textual references such as we have previously considered; a work of which the novel could be, if not a rewriting, then at least a transplantation into modern terms. The rest of this chapter is intended to demonstrate that such a myth indeed exists, with, in fact, a specific source from which Flaubert gleans his literary allusions.

(iv) Virgil's *Æneid*: a major source

It is during the opening passage of the book that the broadest hint of the identity of a specific precursor of *MB* is made, in the famous allusion to Virgil's

phrase *Quos ego*, to which the schoolmaster's threat of punishment is compared (*OC*I, p.575 - for an earlier use of this phrase in Flaubert's work, see above, p.132). This is the novel's only clearly attributable Latin quotation (notwithstanding Flaubert's failure to acknowledge its source). It obviously has a direct symbolic function in its own right: Harry Rutledge[17] suggests that its original mythical context - Neptune calming a storm at sea - heralds a tempestuous story ahead[18]. However, its main significance probably lies in the fact of its origin, towards the beginning of book one of Virgil's *Æneid* (135) - a source which, like the works of Horace and Seneca, is far from unfamiliar in Flaubert's work.

Critics have long surmised some connection between *MB* and not only classical epic generally (which we will consider in greater detail later in this thesis), but the *Æneid* specifically, although the precise nature of the connection has remained vague. Albert Thibaudet[19] twice comes close to stating openly the similarity between the two works: once in a slightly odd comparison:

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17 'Vergil's Dido in modern literature', *Classical and Modern Literature - a Quarterly*, 1, 4 (Summer 1981), pp.267-273.

18 Another possible dimension of this rare direct quotation is indicated by Michael Riffaterre in his article 'Flaubert's presuppositions' (*Diacritics* 11 (1981), reproduced in Porter, L.M., *Critical essays on Gustave Flaubert*, Boston, G.K. Hall and co., 1986, pp.76-86); Riffaterre considers it symptomatic of the French sociolect of Flaubert's contemporaries, a pronouncement associated with schoolteachers: "Flaubert's quotation is quoting not Vergil but the descriptive system of the word *teacher*, one of whose components is borrowed from Vergil" (p.78). My interpretation does not preclude this.

19 *Gustave Flaubert*, Paris, Gallimard, 1935.

> "Il y a une hiérarchie entre les types comme il y a une hiérarchie entre les êtres de la nature. Mettez, si vous voulez, que *Madame Bovary* est à *Faust* ce que *le Lutrin* est à l'*Enéïde*, c'est-à-dire, d'un certain point de vue et avec ce sentiment du «grotesque triste» qu'avait Flaubert, une parodie" (*op.cit.*, p.106).

Although the comparison made is between *MB* and *Faust*, it is striking that the *Æneid* is also, almost gratuitously, evoked. On the next page of Thibaudet's work, the *Æneid* is again mentioned almost at random:

> "[Emma] subit le supplice que Mézence infligeait à ses prisonniers, quand il les liait à un cadavre: supplice de la femme qui n'a rien d'autre chose à reprocher à l'homme que d'exister, d'exister avec un poids terrible".

The allusion is to *Æneid* 8.485-8, where the tyrant Mezentius is indeed accused of practising this form of torture. Thibaudet's reference to it gives the impression that he may have subconsciously detected a connection between *MB* and the *Æneid*, without fully assimilating them on a conscious level. A more recent critic who has associated the two works is Frederick Busi, in a 1990 study, 'Flaubert's use of saints' names in *Madame Bovary*"[20]. Busi partially bases his argument on a somewhat tenuous supposition that the masked ball Emma attends in Rouen falls on the mid-lent festival, which was originally the day of Anna Perenna, an orgiastic Roman goddess, mentioned in Creuzer and in *TSA*; he further points out that the Romans associated Anna Perenna with Anna, Dido's sister in the *Æneid*, and draws several parallels between Emma and Dido herself, partly on the rather exaggerated grounds

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[20] *Nineteenth Century French Studies*, 19, 1 (Fall 1990), pp.95-109.

that Flaubert was "intimately absorbed, even obsessed, by the writings of Virgil" (*op.cit.*, p.103). Margaret Lowe too refers briefly to the *Æneid*, comparing Emma's and Charles' fates to Priam's in Virgil's work:

> "Both may be victims, but both also wittingly have offended - as Priam, in giving his support to Paris and Helen, abetted them in their offence against Jupiter the hospitable, and died at the foot of his statue in Virgil's *Æneid*. The Latin poem had been read by Flaubert in 1846 with tremendous enthusiasm; the punishment which, in Virgil's poem, lies waiting in the background is commented on by Creuzer" (*op.cit.*, p.47).

The two works possess a perceived similarity, but few critics develop it. It seems clear, nonetheless, that even outside what I consider the main area of similarity, *MB* contains several allusions to and borrowings from the *Æneid*. These demonstrate at least that Virgil's work was very much on Flaubert's mind as he composed his masterpiece.

The earliest such example is, like the *Quos ego* reference, in chapter 1 of *MB*. During the introductory sketch of Madame Bovary *mère*, Flaubert writes that, "à la maison, [elle] repassait, cousait, blanchissait, surveillait les ouvriers, soldait leurs mémoires..." (*OC*I, p.576). It is perhaps not unreasonable to liken her activities to those attributed to a typical Roman 'good housewife' - parsimonious, hard-working - as depicted in *Æneid* 8, where Vulcan rises to start work on Æneas' shield,

> " ubi prima quies medio iam noctis abactæ
> curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,
> cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva
> impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignis
> noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo
> exercet penso, castum ut servare cubile

coniugis et possit parvos educere natos"[21] (407-13).

The clearest points of comparison are those of weaving and spinning (as already mentioned, an important mythological symbol in *MB*) and the ordering of household servants. Similar echoes occur subsequently, in *MB* chapter 3 (*OC*I, p.581), when Charles finds *Emma* sewing in the dark (although it is only the afternoon - "les auvents étaient fermés"). Some reference may, in both cases, be intended to the story of Lucretia in book one of Livy's history: she too is found by her husband and by her future rapist Tarquinius working in the dark[22]. As so often, however, it is unwise to be overconfident of the classical nature of these passages: it would be equally reasonable to posit as a source for both the well-known section of *Proverbs*, chapter 31, verses 10-31: the 'Good wife', a possible rôle-model for Emma, in her 'charitable' incarnation; certainly she uses embroidery work to defend her virtue, by discouraging conversation, in Léon's presence: "pinçant ses lèvres, elle tira lentement une longue aiguillée de fil gris. / Cet ouvrage irritait Léon" (p.610).

Later in *MB*, Flaubert almost certainly does imitate another Virgilian passage, here turning it into a simile, possibly with a specific purpose. The

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21 "As soon as he'd woken, rested, requiring sleep no longer, in the small hours when night was waning (the time when the housewife, who must eke out a slender livelihood with her loom and distaff, pokes the drowsy embers upon the hearth, making night too a work-time and keeping her maids employed at the long shift by lamp-light, so that her married life and the bringing up of her little sons be not endangered)" (trans. Day Lewis).

22 It is tempting to recall the reference to Lucretia, supposedly an incarnation of Ennoïa, in all three versions of *TSA* (*OC*I, pp.395, 482, 545) - all three are along the lines of "Elle a été Lucrèce, la patricienne violée par les rois".

passage in question is in chapter 2 of the third part of the book (p.658), directly after Homais' two pointless Latin quotations (see above, pp.229-30). It has already been suggested that those quotations, and Flaubert's subsequent comment on them, are part of the overall pattern in the work of portraying bourgeois 'classicism' as meaningless, parrotlike imitation. This being the case, the immediate juxtaposition of a directly imitated - and recognisable - Virgilian simile would have considerable significance. The specific passage where this features is an extension of the narratorial comment on Homais' Latin:

> "il [Homais] se trouvait dans une de ces crises où l'âme entière montre indistinctement ce qu'elle enferme, comme l'Océan, qui, dans les tempêtes, s'entr'ouvre depuis les fucus de son rivage jusqu'au sable de ses abîmes".

The simile recalls the description of the storm which, in *Æneid* 1, is calmed by Neptune's threat contained in the phrase *Quos ego* - already itself, of course, alluded to by Flaubert: Virgil reports that,

> " his unda dehiscens
> terram inter fluctus aperit, furit æstus harenis"[23] (106-7).

Given the close correspondence of detail between the two passages and the provenance of the Latin original, in an episode from which Flaubert has already quoted, the allusion may well be deliberate: a juxtaposition of 'proper' imitation with 'improper'. Several chapters later, as Emma tries to find money

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[23] "for another [vessel] the waters, collapsing, showed sea-bottom in the trough: the tide-race boiled with sand" (trans. Day Lewis).

to ward off the bailiffs, Flaubert once more borrows a Virgilian simile, from *Æneid* 2. When Emma propositions Binet, the latter, "tout à coup, comme à la vue d'un serpent, se recula bien loin..." (*OC*I, p.678). This recalls a simile during Æneas' account of the fall of Troy, when the Greek Androgeos realizes he has fallen in with a group of Trojan soldiers:

> "improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem
> pressit humi nitens trepidusque repente refugit
> attolentem iras et cærula colla tumentem,
> haud secus Androgeos visu tremefactus abibat"[24] (379-82).

The parallels are clear, especially given the specific similarities of vocabulary ('tout à coup'-'repente'; 'se recula'-'refugit').

All that has so far been demonstrated is that the text of *MB* contains an apparent network of 'random' intertextual allusions to Virgil's *Æneid*, similar in nature to, although more numerous than, the allusions to other classical works. However, besides this network, we may detect a more organized, planned pattern in the work. The first overt hint of this occurs when Rodolphe seduces Emma in the forest above Yonville; many elements of this scene seem to constitute a deliberate imitation of the seduction of Dido by Æneas (or arguably vice-versa) in *Æneid* 4. The nature of the imitation is not primarily textual, but lies in the circumstances of the scenes and other parallel events. It is notable, for instance, that both seductions take place in the open air - indeed, in a forest, at a high altitude; but the specific similarity between the

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[24] "Like one who, forcing his way through sharp briars, accidentally has trod on a snake, and in sudden panic shudders away from its angrily-rearing head, its gunmetal neck puffed out - Androgeos, unnerved at the sight of us, made to retreat" (*ibid.*).

scenes is adumbrated by Engstrøm in his article 'Vergil, Ovid and the cry of fate in *Madame Bovary*'[25]; it is the mysterious sound Emma hears after the seduction:

> "un cri vague et prolongé, une voix qui se traînait... elle l'écoutait silencieusement, se mêlant comme une musique aux dernières vibrations de ses nerfs émus" (*OC*I, p.629).

Engstrøm connects this reference to Rodolphe's own mention of a voice in his verbal seduction of Emma at the *Comices* during his argument that the despairing soul will be 'rescued' by a sudden revelation - "Alors des horizons s'entr'ouvrent, c'est comme une voix qui crie «Le voilà!»" (p.623). He then compares it to a phrase during Dido's seduction when the lightning of the storm which drives Dido and Æneas to the same cave combines with the wails of the indigenous nymphs to produce the illusion of the torches and songs of a typical Roman wedding:

> " fulsere ignes et conscius æther
> conubiis, summoque ululârunt vertice Nymphæ"[26] (167-8).

Virgil proceeds to make explicit the scene's menacing undertones:

> "ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
> causa fuit..."[27] (169-70).

This idea, Engstrøm further suggests, is made still clearer in a famous

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[25] *Philological Quarterly*, 37, 1 (January 1958), pp.123-6.

[26] "The firmament flickered with fire, a witness of wedding. Somewhere above, the Nymphs cried out in pleasure" (trans. Day Lewis).

[27] "That day was doom's first birthday and that first day was the cause of evils" (*ibid.*).

'reworking' of the scene by Ovid, in his *Heroïdes*, a series of epistolary poems addressed from tragic heroines to their lovers. The seventh of these is from Dido to Æneas; in Dido's account of the seduction, Ovid, clearly imitating Virgil, writes,

> "audieram vocem: nymphas ululasse putavi;
> Eumenides fati signa dedere mei"[28] (95-6).

In both works, Dido misinterprets the 'cry of fate'; Emma too, one might argue, disastrously misinterprets the unexplained sound she hears. The reader, however, is alerted by the unearthly description of the voice; as Ross Chambers[29] puts it,

> "Toute aux 'vibrations de ses nerfs', Emma reçoit comme une musique ce cri que le lecteur ressent comme un cri d'avertissement, une plainte, un cri de danger" (*op.cit*, p.154).

Moreover, if the allusion is perceived, the reader, as well as being warned in advance of Emma's fate - desertion, despair and suicide - is alerted to a parallel between Emma and Dido; and may perhaps anticipate further comparable allusions.

Another such parallel, also menacing in nature, occurs for those who can see it shortly afterwards, the source text being this time *Æneid* 6. We are told, after Emma returns home:

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28 "I had heard a voice; I thought it a cry of the nymphs - 'twas the Eumenides sounding the signal for my doom" (trans. Grant Showerman, Loeb edition, 1977).

29 'Vapeurs d'Emma, vertige du texte: *Madame Bovary* et la mélancolie' in Michel Guggenheim (ed.), *Women in French literature*, Saratoga, Anma Libri, 1988, pp.157-67.

> "Alors elle se rappela les héroïnes des livres qu'elle avait lus, et la légion lyrique de ces femmes adultères se mit à chanter dans sa mémoire avec des voix de sœurs qui la charmaient" (*OC*I, p.629).

Here, Emma's actions seem conditioned by her youthful reading. In *Æneid* 6, Æneas descends to the underworld, meeting, among others, the shade of Dido; as we shall see, the scene of their encounter has some relevance for *MB*. However, directly before it, he sees several other tragic heroines (many of whom, like Dido, feature in Ovid's *Heroïdes*), their presence with Dido being explained by the reservation of this section of Tartarus for those who killed themselves for love:

> "his Phædram Procrimque locis mæstamque Eriphylen
> crudelis nati monstrantem vulnera cernit,
> Euadnenque et Pasiphaën; his Laodamia
> it comes..."[30] (6.445-9).

One might suggest - especially given these figures' literary nature; many are literally tragic heroines, central figures of tragedies - that these women, all precursors of Dido, are, for her, equivalent to Emma's *légion lyrique*. The parallel is perhaps somewhat strained, but may nonetheless exist for those who wish to see it, further strengthening the link between Emma and Dido.

In general terms, their similarity is indeed quite striking. Both are forceful women in a male-dominated world: Virgil (in Venus' words) exclaims

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30 "Here Æneas descried Phædra and Procris, sad Eriphyle showing the wounds her son once dealt her, Evadne and Pasiphæ; with them goes Laodamia..." (trans. Day Lewis).

in some surprise of Dido's exploits, "dux femina facti"[31] (*Æneid* 1.364); Homais bestows a comparable accolade upon Emma - "C'est une femme de grands moyens et qui ne serait pas déplacée dans une sous-préfecture" (*OC*I, p.610). Both are guilty of self-deception, of creating for themselves an imaginary reality; Dido, as suggested above, persuades herself - falsely - that she is, in some sense, married to Æneas; Emma is the originator of *bovarysme*, self-deception *par excellence*. And both, in different ways, could be said to have loved not wisely but too well - with that love, perhaps arguably in Emma's case, being the direct cause of their suicide. Indeed, the very nature of their relationships - Dido's with Æneas and Emma's, as suggested by the position of most of the passages hitherto considered, with Rodolphe - is strikingly similar. We have seen, in a different context, that Lowe considers Emma's relationship with her men to be one of *worship* (see above, pp.226-7); this is worth considering in greater detail. What Emma notices in Rodolphe is very much what Dido sees in Æneas. When she first contemplates him closely, at the *comices*, Flaubert writes,

> "Elle distinguait dans ses yeux des petits rayons d'or, s'irradiant tout autour de ses pupilles noires, et même elle sentait le parfum de la pommade qui lustrait sa chevelure" (*OC*I, p.624).

The general impression of vigour and elegance resembles that bestowed upon Æneas by his mother Venus when Dido first sees him, with particular parallels in the description of the eyes:

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[31] "a woman led the exploit" (*ibid.*).

"restitit Æneas claraque in luce refulsit
os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram
cæsariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventæ
purpureum et lætos oculis adflarat honores"[32] (1.588-91).

In reaction, Virgil writes, "obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido"[33] (613). Parallels also exist for Rodolphe's pommaded hair; indeed, Æneas' alleged perfuming of his hair is an eastern custom often held against him by his enemies - Iarbas, jealous of his relationship with Dido, refers to his "crinem[que] madentem"[34] (4.216); Turnus, before meeting him in battle, wishes to,

" fœdare in pulvere crinis
vibratos calido ferro murraque madentis"[35] (12.99-100).

Again, towards the end of their relationship, Emma expostulates to Rodolphe, "tu es mon roi, mon idole! tu es bon! tu es beau! tu es intelligent! tu es fort!" (*OC*I, p.639); Dido too admires most in Æneas his overtly 'heroic' qualities:

"multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat
gentis honos; hærent infixi pectore vultus
verbaque"[36] (4.3-5).

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[32] "Æneas was standing there in an aura of brilliant light, godlike of face and figure: for Venus herself had breathed beauty upon his head and the roseate sheen of youth on his manhood and a gallant light into his eyes" (*ibid.*).

[33] "Sidonian Dido [was] amazed first by the man's appearance" (*ibid.*).

[34] "oil-sleeked hair" (*ibid.*).

[35] "dabble in the dust those love-locks he crisps and dolls up with curling tongs and smarms with perfumed grease!" (*ibid.*).

[36] "Much did she muse on the hero's nobility, and much on his family's fame. His look, his words had gone to his heart and lodged there" (*ibid.*).

In fact, Virgil's continuation of that phrase - "nec placidam membris dat cura quietem"[37] - recalls Emma's insomnia (*OC*I, pp.640-1) the night before her planned flight with Rodolphe.

In broad terms, then, Emma's relationship with Rodolphe parallels Dido's with Æneas, not least inasmuch as both involve the woman's infidelity to a husband (although Dido's husband, Sychæus, is dead; Virgil nonetheless states that she feels guilty at betraying him). Equally, parallels exist between the couples' respective partings. The manner of parting is, of course, radically different: Æneas informs Dido of the reasons for his decision, persuasively or otherwise, in a face-to-face confrontation; Rodolphe declines to do this, instead sending Emma a letter before, like Æneas, leaving for a doubtful destination. However, tangible parallels are evident between Æneas' excuses and Rodolphe's letter, couched though the latter is in insincerity and romantic cliché. Both men, despite their impending action, protest their undying devotion in markedly similar (and formal) terms: Rodolphe writes, "Je ne vous oublierai pas, croyez-le bien, et j'aurai continuellement pour vous un dévouement profond" (p.643); while Æneas assures Dido that,

> " ego te, quæ plurima fando
> enumerare vales, numquam, regina, negabo
> promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissæ

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37 "she could get no peace from love's disquiet" (*ibid.* - though one might argue that Day Lewis has slightly under-translated here; Virgil seems to imply specifically that Dido has difficulty *sleeping*).

dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus"[38] (4.333-6).

Both Rodolphe and Æneas protest that their decision is not their own; indeed, that they are submitting unwillingly to the desires of a higher power (Æneas more convincingly, it might be said):

> "Est-ce ma faute? O mon Dieu! non, non, n'en accusez que la fatalité!" (*OC*I, p.643.)

> "Italiam non sponte sequor"[39] (4.361).

Certainly both Rodolphe and Æneas can be accused of coldness. Rodolphe in his letter addresses Emma as *vous* where previously she was *tu*, and emphasizes nothing stronger than his *dévouement*; while Page, in the introduction to his famous commentary upon the *Æneid*[40], sums up the impression given by Æneas' speech thus: "To an appeal which would move a stone Æneas replies with the cold and formal rhetoric of an attorney" (introduction, p.xvii). Whether this is entirely so is questionable; but it is the impression, common to Virgil's and Flaubert's work, that counts. Rodolphe, his letter completed, reflects that the "Pauvre petite femme... va me croire plus insensible qu'un roc" (*OC*I, p.643); tellingly, this is precisely the accusation

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[38] "I'll never pretend you have not been good to me, deserving of everything you can claim. I shall not regret my memories of Elissa [Dido's alternative name] as long as I breathe, as long as I remember my own self" (*ibid.*).

[39] "God's will, not mine, says 'Italy'" (*ibid.* - Day Lewis' interpretation of Æneas' meaning is undoubtedly correct, but the translation does in fact say more than the original, which simply means "I leave for Italy not of my own free will").

[40] *The* Æneid *of Virgil, edited with introduction and notes*, London, Macmillan, 1894 - 1900.

that Dido levels at Æneas in response to his speech:

> " duris te genuit cautibus horrens
> Caucasus"[41] (366-7).

We should note parenthetically that the two men's excuses are similar in invoking fate as the arbiter of their actions: Æneas genuinely believes that destiny summons him to Italy; Rodolphe, as we have seen, protests that only fate governs his decisions, a claim that has convinced even fewer critics than Æneas'. Claude Vigée[42] is typical:

> "Rodolphe avait invoqué une fatalité commode, et en avait fait son alibi, prétextant avec une parfaite mauvaise foi que le destin seul avait rapproché les deux amants" (*op.cit*, p.181).

The parallel between the two emotional ruptures continues in the woman's reaction in both works. No specific moment in the *Æneid* parallels Emma's reception of Rodolphe's letter or her reading of it in her attic; but at the moment when Dido learns of the ineluctability of her fate - when she sees the Trojans preparing to leave Carthage - she too is in an elevated position: Virgil apostrophizes her,

> " cum litora fervere late
> prospiceres arce ex summa"[43] (409-10).

There follows in *MB* a famous scene where, in her desolation, disorientated by

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41 "I believe harsh Caucasus begat you on a flint-hearted rock" (*ibid.*).

42 'L'ambivalence de l'image mythique chez Flaubert', in Carlut, C. (ed.) *Essais sur Flaubert en l'honneur du professeur Don Demorest*, Paris, Nizet, 1979, pp.155-83.

43 "when, looking forth from your high roof-top, you beheld the whole length of the beach aswarm with men" (trans. Day Lewis).

the sound of Binet's lathe (which critics have believed to symbolize ineluctable fate), Emma almost casts herself from the attic window:

> "le ronflement du tour ne discontinuait pas, comme une voix furieuse qui l'appelait.
> - Ma femme! ma femme! cria Charles.
> Elle s'arrêta.
> - Où es-tu donc? Arrive!" (*OC*I, p.644).

Besides the obvious interpretation of the sound of the lathe, another parallel comes to mind if we accept that Emma's behaviour somehow parallels Dido's. Virgil writes in the *Æneid* that Dido had a "templum / coniugis antiqui" (4.457-8), a temple to her previous husband, and that,

> "hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis
> visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret,
> solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo
> sæpe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces"[44] (460-3).

Ovid's *Heroïdes*, as before, make explicit what Virgil implies: that Dido is, or believes she is summoned to her death by her husband's ghost. His Dido writes,

> "hinc ego me sensi noto quater ore citari:
> ipse sono tenui dixit 'Elissa, veni!'"[45] (*Heroïdes* 7.101-2).

Unlike in the *Æneid*, we are told that Dido's husband - like Emma's - summons

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[44] "from this shrine, when night covered the earth, she seemed to be hearing words - the voice of that husband calling upon her. There was something dirge-like too, in the tones of the owl on the roof-top whose lonely, repeated cries were drawn out to a long keening" (*ibid.*).

[45] "From within [the temple] four times have I heard myself called by a voice well-known: 'twas he himself [Sychæus] crying in faintly sounding tone, 'Elissa, come!'" (trans. Showerman).

her by name. The parallel obviously is not straightforward: Charles' voice actually awakes Emma from her reverie, saving her life rather than encouraging her to end it. But the passage may at least reinforce the identification between Charles and Sychæus, and thus indirectly that between Emma and Dido.

The latter parallel continues in the immediate aftermath of Emma's thoughts of suicide. Towards the end of the same chapter, Emma glimpses Rodolphe leaving alone for Rouen. The effect on her is instantaneous: "Emma poussa un cri et tomba roide par terre, à la renverse... Elle s'évanouit encore. On la porta sur son lit" (*OC*I, pp.644-5). This fainting fit, the start of Emma's long illness, closely mirrors one that afflicts Dido under similar circumstances, after her last living encounter with Æneas:

> " suscipiunt famulæ conlapsaque membra
> marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt"[46] (4.391-2).

During this fit, we learn, Emma, not unnaturally, is "blanche comme une statue de cire" (*OC*I, p.645); Dido, too, often goes unusually pale during book four, as in line 499: "pallor simul occupat ora"[47].

Such are the principal elements of the apparent parallel between *MB* and the *Æneid* during part 2 of Flaubert's work. Despite the early 'forewarning' of the parallel in the "Quos ego" of chapter 1, Flaubert's imitation

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46 "Her maids bore up the fainting queen into her marble chamber and laid her down on the bed" (trans. Day Lewis).

47 "her face going deadly white" (*ibid.*).

apparently becomes systematic only when Rodolphe appears; it seems eminently possible that thenceforward, there is a consistent and meaningful reflection of Dido's and Æneas' relationship in Emma's and Rodolphe's. Precisely what Flaubert wished to achieve by this - if indeed the imitation was fully conscious - will be discussed more fully at the end of this chapter. As would be expected, with Rodolphe's departure from the novel's action, the parallel lies dormant. Emma, unlike Dido, does not kill herself immediately upon her lover's disappearance, and Léon, notwithstanding Emma's illusions, has little in common with the heroic Æneas. Nonetheless, the parallel does re-emerge towards the book's end, just before, during and after Rodolphe's brief reappearance, and during Emma's death scene.

In general terms, one might argue that the masked ball in which Emma indulges on the last night of her life, in Rouen, resembles the Bacchanalian *furor* which Dido, drunk with infatuation, undergoes when she first suspects Æneas' treachery:

> "sævit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem
> bacchatur, qualis commotis exterrita sacris
> Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
> orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithæron"[48] (300-3);

the similarity is reinforced as Virgil compares Dido with somebody at an orgy ("bacchatur"), which is effectively what Emma attends in Rouen. However, it is only the subsequent day that the real parallel with the *Æneid* is renewed. After

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[48] "Distraught, she witlessly wandered about the city, raving like some Bacchante driven wild, when the emblems of sanctity stir, by the shouts of Hail, Bacchus! and drawn to Cithæron at night by the din of revellers, at the triennial orgies" (*ibid.*).

Emma's abortive attempt to persuade Maître Guillaumin to help her, Flaubert describes her panic and impotent rage:

> "il lui semblait que la Providence s'acharnait à la poursuivre... Quelque chose de belliqueux la transportait. Elle aurait voulu battre les hommes, leur cracher au visage, les broyer tous; et elle continuait à marcher rapidement devant elle, pâle, frémissante, enragée, furetant d'un œil en pleurs l'horizon vide..." (*OC*I, p.677).

The parallels between this passage and the *Æneid* are striking. Dido, like Emma, is terrified by her fate, by *Providence* - "fatis exterrita Dido" (4.450). Like Emma, she dreams of being pursued, albeit by Æneas:

> " agit ipse furentem
> in somnis ferus Æneas"[49] (4.465-6).

Some similarity exists between Flaubert's and Virgil's vocabulary here: Emma and Dido are both *enragée*, *furentem* - maddened. Dido, like Emma, wanders in her dreams through a deserted landscape (cf. "horizon vide"):

> " semper longam incomitata videtur
> ire viam et Tyrios deserta quærere terra"[50] (467-8).

Once again, Emma's pallor reflects Dido's, mentioned above (p.254) - besides that reference, Virgil at least once more describes Dido as pale; just before her death, she is "pallida morte futura"[51] (644).

Emma's desire for violence against the whole male sex also reflects an

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[49] "Æneas himself pursued her remorselessly in dreams, driving her mad" (*ibid.*).

[50] "she dreamed... of walking alone and eternally down a long road, through an empty land, in search of her Tyrians" (*ibid.*).

[51] "pale with the shade of advancing death" (*ibid.*).

element of Virgil's portrayal of Dido's terminal crisis, when she ponders what she might have done rather than show the Trojans hospitality:

> "non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis
> spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
> Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?
> ...faces in castra tulissem
> implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque
> cum genere exstinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem"[52] (600-6).

It is in this section of *MB* that the imitation of Virgil's snake-simile from *Æneid* 2 occurs, during Emma's interview with Binet (see above, p.244); and immediately afterwards, when Emma goes to the house of *mère* Rollet, "poussée par une sorte d'épouvante qui la chassait de sa maison" (*OC*I, p.678), we may recall the comparison of Dido with Orestes, the tragic hero, himself chased from his home by a most solid terror: "cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Diræ"[53] (473).

The scope of Flaubert's pre-text increases slightly in Emma's final encounter with Rodolphe, which mirrors not only Dido's and Æneas' dialogues in *Æneid* 4, but also Æneas' meeting with his former lover's ghost in Tartarus in book six, where it might be said that Æneas, like Rodolphe, "entama une explication de sa conduite, s'excusant en termes vagues, faute de pouvoir inventer mieux" (*OC*I, p.679). However, the closest parallels are

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[52] "Why could I not have seized him, torn up his body and littered the sea with it? finished his friends with the sword, finished his own Ascanius and served him up for his father to banquet on?... I should have stormed their bulwarks with fire, set alight their gangways, gutted the whole lot - folk, father and child - then flung myself on the conflagration" (*ibid.*).

[53] "and at the door the avenging Furies cut off his retreat" (*ibid.*).

still with book four. Emma's and Dido's complaints have a very similar ring to them. Their rhetorical flourishes are identical - both of them, as though appealing to a higher authority, refer to their interlocutor in the third person, emphasizing the gulf between them:

> "Lorsqu'on est si pauvre, on ne met pas d'argent à la crosse de son fusil... Oh! rien ne lui manque... Et puis, quand je reviens vers lui, vers lui, qui est riche..." (pp.679-80)

> "num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?
> num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?"[54]
> (369-70).

Emma enumerates everything she, in Rodolphe's position, *would* have done: "moi, j'aurais tout donné, j'aurais tout vendu, j'aurais travaillé de mes mains, j'aurais mendié sur les routes, pour un sourire, pour t'entendre dire «Merci!»" (*OC*I, p.680); while Dido, in her desperate bid to persuade Æneas of her love for him, enumerates everything she *has* done (contrasting with her later retrospective threats):

> " eiectum litore, egentem
> excepi et regni demens in parte locavi.
> amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi"[55] (373-5).

Each concludes, in very similar terms, that it is her lover who has prevented her happiness - correctly in Dido's case, dubiously in Emma's:

> "Sans toi, sais-tu bien, j'aurais pu vivre heureuse!" (*ibid.*);

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[54] "Not one sigh from him when I wept! Not a softer glance! Did he yield an inch, or a tear, in pity for her who loves him?" (*ibid.*).

[55] "I took him, a castaway, a pauper, and shared my kingdom with him - I must have been mad - rescued his lost fleet, rescued his friends from death" (*ibid.*).

> "felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
> numquam Dardaniæ tetigissent nostra carinæ"[56] (657-8).

As Emma leaves Rodolphe's château for the last time, Flaubert writes that "Elle ne souffrait que de son amour" (*ibid.*). Virgil similarly analyses Dido's mental state:

> " rursusque resurgens
> sævit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat æstu"[57] (531-2).

When she asks Justin for Homais' key, we again see Emma - as so often Dido - as being pale, this time through Justin's eyes: "il la regardait, tout étonné par la pâleur de son visage, qui tranchait en blanc sur le fond noir de la nuit" (*ibid.*). At last, when Emma has taken the arsenic and her condition becomes more and more widely known, we see the rumour of it spread through Yonville from mouth to mouth:

> "Et il [Charles] ne pouvait que répéter ce mot: «Empoisonnée: empoisonnée!». Félicité courut chez Homais, qui l'exclama sur la place; madame Lefrançois l'entendit au *Lion d'or*; quelques-uns se levèrent pour l'apprendre à leurs voisins, et toute la nuit le village fut en éveil" (*OC*I, p.681).

Virgil describes the same process more succinctly, after Dido's actual death:

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56 "Happy I would have been, ah, beyond words happy, if only the Trojan ships had never come to my shore!" (*ibid.*).

57 "her love reared up again and savaged her, till she writhed in a sea of boiling passion" (*ibid.*).

" it clamor ad alta
atria: concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem"[58] (665-6).

The parallels between Dido and Emma persist even in the manner of their dying. Both, of course, commit suicide, albeit by radically different means; but the most striking parallels between their deaths lie in the lingering nature of both women's agony. Towards the very end, Emma enjoys a brief respite after Bournisien has administered the Final Unction:

> "elle regarda tout autour d'elle... elle demanda son miroir, et elle resta penchée dessus quelque temps... Alors elle se renversa la tête en poussant un soupir et retomba sur l'oreiller" (*OC*I, p.684).

However, immediately afterwards, she begins to deteriorate rapidly:

> "ses yeux, en roulant, pâlissaient... A mesure que le râle devenait plus fort, l'ecclésiastique précipitait ses oraisons" (*ibid.*).

And, as she hears the blind beggar's song, she enters her death agony:

> "Emma se releva comme un cadavre que l'on galvanise, les cheveux dénoués, la prunelle fixe, béante... Une convulsion la rabattit sur le matelas" (*ibid.*).

Many of these actions and events closely resemble a passage of the *Æneid*, very close to the end of Dido's life:

> "illa gravis oculos conata attollere rursus
> deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus
> ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit,
> ter revoluta toro est oculisque errantibus alto

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58 "Their screams rang to the rooftop of the palace; then rumour ran amok through the shocked city" (*ibid.*). We may already have seen Flaubert use Virgil's personified *Fama* (pp.159-60 above).

quæsivit cælo lucem ingemuitque reperta"[59] (688-92).

Besides the scenes' overall similarity - two public deaths, surrounded by onlookers - both writers emphasize the rolling eyes of the expiring woman; both Dido and Emma try to raise themselves up on their death-bed and fall back; both utter a death-rattle. The similarities are clear. Immediately after the passage just cited, Virgil explains that Dido's long drawn-out agony results from her committing suicide before her fated time, "subitoque accensa furore"[60] (697), and states that Juno, in pity, sent the goddess Iris to release Dido's soul by cutting a tress of hair - "dextra crinem secat"[61] (704). Given what has gone before, it is difficult not to see in Homais' less than miraculous removal, at Charles' request, of a tress of Emma's hair a burlesque of this passage, a final modernization of the *Æneid* into a bourgeois setting:

> "Enfin, se raidissant contre l'émotion, Homais donna deux ou trois grands coups au hasard, ce qui fit des marques blanches dans cette belle chevelure noire..." (*OC*I, p.687).

After Emma's death, the direct parallels with the *Æneid*, unsurprisingly, diminish. However, besides the reference to Iris' cutting of Dido's hair just mentioned, at least two stand out. A particularly telling parallel occurs with Charles' final view of Emma lying dead:

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[59] "Dido made an effort to raise her heavy eyes, then gave it up: the sword-blade grated against her breast bone. Three times she struggled to rise, to lift herself on an elbow, three times rolled back on the bed. her wandering gaze went up to the sky, looking for light: she gave a moan when she saw it" (*ibid.*).

[60] "driven to it by a crazed impulse" (*ibid.*).

[61] "she snipped the tress" (*ibid.*).

"Des moires frissonnaient sur la robe de satin, blanche comme un clair de lune. Emma disparaissait dessous; et il lui semblait que, s'épandant au dehors d'elle-même elle se perdait confusément dans l'entourage des choses, dans le silence, dans la nuit, dans le vent qui passait, dans les senteurs humides qui montaient" (p.687).

The imagery of this passage - the lunar associations, the idea of the woman's elusiveness, the connotations of darkness and decay - may owe something to the section of *Æneid* 6 where Æneas first glimpses Dido in the Underworld:

" quam Troius heros
ut primum iuxta stetit agnovitque per umbras
obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam..."[62] (6.451-4).

Finally, one might consider Flaubert's deliberate contrast of Charles' insomnia on the night of Emma's funeral with Rodolphe's and Léon's sound slumbers:

"Minuit sonna. Le village, comme d'habitude, était silencieux et Charles éveillé, pensait toujours à elle.

Rodolphe, qui, pour se distraire, avait battu le bois toute la journée, dormait tranquillement dans son château; et Léon, là-bas, dormait aussi" (*OC*I, p.689),

to recall the contrast Virgil makes between Æneas' sound sleep, the night before his departure:

"Æneas celsa in puppi iam certus eundi
carpebat somnos" [63] (4.554-5),

and Dido's tortured wakefulness described just before. The last two examples

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[62] "Now when the Trojan leader found himself near her and knew that the form he glimpsed through the shadows was hers - as early in the month one sees, or imagines he sees, through a wrack of cloud the new moon rising and glimmering..." (*ibid.*).

[63] "High on the poop of his ship, resolute now for departure, Æneas slept" (*ibid.*).

do not, of course, continue the perceived Emma-Dido / Rodolphe-Æneas equivalence; rather, they seem to cast Charles in first in the rôle of Æneas, then that of Dido. However, their presence is significant more in its continuation of the intertextual relationship between *MB* and the *Æneid* than in any precise symbolism.

Such, then, are the textual and other similarities, clear-cut or otherwise, that I have been able to detect between *MB* and Virgil's *Æneid*. It remains to establish whether they amount to an intentional pattern of allusion, with a specific meaning. So extensive are the allusions which have apparently been demonstrated that it seems extremely unlikely that Flaubert was unaware of them. A further factor is mentioned by Lowe (*op.cit.*, p.88): Rodolphe "is described as *vir* in the scenarios". The comparison with the well-known equation "Homais = *Homo*: l'homme" is evident: just as Homais is the archetypal *human* of the bourgeois nineteenth century, so is Rodolphe the archetypal *male*, predatory and shallow. However, a further possibility is that *vir* refers to the famous opening words of the *Æneid*, "arma *virumque*" (my italics) - *vir* here being Æneas. If so, it seems highly probable that Flaubert was aware of and intended the parallel already suggested between the couple of Emma and Rodolphe and that of Dido and Æneas.

To what end might Flaubert have established such a parallel? One might tentatively suggest that, besides the bald equivalence of specific characters and their experiences, *MB* and the *Æneid* also share a common set

of images or symbols connected with this equivalence. This is very much the sort of suggestion Margaret Lowe makes in her work; but here, it might be considered a central element of *MB* - the most important of the several sets of images that Flaubert borrows from myth in the work. The two sets of figures involved in this network would be: Emma-Dido-the goddess Diana[64]-the moon; Æneas-Rodolphe-the god Apollo-the sun.

The main evidence of such a symbolic network relies upon two Virgilian similes. In *Æneid* 1, Dido makes her first appearance before Æneas,

> "qualis in Eurotæ ripis aut per iuga Cynthi
> exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutæ
> hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram
> fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnes
> (Latonæ tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus):
> talis erat Dido, talem se læta ferebat..."[65] (498-503).

In book four, just before the fateful hunting scene, Æneas is compared in similar terms, with a strong correlation of imagery and vocabulary, to Apollo:

> "qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
> deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo
> instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum
> Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi:
> ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem
> fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,
> tela sonant umeris: haud segnior ibat

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64 As we have seen, Lowe suggests this, on different grounds.

65 "As, by the banks of Eurotas or over the Cynthian slopes Diana foots the dance, and a thousand Oreads following weave a constellation around that arrowy one, who in grace of movement excels all goddesses, and happiness runs through the still heart of Latona - so Dido was, even so she went her radiant way" (trans. Day Lewis).

Æneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore"[66] (143-50).

Although Apollo and Diana are in myth siblings, and, as there are no legends of a sexual relationship between them, the parallel cannot be exact, it is nonetheless probably Virgil's intention to establish this further level of meaning in Æneas' and Dido's relationship, moreover associating the two characters with the two deities' attributes, the sun and the moon. This is further implied in passages such as *Æneid* 1.588-91 (see above, p.249) or *Æneid* 6.451-4 (see p.262); which, as we have seen, bear comparison with aspects of Rodolphe and Emma respectively. It would be unsurprising, therefore, if Flaubert alluded in *MB* to the implicit association in *Æneid* 4 of the work's hero and heroine with the oldest couple in the world, the sun and moon, the male and female archetypes.

Flaubert does indeed consistently make this association throughout *MB*: Emma is often, more or less directly, associated with the moon, Rodolphe with the sun. When Charles first goes to treat her father, he is persuaded to wait until the moon has risen. Moon-imagery recurs in the enumeration of the young Emma's reading: regular elements of her reading material are "nacelles au clair de lune" (*OC*I, p.586) and some of her books are illustrated with pictures of English ladies who, "rêvant sur des sofas près d'un billet

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66 "It was like when Apollo leaves Lycia, his winter palace, and Xanthus river to visit Delos, his mother's home, and renew the dances, while round his altar Cretans and Dryopes and the tattooed Agathyrsi are raising a polyglot din: the god himself steps out on the Cynthian range, a circlet of gold and a wreath of pliant bay on his flowing hair, the jangling weapons slung from his shoulder. Nimble as he, Æneas moved, with the same fine glow on his handsome face" (*ibid.*).

décacheté, contemplaient la lune" (p.587). It is invariably by moonlight that Emma tries to awaken passion in Charles or Rodolphe; the latter seems to associate her with the moon, recounting how "je regardais votre maison, le toit qui brillait sous la lune" (p.627); and their last night together is menacingly overhung by "la lune, toute ronde et couleur de pourpre" (p.641). Later, Léon claims that an Italian engraving, representing a Muse, used to remind him of Emma: "Elle est drapée d'une tunique et elle regarde la lune" (p.653); the moon is mentioned thrice, shining upon Emma, during the description of her and Léon's boat-ride during their *lune de miel* in Rouen. Finally, as has been mentioned, Emma is associated with the moon even in death, with the dress she wears in repose "blanche comme un clair de lune" (p.687)[67]; and Justin, as he weeps by her grave, is oppressed by "un regret immense, plus doux que la lune..." (p.689). Naturally, these references are partly explained by the Romantic value attached to the moon, which Flaubert is of course satirizing; however, there is no reason why the moon should not carry a secondary significance in the work also[68].

Rodolphe is equally associated with the sun; his first major appearance, at the *comices*, takes place, as Homais later reports in his newspaper column,

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67 The impression Charles has in this passage of Emma's gradual dissolution into the surrounding night might perhaps be compared with Diana's fate in *TSA*III, of whom we are told "Un nuage qui passe l'emporte" (*OC*I, p.560) - Emma, Charles thinks, is vanishing into, among other things, "le vent qui passait" (p.687).

68 We should remember that Emma has affinities with the later depiction of the goddess Diana 'in person' in *TSA*III; see ch.3, n.112.

under a sun-drenched sky, and Lowe detects elements of several sun-gods present in the scene. The effect is especially clear in the subsequent chapter, where the seduction of Emma seems to have the blessing of the sun god; when Rodolphe reaches Emma's house, the description of the room includes a reference to "la dorure du baromètre, sur qui frappait un rayon de soleil" (p.627); during the ride, the clouds occasionally part and "sous un rayon de soleil, on apercevait de loin les toits de Yonville" (p.628); and when they enter the forest, the sun appears. After the seduction, the sun dazzles Emma: "le soleil horizontal, passant entre les branches, lui éblouissait les yeux" (p.629). Such references are scarce in the subsequent two chapters, during the affair's *intermezzo*; but at its resumption, in chapter 12, part 2, the sun is mentioned thrice - significantly featuring in a simile comparing Emma's lasciviousness to flowers which are caused to grow by manure, rain, wind and sun; and as Emma imagines her future with Rodolphe, "cela se balançait à l'horizon infini, harmonieux, bleuâtre et couvert de soleil" (p.641). Sun references decrease after Rodolphe deserts Emma; however, during the pair's last meeting, we are told that in Emma's hair "miroitait comme une flèche d'or un dernier rayon du soleil" (p.679) - a suitably sombre image. In all, of 44 uses of the word *soleil* in *MB*, thirteen - a disproportionate amount - occur in chapters 7-12 of part 2, where Rodolphe's influence upon the plot is strongest. Given such details, it seems reasonable to posit a web of images in *Madame Bovary*, interconnected and deliberately contrived, which, juxtaposed with the imagery

'lent' by the connection with the *Æneid*, makes Emma a female, Rodolphe a male archetype; indeed, such, it seems, is the set of images at the centre of the novel - much as Margaret Lowe suggests, but, seemingly, demonstrable intertextually as well as capable of being inferred from the work itself.

This imagery is both suggested by and reinforces the parallel already suggested by textual imitation of the *Æneid*. Other than the almost functional use of mythic imagery, one might speculate whether Flaubert had any other motive for introducing this parallel. A partial answer may lie in the rôle of fate in both works.

In Virgil's *Æneid*, it can be argued, fate is the prime mover of events: Æneas is himself from the start *fato profugus* (1.2), exiled by fate, and even the gods - Juno, the Trojans' enemy especially - seem powerless against the direction of fate; although Virgil, far from being a convinced fatalist, sometimes appears to question fate's ineluctability. In *MB*, the standard epic view of fate, as exemplified by Virgil, is evoked and superficially adhered to - hence a superficial resemblance of Emma's and Dido's stories to ineluctable tragedy[69], a similarity noted by numerous critics and encouraged by Virgil with a memorable simile assimilating Dido to tragic stage-heroes such as Orestes (4.469-73)[70]. This apparent element of inevitability is, then, another parallel between the two works - but it is one that Flaubert deliberately subverts within

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[69] Both Flaubert and Virgil imply that Emma and Dido at least consider Fate / Providence to be hostile to them - see above, p.256.

[70] This parallel will be investigated in more detail in the conclusion of this thesis.

MB. Fate is reduced from an epic mechanism to a tool of seduction skilfully used by Rodolphe, a word like any other to be utilized in his capture and desertion of Emma. Thus, at the *comices*, Rodolphe maintains that it was their ordained fate to meet: "tôt ou tard, dans six mois, dix ans, [les âmes] se réuniront, s'aimeront, parce que la fatalité l'exige..." (*OC*I, p.624). Soon after, he asks rhetorically "Est-ce que nos destinées maintenant ne sont pas communes?" (p.628); and in his letter to Emma, fate has become an excuse:

> "tôt ou tard [the phrase is repeated from the *comices*], cette ardeur (c'est là le sort des choses humaines) se fût diminuée" (p.643);
>
> "Est-ce ma faute? O mon Dieu! non, non, n'en accusez que la fatalité! - Voilà un mot qui fait toujours de l'effet, se dit-il" (*ibid.*);

the latter quotation especially demonstrates Rodolphe's cynicism in his use of the concept of fate. The deception implicit in that concept as used in *MB* finally becomes explicit in the novel's closing pages, with Charles Bovary's unique *grand mot*:

> "- C'est la faute de la fatalité!
> Rodolphe, *qui avait conduit cette fatalité*, le trouva bien débonnaire..." (p.692) (my italics).

Fate no longer exists in Emma's story; her destruction results directly from human actions, especially hers and Rodolphe's[71]. It is as though Rodolphe were knowingly deploying a fatalistic reading of the *Æneid*, and of the theory

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[71] Other references to fate also serve only to devalue the concept. Thus, after Hippolyte's club foot operation, Charles attributes the results of botched surgery to the workings of destiny: "Il avait pris pourtant toutes les précautions imaginables. La fatalité s'en était mêlée" (p.636); and in the performance of *Lucie di Lammermoor*, fate is reduced to one of a list of Romantic clichés: "les amoureux parlaient des fleurs de leur tombe, de serments d'exil, de fatalité, d'espérances..." (p.650).

of human relationships it apparently espouses, to his own ends, himself, like Balzac's Vautrin, taking on the rôle of Providence. In this he is both like and unlike Æneas, who, as we have seen (p.251 above), uses much the same excuse as Rodolphe for leaving his lover, but, unlike Rodolphe, is apparently sincere. One might almost consider Rodolphe as a modern, devalued, but self-aware Æneas.

Indeed, the same judgement may apply to *MB* as a whole: it is, among many other things, an updated *Æneid* for the modern world. The broad sweep of the *Æneid* (or indeed the *Iliad*) is scaled down to deal with the destiny not of a nation, but of a single woman, leaving Flaubert open to Henry James' accusations of writing about "too small an affair". Flaubert deliberately uses narrative techniques comparable to Virgil's, with imagery and symbolism which, while not overtly allusions to preceding works, can be read thus. He applies all these techniques - with the further vital ingredient of impersonality - to a tale firmly rooted in his own time. The end result, as Flaubert intended, is an updating of Virgil's epic into modern terms, a retelling of the story of Dido and Æneas for the modern day.

Chapter 5: *Salammbô*: antiquity modernized

> "J'ai voulu fixer un mirage en appliquant à l'antiquité les procédés du roman moderne".
>
> (Flaubert's reply to Sainte-Beuve, December 1863 [*OC*II, p.751])

(i) The choice of subject: anti-classicism and escapism

Of Flaubert's adult works, *Salammbô* is most clearly relevant to the writer's interest in the classics: it is his only novel situated during what is normally recognized as the classical period. However, balancing the chronological setting, Flaubert chose a geographical *milieu* and historical events which were deeply unfamiliar to most readers, even in his day. That this choice was conscious and deliberate is attested by Du Camp, who claims that Flaubert, fulminating against his own reputation as a realist, exclaimed:

> "on m'accuse d'être réaliste, de faire du réalisme, c'est-à-dire de copier ce que je vois et d'être incapable d'invention! Eh bien, je vais leur raconter une histoire *dont personne ne sait le premier mot*: la scène se passera près de la «baie voluptueuse» de Carthage... et, nul ne se doutant de ce qu'était la civilisation carthaginoise, on ne me reprochera pas mon réalisme" (*op.cit.*, p.247).

As always with Du Camp's testimony, some scepticism is required. The basic point stands, nonetheless: the events Flaubert evokes in *Salammbô* feature the Romans only as an unseen, peripheral threat; and, while Greeks do

appear in the book - most notably in the person of Spendius - they are debased members of a barbarian army rather than recognisably 'classical' figures. Flaubert's choice of Carthage as a subject has always attracted critical comment: Sainte-Beuve[1] reproaches him for choosing to describe,

> "une civilisation perdue, anéantie... une cité dont l'emplacement même a longtemps fait doute parmi les savants, une nation éteinte dont le langage lui-même est aboli, et dans les fastes de cette nation un événement qui ne réveille aucun souvenir illustre, et qui fait partie de la plus ingrate histoire" (*op.cit*, pp.411-12).

More recent critics have also emphasized the non-classical status of Carthage as a subject: Butor[2] is particularly interested in its 'foreign' aspect:

> "Carthage, c'est la grande menace qui a pesé sur la République romaine, ce qui aurait pu faire que l'Empire romaine n'ait pas existé. Rome a pour nous deux aspects principaux qui sont les deux piliers de notre histoire culturelle... d'une part, la Rome impériale et par conséquent l'Antiquité classique, celle des humanistes, des études grecques et latines, et, d'autre part, la Rome chrétienne, le siège de Pierre... Carthage est ce qui a failli empêcher cela" (*op.cit*, p.128).
>
> "Carthage est ainsi l'envers de l'Antiquité, aussi bien classique que chrétienne... c'est ce qui nous est caché par Rome" (*ibid.*, p.129).

Similarly, Andreas Wetzel[3] considers the Punic republic "essentially foreign to a Western culture steeped in the heritage of Carthage's rival and ultimate annihilator, Rome" (*op.cit*, p.13). In terms of subject, then, *Salammbô* is an *anti*-classical text; the question arises of why, given his perceived predilection for 'accepted' classics, Flaubert did not choose a more familiar classical

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1 '*Salammbô*, par M. Gustave Flaubert', first article (8th December, 1862) (*Œuvres complètes* vol.II, Paris, Club de l'Honnête Homme, 1971).

2 'Demeures et dieux à Carthage', *Corps Ecrit*, 9 (1984), pp.127-47.

3 'Reconstructing Carthage: archæology and the historical novel', *Mosaic*, 21 (Winter 1988), pp.13-23.

setting for his novel of antiquity; or, if he was predisposed to write about Carthage (perhaps because of the preponderant influence of a work set in Carthage upon *MB*, as argued in the last chapter), why he did not treat the more accessible and seemingly more fruitful subject of the second Punic War, as Sainte-Beuve suggests?

It is a critical *idée reçue* that one reason for Flaubert's choice of subject in *Salammbô* is its temporal remoteness from the hated nineteenth century; this aspect of the work is emphasized especially by critics who consider the work radically different from the rest of the writer's *œuvre*. Flaubert's own remarks, most notably in the *Correspondance* are usually adduced as evidence: thus, to Mlle Leroyer de Chantepie:

> "Je vais écrire un roman dont l'action se passera trois siècles avant Jésus-Christ, car j'éprouve le besoin de sortir du monde moderne, où ma plume s'est trop trempée et qui d'ailleurs me fatigue autant à reproduire qu'il me dégoûte à voir"[4].

Perhaps coincidentally, this attitude recalls that of a putative source for *Salammbô*, the Roman historian Livy, who, in the preface to his work confesses his preference for describing the period of Roman history furthest removed from his own:

> "ego contra hoc quoque laboris præmium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quæ nostra tot per annos vidit ætas, tantisper certe, dum prisca illa tota mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curæ, quæ scribentis animum etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere possit"[5] (*Preface* 5).

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[4] Letter 691, Paris, 18th March [1857].

[5] "I myself, on the contrary, shall seek in this an additional award for my toil, that I may avert my gaze from the troubles which our age has been witnessing for so many years, so long at least as I am absorbed in the recollection of the brave days of old, free from every care which, even if it could not divert the historian's mind from the truth, might nevertheless cause it anxiety" (trans. B.O. Foster, Loeb edition, 1961).

More specific to *Salammbô*, however, is the escapism achieved by evoking a culture whose subsequent annihilation ensured it barely affected classical Western culture, as suggested above. A further benefit of this cultural obscurity was the leeway it permitted in *Salammbô*'s historical plot. Flaubert perceived this element of the project early during its composition: in July or August 1857, he wrote to Feydeau, concerning *Salammbô*, that,

> "Quant à l'archéologie, elle sera «probable». Voilà tout. Pourvu que l'on ne puisse pas me *prouver* que j'ai dit des absurdités, c'est tout ce que je demande"[6].

Equally in the polemic following *Salammbô*'s publication, as Diana Knight[7] points out, Flaubert stressed that,

> "he was only trying to create an 'image' of Carthage that would not contradict the French nineteenth-century received view of it by obvious inaccuracy or improbability" (*op.cit*, p.21).

As the above quotation implies, Carthaginian culture was not wholly unfamiliar in nineteenth-century France. Anne Green[8] has demonstrated the city's status, along with Rome, Babylon and Alexandria as a metaphor for decadence. More palpably, mainly due to the notoriety of the second Punic war, various *idées reçues* had accrued to Carthage's reputation. Shroder, in his article 'On reading *Salammbô*'[9], identifies two:

> "Our historical associations are subsumed by two Latin locutions: Cato's *Delenda est Carthago!* - which conjures up the image of a once-

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6 Letter 729, [late July / early August 1857].

7 *Flaubert's characters - the language of illusion*, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1985.

8 *Flaubert and the historical novel* - Salammbô *reassessed*, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1982.

9 *L'Esprit Créateur*, 10, 1 (Spring 1970), pp.24-35.

> proud city razed to the ground - and *fides Punica*, Sallust's ironic expression for treachery" (*op.cit*, p.29).

Of these, Flaubert alludes to the former association indirectly in *Salammbô* (*OC*I, p.722), and the latter is implicit throughout the text: Benedetto[10], in his authoritative study of the work's sources, states of *perfidia Punica* that "la bollavano in frasi divenute comuni Cicerone, Livio, Valerio Massimo, Silio, Vegezio" (*op.cit*, p.301). Examples abound both in Flaubert's work and his precursors': Hannon is memorably described as "un homme dévot, rusé, impitoyable... un vrai Carthaginois" (*OC*I, p.723), suggesting low cunning as a common, praiseworthy Carthaginian trait; Livy, in a thumbnail sketch of another archetypal Carthaginian, Hannibal, after enumerating his more positive features attributes to him "perfidia plus quam Punica"[11] (21.4.9).

Other *idées reçues* clearly feature in *Salammbô*, equally as accessible to Flaubert's public as to him. Most obviously, the recurrence of elephants, literally and symbolically (for instance in Hannon's disease), is fully consistent with the popular view of Carthage, shaped by Hannibal's exploits crossing the Alps. Furthermore, as Laforge argues in '«*Salammbô*»: les mythes et la révolution'[12],

> "Si [Flaubert] a choisi Carthage et non Athènes ou Rome, références obligées de l'humanisme classique, c'est parce qu'elle représente l'archétype d'une république marchande, où les intérêts économiques sont prioritaires... Aux valeurs traditionnelles des sociétés antiques, gloire et vertu, elle a substitué la prospérité et le profit" (*op.cit*, p.31).

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[10] *Li Origini di* Salammbô *(Studio sul realismo storico di G. Flaubert)*, Florence, Bemporad and son, 1920.

[11] "his perfidy [was] worse than Punic" (trans. Foster).

[12] *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 85, 1-3 (Jan - Feb 1985), pp.26-40.

Flaubert emphasizes Carthage's greed and financial acumen, consistent with ancient sources, throughout *Salammbô*, referring to "Son éternel souci du gain" (*OC*I, p.723), and making the republic's reluctance to pay the mercenaries the war's central cause.

This particular element of the popularly accepted view of Carthage is central to a relatively recent critical interpretation of *Salammbô*, whose main exponent is Anne Green. According to this interpretation, the novel is partially a commentary upon Flaubert's contemporary France: Carthage's historical remoteness, paradoxically, facilitates a closer examination of the present. The perceived point of comparison between the two societies is their obsession with money and the consequent struggle between classes for economic domination: Green detects various specific similarities between events of *Salammbô* - often those which Flaubert invented - and events which Flaubert was to depict directly in *ES*II, his next novel: for example, the mercenaries' banquet which opens *Salammbô* is compared to the reform banquets preceding the 1848 revolution. She concludes that "on one important level *Salammbô* must be read as an attempt to come to terms with the trauma of 1848" (*op.cit.*, p.114). Critics who follow this line diverge from Lukács' view that *Salammbô* is a work of historical irrelevance: Bevernis[13], like Green, considers the novel's chosen subject a subtle means of commentary on the present:

> "l'abondance de documents, les informations puisées dans les sources anciennes sont réfractées par la propre position de Flaubert. Elles sont passées par le filtre de l'expérience d'un homme qui... était témoin de

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[13] 'Historicité et actualité dans «*Salammbô*»', in *Flaubert et Maupassant, écrivains normands*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1981 (pp.255-63).

la naissance du conflit entre les classes" (*op.cit*, p.259).

Eugenio Donato[14], writing in 1976, extends the argument, claiming that Flaubert believed nineteenth-century France, like the Carthage he depicts, to be at the end of its history, close to collapse. Seen in this light, the references to Rome "offstage" and the appearance, albeit peripheral, of Hannibal, with attendant connotations of future destruction, acquire a menacing significance. They imply a fate like that of Carthage awaiting imperial France: military defeat and ultimate annihilation. Considered thus, *Salammbô* is a chillingly accurate prophecy of the débâcle of 1870-71.

Notwithstanding this welter of historical allusion and fact, one should not lose sight of *Salammbô*'s imaginative elements, which comprise an essential part of the novel[15]. As Carol A. Mossman points out[16], whereas Hannibal, who survives the novel with a glorious future (albeit destined ultimately to fail), is part of history, Salammbô, a creation of Flaubert's imagination, whose life ends with the novel which bears her name, is defined by myth. *Salammbô*'s mythical characteristics ultimately take precedence over its historical dimensions: the imaginary Salammbô is after all the novel's

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14 'Flaubert and the question of history', *Modern Languages Notes*, 91, 5 (October 1976), pp.850-870, reproduced in Porter, L.M. (ed.), *Critical essays on Gustave Flaubert*, Boston, G.K. Hall and co., 1986, pp.87-103.

15 Indeed, the interpretation of *Salammbô* outlined above is obviously not incontrovertible. A.W. Raitt, in a review of Green's work (*French Studies*, 36, 3 (July 1982), pp.343-4), suggests that any allusion to the nineteenth century situation is inadvertent. He draws attention to Flaubert's own pronouncement: "le livre que j'écris maintenant sera tellement loin des mœurs modernes qu'aucune ressemblance entre mes héros et les lecteurs n'étant possible, il intéressera fort peu" (Letter 757, Paris, 23rd January 1858).

16 '*Salammbô*: seeing the moon through the veil', *Neophilogus*, 73, 1 (January 1989), pp.36-45.

eponymous heroine, even if she is, as Flaubert perceived, too small for her pedestal. *Salammbô*, whatever its underlying allusions to the contemporary scene, is primarily an extensively researched, but ultimately imaginary novel about ancient Carthage.

(ii) The classical background: allusion and myth

Despite *Salammbô*'s dubious status as a 'classical' text, it remains ineluctably true that Flaubert must by definition use classical texts as his main factual sources. The Carthaginian civilization having been destroyed, classical texts - products of the culture which 'won' - provide the only available data on it: arguably this accounts for the predominantly negative view of Carthage exemplified by the above *idées reçues*. Beyond Flaubert's acknowledged sources, to be considered in detail later, it is unsurprising that the novel as a whole has a classical atmosphere, unattributable to any specific work: a few examples will suffice. When Hamilcar instructs Giddenem to buy new slaves, he says he currently has "trop de Crétois, ils sont menteurs!" (*OC*I, p.739). The prejudice that Cretans were liars, preserved in the 'Cretan liar paradox'[17], was widespread in antiquity. When Taanach is preparing Salammbô to journey to the mercenaries' camp, she dresses her in "une grande robe, faite avec la toile du pays des Sères" (p.756): the use of the Latin term for the Chinese is a clear case of classical allusion. Similarly, in chapter 14, Flaubert writes that "Hamilcar avait secrètement renvoyé aux *Quirites* les équipages des

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[17] Applied to Flaubert's own work by Christopher Prendergast ('Flaubert, stupidity and the Cretan liar paradox', *French Studies*, 35, 3 [July 1981], pp.261-77).

vaisseaux latins pris avant la défection des villes tyriennes" (p.782): again, the conspicuous use of the Roman people's formal Latin title represents a general classical allusion.

More important than such classical minutiæ is the range of classical (and other) myths which inform the text of *Salammbô*, presumably intentionally. A central element of Anne Green's thesis is the presence in the work of the myth of Pasiphaë, the mother of the Minotaur, first suggested in an article in *French Studies* in 1978 (see note 83). Three years later, one volume of the *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*[18] published two articles containing comparable arguments. Bernard Masson, in '«*Salammbô*» ou la barbarie à visage humain' (pp.585-96) detects "une infinité de mythes larvés, sécrétés, consciemment ou non, dans la trame même des événements" and elaborates,

> "Ainsi le vol du zaïmph par Mâtho, éveillant en écho le vol du feu par Prométhée. Ainsi Mâtho allant chercher Salammbô recluse dans les murailles de son Palais, comme Orphée cherchant Eurydice aux Enfers. Ainsi Mâtho à la quête du voile de la déesse, comme le chevalier médiéval, Lancelot ou Perceval, à la quête du Saint-Graal" (*op.cit*, p.585).

He later proposes as sources for various aspects of *Salammbô* the myths of Iphigeneia and Isaac; Tristan; Eve; Judith and Holophernes; the Tower of Babel, and many others. B. F. Bart, in 'Flaubert et le légendaire' (*op.cit*, pp.609-20), is also concerned with the *zaïmph*, clearly a central mythical symbol in *Salammbô*. He states that Flaubert's attribution of a lethal quality to the goddess's veil is his own; but, "*il ne l'a point inventée*: comme les hagiographes, il l'a trouvée dans le folklore. Songez à Médée..." (p.615).

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[18] 81, 4/5 (July - October 1981).

The point is reasonable: Bart is referring to the poisoned dress with which Medea, in Euripides and Seneca, kills Jason's prospective bride. The search for such 'hidden' mythical models, conscious or otherwise, could be pursued *ad infinitum*. At least two other parallels for the *zaïmph* may be adduced: the poisoned robe, a gift of the centaur Nessus, which killed Heracles, and the *Palladium*, the image of the goddess Athene, which preserved Troy from harm[19]. The latter, as will be seen later, may, unusually, be traceable textually within *Salammbô*; generally, however, the detection of such resemblances proves little more than the work's overall classical, and more widely mythical 'flavour'.

(iii) Flaubert's official sources: history and religion

Flaubert's more tangible classical sources (and the contemporary learned texts he consulted) for *Salammbô* have been investigated in some detail, notably by Benedetto. This study is assisted by Flaubert's openness about his sources, in his attempts to justify his research to Frœhner and Sainte-Beuve, and by extensive references in the *Correspondance* to his reading. In his open letter to Frœhner, Flaubert cites as sources no fewer than thirteen classical authors: Appian, Pliny, Procopius, Polybius, Cicero, Strabo, Diodorus, Athenæus, Corippus, Pausanias, Herodotus, Philostratus and Theophrastus. Moreover, in the *Correspondance* (see above, pp.56-8), Flaubert refers variously to Silius Italicus, Hesiod, Ammianus Marcellinus,

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[19] Flaubert admits something of the sort in letter 1058 to Félicien de Saulcy ([18th December 1862]), writing of the *zaïmph*: "J'en ai fait une sorte de palladium".

Aristotle, Plutarch, Xenophon, Vegetius, Gnosander, Leo Isaurian III and, although not deliberately for research purposes, Virgil. Benedetto adds to the list Herodotus; Plautus and Lucian with both of whom Flaubert has proven to be familiar; and Livy, who was less certainly known to him[20], but for whose influence here there is ample evidence. The range of 'documentary' classical sources is clearly vast; we should nonetheless consider in detail what Benedetto and others have written about them, to further outline how Flaubert exploits them in *Salammbô* and perhaps to establish other less formal sources within the work.

Flaubert's principal historical source, commonly acknowledged, is Polybius, a Greek historian of the second century B.C.: Sainte-Beuve early in his articles on *Salammbô* calls Polybius "notre guide principal" (*op.cit.*, p.412); Gautier, in his laudatory article of 22nd December 1862, believes he supplies virtually all Flaubert's facts, though not necessarily his background: "Si Polybe lui fournit le trait, Ezéchiel lui fournit la couleur" (*ibid.*, p.454); and Anne Green agrees that "Flaubert does recount virtually every fact given by Polybius"[21]. Oddly, Alcide Dusolier, writing on 31st December 1862 in the *Revue Française*, denigrates Flaubert's use of historical sources, referring only to "quelques renseignements très secs, très nus, très brefs fournis par Polybe"

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[20] Several passages of *TSA* and *MB* may owe something to Livy, but this is uncertain (see above, pp.169, 233, 242); and the historian did feature as a potential element of the typical nineteenth-century school curriculum (see p.9).

[21] *op.cit.*, p.52.

(*ibid.*, p.405); this isolated opinion can be discounted. Fay[22], among others has established that Flaubert used the Chevalier de Folard's editions of the Dom Vincent Thuillier translation of Polybius; one may reasonably assume that Folard's notes to the translation may also have influenced him. What is certain is that Flaubert's basic information is from Polybius: the essential pattern of events in *Salammbô* closely follows the historian's work. However, Polybius is not his only historical source; nor does he adhere wholly to events as Polybius recounts.

Many of Flaubert's alterations to the historical account are well-known; they are most obvious in the novel's principal characters. Hannon, for example, is a conflation of a Carthaginian general of that name, and various other generals in Polybius' account, including one, potentially confusingly, named Hannibal. Admittedly, Flaubert's Hannon shares many of the characteristics of Polybius', who is cited in a consideration of Carthaginian colonial governors as a typical example of Punic harshness: Polybius states that the Carthaginians honoured, "τοὺς αὐτοῖς μὲν ἑτοιμάζοντας πλείστας χορηγίας κἀπισκευάς, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πικρότατα χρωμένους, ὧν εἷς ἦν Ἄννων"[23] (*Histories* 1.72.3). The similarity with Hannon's description in *Salammbô* as "dévot, rusé, impitoyable" (quoted above, p.275)

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22 '*Salammbô* and Polybius', in *Sources and structure of Flaubert's* Salammbô, Elliott Monographs in the Romance languages and literature, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1914, pp.11-35.

23 "those who procured for Carthage the largest amount of supplies and stores and used the country people most harshly - Hanno for example" (trans. W.R. Paton, Loeb edition, 1954 [reprinted]).

is clear. Nonetheless, given that Polybius' Hannon is crucified in Sardinia[24] - whose revolt Flaubert virtually ignores - and does not suffer from elephantiasis, Flaubert's inventiveness here is considerable. Many critics - Dusolier for example (see pp.281-2) have noted the difference of character in Spendius between the historical account and *Salammbô*. He is introduced by Polybius as follows:

> "ἦν δέ τις Καμπανὸς ηὐτομοληκὼς παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δοῦλος, ἔχων σωματικὴν δύναμιν καὶ τόλμαν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παράβολον, ὄνομα Σπένδιος"[25] (1.69.4).

Not only does the physical prowess of Polybius' Spendius contrast starkly with his cowardice in *Salammbô*; also, as Benedetto points out, his Campanian origin does not guarantee that he is of Greek stock, as Flaubert assumes: "questi era campano, e il Flaubert non sapeva che un campano di quel tempo poteva non essere, nemmeno lontanamente, di origine greca" (*op.cit.*, p.278). Benedetto also indicates another interesting precursor of Spendius: an *alter ego* of Flaubert himself. He recalls a letter to Louise Colet, where Flaubert claims that,

> "Je suis sûr d'avoir été, sous l'empire romain, directeur de quelque troupe de comédiens ambulants, un de ces drôles qui allaient en Sicile acheter des femmes pour en faire des comédiennes et qui étaient tout ensemble professeur, maquereau et artiste"[26].

This is, of course, very close to Spendius' early life as a seller of prostitutes. Zarxas (Ζάρζας in Polybius - with a ζ rather than, as Flaubert's transliteration

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[24] As Flaubert admits in his reply to Sainte-Beuve (*OC*II, p.754).

[25] "There was a certain Campanian, a runaway Roman slave, called Spendius, a man of great physical strength and remarkable courage in war" (trans. Paton).

[26] Letter 444, [Croisset, 4th September 1852].

seems to imply, a ξ) was in fact a Libyan in Polybius' account, rather than a Balearic symbol of savagery, as Benedetto again states; according to Benedetto too, Autharite in Polybius is able to speak Punic, as he is not in *Salammbô*. Fay (*op.cit.*) identifies several facts in *Salammbô* which Flaubert invented: Hamilcar's initial absence from Carthage is not a historical fact; neither is the mercenaries' feast in Hamilcar's gardens. Benedetto, besides the various differences in character that he identifies, believes Flaubert's adaptation of Polybius tends overall to intensify the horror of the historical account.

It is, however, the minutiæ of Polybius' account that Flaubert alters in *Salammbô*: the historian's sequence of events is followed closely. On occasion, his use of Polybius amounts to a word-for-word translation, presumably through the intermediary of Folard. A good example, worth citing at length, is Hamilcar's treatment of the barbarian captives after the attack on the mercenaries' camp. Polybius writes,

> "ἐπιστελεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ κατορθώματος, Ἀμίλκας τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συστρατεύειν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε καὶ καθώπλιζε τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκύλοις, τοὺς δὲ μὴ βουλομένους ἀθροίσας παρεκάλει, φάσκων, ἕως μὲν τοῦ νῦν συγγνώμην αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων· διὸ καὶ συγχωρεῖν τρέπεσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ὁρμὰς οὗ ποτ' ἂν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν προαιρῆται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δι ηπειλήσατο μηθέα φέρειν ὅπλον πολέμιον κατ' αὐτῶν, ὡς, ἐὰν ἁλῷ τις, ἀπαραιτήτου τευξόμενον τιμωρίας"[27] (1.78.13-15).

Flaubert's account of the event is extremely similar:

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[27] "After the victory Hamilcar gave permission to those of the prisoners who chose to join his own army, arming them with the spoils of the fallen enemies; those who were unwilling to do so he collected and addressed, saying that up to now he pardoned their offences, and therefore they were free to go their several ways, wherever each man chose, but in future he threatened that if any of them bore arms against Carthage he would if captured meet with inevitable punishment" (trans. Paton).

> "Le Suffète avait proposé à tous les captifs de servir dans ses troupes. Plusieurs avaient intrépidement refusé; et, bien résolu à ne point les nourrir ni les abandonner au Grand-Conseil, il les avait renvoyés, en leur ordonnant de ne plus combattre Carthage. Quant à ceux que la peur des supplices rendait dociles, on leur avait distribué les armes de l'ennemi" (*OC*I, pp.763-4).

Admittedly he adds his own interpretation of Hamilcar's motives; but the overall pattern of information is virtually identical. Later, during the siege of Carthage, Flaubert imitates Polybius' interpretation as well as his facts. He states that "tous les barbares se trouvèrent eux-mêmes comme assiégés" (p.782), reproducing closely the assertion that "τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Μάθω καὶ Σπένδιον οὐχ ἧττον πολιορκεῖσθαι συνέβαινεν ἢ πολιορκεῖν"[28] (1.84.1). Admittedly Diodorus Siculus, whom Flaubert also read, expresses himself similarly - "Διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστάταις οὐχ ἧττον πολιορκεῖσθαι συνέβαινεν ἢ πολιορκεῖν"[29] (25.4.1). Since *his* source for the mercenary war was also Polybius, it is difficult to be sure which Flaubert is using; there seems, however, little reason gratuitously to prefer Diodorus over Polybius. Benedetto provides an example of such close imitation of Polybius where Flaubert's source passage is in fact not within Polybius' account of the mercenary war, but occurs subsequently, during his writings on Hannibal, demonstrating that Flaubert read far beyond the bare minimum. Noting Salammbô's statement that "J'ai sacrifié... aux dieux des bois, des vents, des fleuves et des montagnes" (*OC*I, p.709), Benedetto states, "Annibale, suo

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[28] "But Mathos and Spendius were just as much in the position of besieged as of besiegers" (*ibid.*).

[29] "And so it came about that the rebels... were as much in the position of men besieged as of besiegers" (Trans. Francis R. Walton, Loeb edition, 1957).

fratello, giura anche lui ἐναντίον ποταμῶν καὶ λειμόνων και ὑδάτων"[30] (*op.cit.*, p.231).

That Flaubert should owe much to Polybius is inevitable because that historian is virtually the only near-contemporary documentary source for the mercenary war. Diodorus Siculus, as indicated above, and Livy, both writing in the first century B.C., mention the war, but only tangentially, both using Polybius as their source. However, just as Flaubert used sections of Polybius' work which did not directly treat the mercenary war, so too did he obtain from such other historians various data about Carthage and related subjects. Benedetto proposes Diodorus as a source of Flaubert's Carthaginian topography, and specifies two passages, 16.81.1 and 20.13.1, as the basis for the "Coupes de la légion sacrée" which Spendius mentions during the mercenaries' feast (*OC*I, pp.695-6). Similarly, he attributes Flaubert's *Troglodytes* to Diodorus 3.33. Flaubert himself claims Diodorus as a documentary source for the reality of child sacrifice at Carthage, in his reply to Sainte-Beuve (*OC*II, p.753), despite Frœhner's assertion that the description of Moloch's statue in *Salammbô* was based not on Diodorus, as it should have been, but on Julius Cæsar - an assertion which Flaubert vehemently refuted. Livy's influence, less direct, is chiefly manifested in generalities of the Punic character (see above, p.275); again, however, Benedetto identifies several specific reminiscences. Flaubert's Ligurians, hired by Hamilcar, "trois mille montagnards habitués à combattre des ours" (*OC*I, p.740), apparently derive

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30 The quotation is from Polybius 7.9.2, and means "in the presence of [i.e. 'by'] Rivers, Lakes, and Waters" (trans. Paton).

from Livy's "Ligures, durum in armis genus"[31] (27.48.10). More convincingly, Benedetto ascribes the incident where Giscon strikes Autharite the Gaul "de son lourd bâton d'ivoire" (*OC*I, p.696) to Livy 5.41.9, where the historian recounts the encounter of a group of Gauls engaged in sacking Rome with the older members of the Roman senate: "M. Papirius, unus ex iis, dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram movisse"[32]. The points of comparison are obvious, including Giscon's possession of a similarly long white beard. Flaubert is, perhaps, likelier here to be semi-consciously recalling a text read previously, than deliberately imitating one; it is hard to see why he should have felt he needed documentary evidence of such an incident.

Such is the range of Flaubert's research that, in places, he consults even historians who do not refer to the truceless war at all, in some cases because it took place after their lifetime, in others because their work is little concerned with Carthage! Benedetto (*op.cit.*, pp.285-6) attributes to Herodotus, among the former, the names and some of the habits of numerous tribes in Flaubert's catalogue of the mercenary army (*OC*I, pp.767-8), including the Ammoniens, Atarantes, Auséens, Gysantes, Zuaèces and Garamantes; and Flaubert claims to have consulted Xenophon in his research for

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31 "the Ligurians, a hardy race of warriors" (trans. Frank Gardner Moore, Loeb edition, 1943).

32 "a Gaul stroked the beard of one of them, Marcus Papirius, - which he wore long, as they all did then, - whereat the Roman struck him over the head with his ivory mace [, and], provoking his anger" (trans. Foster) .

Salammbô[33]. It is unclear precisely what details he may have gleaned from either of the works of Xenophon that he specifies; however, the *Cavalry commander* may have provided general information on cavalry tactics in antiquity, useful for example in describing the activities of Narr'Havas and his Numidians, and the *Anabasis* contains numerous references to trouble caused among Xenophon's mercenary army by claims for payment, a situation similar to that in *Salammbô*. Two specific references within the novel may, however, owe something to a passage of the *Anabasis*: the tame, sacred fish of chapter 1, which the mercenaries kill (*OC*I, p.696), and the list of the Baals of chapter 13, among whom "Derceto, à figure de vierge, rampait sur ses nageoires" (p.779). Derceto is already familiar from *TSA*, where a reference to her is tentatively attributable to Ovid (see above, p.202). Towards the start of the *Anabasis*, the army in which Xenophon is serving comes to the river Chalus, which is "πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ πραέων, οὓς οἱ Σύροι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴων"[34] (1.4.9). The Loeb edition of the *Anabasis* explains in a footnote that the goddess Derceto (as Ovid states) was turned into a fish, and implies that this is connected with this passage of Xenophon; if the edition Flaubert read had similar notes, this passage may both have suggested the concept of the sacred fish to him and reminded him of Derceto. Aristotle, also too early a writer to refer to the mercenary war, is

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[33] Letter 731, [Croisset], 5th August [1857] and letter 732, Croisset, [around 5th August 1857].

[34] "Full of large, tame fish; these fish the Syrians regarded as gods, and they would not allow anyone to harm them" (trans. Carleton L. Brownson, Loeb edition, 1961 [reprinted]).

one of the first sources Flaubert mentions with reference to *Salammbô*[35], and clearly, despite Sainte-Beuve's imputations to the contrary[36], had some influence on the Carthaginian constitution as depicted in the novel; Benedetto considers him "la nostra fonte maggiore su questo tormento suggeto [i.e. Carthage's government]" (*op.cit.*, p.259), and, with Polybius, a source for the *Syssites*, the *Conseil des cent* and the *Anciens*. Despite Aristotle's enthusiasm for the Punic constitution, described by Sainte-Beuve, he does seem to have had one reservation, namely the fact that,

> "οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀριστίνδην ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουτίνδην οἴονται δεῖν αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀδὺνατον γὰρ τὸν ἀποροῦντα καλῶς ἄρχειν καὶ σχολάζειν"[37] (*Politics* 2.8.5).

He subsequently states that this is especially true of the election of generals - Hamilcar's wealth comes to mind - and criticizes the system: "ἔντιμον γὰρ ὁ νόμος οὗτος ποιεῖ τὸν πλοῦτον μᾶλλον τῆς ἀρητῆς καὶ τῆν πόλιν ὅλην φιλοχρήματον"[38] (2.8.6). Aristotle seems, then, to have been an important source for Flaubert's depiction of Carthage as a plutocracy, even if, with the benefit of hindsight which Aristotle lacked, he elevates this failing into a central reason for the republic's inevitable demise.

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[35] Letter 698, [Paris, April 1857] - "Je suis en train d'avaler la *Politique* d'Aristote".

[36] "N'a-t-il donc pas lu Aristote, parlant de la sagesse de cette constitution, qu'il compare à celle de Lacédémone et au gouvernement de Crète, et qui les trouve tous trois supérieurs à tous les gouvernements connus" (*op.cit.*, p.427).

[37] "They think that the rulers should be chosen not only for their merit but also for their wealth, as it is not possible for a poor man to govern well - he has not leisure for his duties" (trans. H. Rackham, Loeb edition, 1990 [reprinted]).

[38] "For this law makes wealth more honoured than worth, and renders the whole state avaricious" (*ibid.*).

Besides such 'early' historians, Flaubert used various writers of late antiquity to obtain general information for *Salammbô*; again, these were by no means always historians primarily concerned with Carthage. Plutarch is a prime example. Flaubert mentions this author in his *Correspondance*[39], claiming, among other things, to have analysed six of Plutarch's *traités* in eighteen days; and Anne Green draws attention (*op.cit.*, p.127) to a reference to the author - specifically to the *Life of Camillus* - in one of Flaubert's manuscripts. There is evidence that another of Plutarch's *Parallel lives* influenced *Salammbô*, namely that of Cato the Censor, the advocate of Carthage's total destruction. As has been mentioned (pp.274-5 above), Flaubert indirectly refers to Cato's habitual phrase "delenda est Carthago" in his novel; indeed, he elaborates on it somewhat: referring to Carthage's efficient and lucrative colonial policy, he states that,

> "Le vieux Caton, un maître en fait de labours et d'esclaves, quatre-vingt-douze ans plus tard en fut ébahi, et le cri de mort qu'il répétait dans Rome n'était que l'exclamation d'une jalousie cupide" (*OC*I, p.722).

This passage clearly alludes to Cato's mission to Carthage, recounted by Plutarch, supposedly to mediate in a war between the republic and an ally of Rome, Masinissa. Plutarch writes,

> "εὑρὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὐχ, ὡς ᾠοντο Ῥωμαῖοι, κεκακωμένην καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττουσαν, ἀλλὰ πολλῇ μὲν εὐανδροῦσαν ἡλικία, μεγάλων δὲ πλούτων γέμουσαν, ὅπλων δὲ παντοδαπῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς πολεμιστηρίου μεστὴν καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις φρονοῦσαν"[40] (*Cato* 26.2).

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[39] Letter 793, Croisset, [19th December 1858].

[40] "Cato, however, found the city by no means in a poor and lowly state, as the Romans supposed, but rather teeming with vigorous fighting men, overflowing with enormous wealth, filled with arms of every sort and with military supplies, and not a little

Carthage's perceived strength, Plutarch maintains, prompted Cato to urge immediate war; however, given that Plutarch, in his summing-up of Cato's character describes him as avaricious, especially in his treatment of slaves (5.1)[41], Flaubert's interpretation of his motives may have derived from this source. For Cato as "un maître en fait de labours et d'esclaves", Flaubert has as evidence Plutarch's comparison of Cato's and Aristides' character, following the description of their two lives. Here, although he eventually finds in favour of Aristides, Plutarch is impressed by Cato's domestic skills:

> "φαίνεται τοίνυν ὁ μὲν Κάτων οὐδέν τι φαυλότερος οἰκου προστάτης ἢ πόλεως γενόμενος· καὶ γαρ αὐτος ηὔξησε τὸν βίον καὶ κατέστη διδάσκαλος οἰκονομίας καὶ γεωργίας ἑτέροις"[42] (*Comparison* 3.3).

It seems, then, that Flaubert's brief description of Cato - clearly attributable only to an omniscient narrator, rather than any of the book's characters - owes much to Plutarch's character sketch.

Another relatively minor detail of *Salammbô*, Flaubert claims in his reply to Sainte-Beuve, derives from the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who, he says, supplied "la forme *exacte* d'une porte" (*OC*II, p.754). Benedetto suggests that the specific detail Ammianus supplies is the narrow doorway through which Mâtho and Spendius enter the temple of Tanit; this is paralleled by a passage (33.6.24) in Ammianus' work describing the violation of the

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puffed up by all this" (trans. Perrin).

41 Interestingly, Plutarch's report that Cato bought his slaves cheaply and sold them off when old, also applies to Flaubert's Hamilcar, who asks Giddenem, "Qu'ai-je à faire de ces vieux?... Vends-les!" (*OC*I, p.739).

42 "Cato, then, was no whit less efficient in the conduct of his household than in that of the city. He not only increased his own substance, but became a recognized teacher of domestic economy and agriculture for others" (trans. Perrin).

secreta Chaldæorum, also accessed by a narrow doorway. According to Benedetto, "Nessun altro passo del romanzo giustifica una tale asserzione" (*op.cit.*, p.188, n.1). Another late historian mentioned as a source by Flaubert, this time in his reply to Frœhner (*OC*II, p.755), is Procopius. Flaubert states that he was particularly useful in matters of topography; he perhaps has specifically in mind the details of the aqueduct by which Spendius and Mâtho enter Carthage and which Spendius subsequently breaches. Flaubert confesses in his reply to Sainte-Beuve that he actually believes no such aqueduct existed at the time in which the novel is set: "Le souvenir de Bélisaire coupant l'aqueduc romain de Carthage m'a poursuivi, et puis c'était une belle entrée de Spendius et Mâtho" (*ibid.*, p.754). Procopius, a major authority on and colleague of the general Belisarius, is the likeliest source for Flaubert's *souvenir* despite the fact that in Procopius' account of Belisarius' campaign around Carthage, it is actually his opponent, the Vandal Geilimer, who cuts the aqueduct when Belisarius is garrisoning the recaptured city (Procopius, *Wars* 4.1.2). Flaubert may have gleaned several other ideas from Procopius. For example, at one stage the historian recounts how a bounty offered by the Vandals on the heads of Roman soldiers is abused by locals who produce the heads of slaves from Belisarius' army (3.23.1-4). This is paralleled in *Salammbô* by the locals who approach Hamilcar offering heads of mercenaries,

> "tués par eux, disaient-ils, mais qu'ils avaient coupées à des cadavres; car beaucoup s'étaient perdus en fuyant, et on les trouvait morts de place en place, sous les oliviers et dans les vignes" (*OC*I, p.747).

The fraud, although apparently not in *Salammbô* perpetrated for money, is not dissimilar. Later in his account (4.14-17), Procopius relates a mutiny by

Byzantine troops under Belisarius' command in Carthage, over the soldiers' claims of land in Libya. Similarities between this revolt and that of the mercenaries in *Salammbô* are striking. The mutineers' commander, Stotzas, wins over some soldiers in Numidia by reminding them that they are owed payment (4.15.54-8), the same circumstance as causes the mercenary insurrection; an envoy sent to the mutineers is killed (4.15.7-8), like Giscon, and Carthage besieged; at a subsequent battle between Stotzas and the Byzantine general Germanus, the mutineers are "βαρβαρικώτερον ἐσκεδασμένοι"[43] (4.17.7), reinforcing the parallel with the 'real' barbarians of *Salammbô*. Obviously, none of the details so far mentioned can have done more than reinforce a parallel in Flaubert's mind between the two historical events: what happens in *Salammbô* is defined by events described by Polybius, not by vague similarities between the mercenary war and later conflicts. However, this section of Procopius may have suggested one specific image. Belisarius, at the outbreak of the mutiny, is absent in Syracuse. However, he dramatically returns to the city by ship after hearing of the mutiny: "μιᾷ νηὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα κατέπλευσε περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς"[44] (4.15.9). The scene evoked resembles that at the start of *Salammbô*'s seventh chapter where Hamilcar, also after some absence, sails into the port of Carthage. Admittedly, unlike Belisarius, Hamilcar arrives at dawn, in line with the sun-imagery associated with him, but like Belisarius, he does arrive in a single ship. As Fay states (see above, p.284), Hamilcar's initial absence was

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[43] "scattered, more in the manner of barbarians" (trans. H.B. Dewing, Loeb edition, 1971 [reprinted]).

[44] "[he] sailed into Carthage with one ship at about dusk" (*ibid.*).

Flaubert's invention, figuring in none of his documentary sources; it is thus conceivable that, together with its dramatic termination, it was suggested by Procopius. Flaubert's use of historians, then, is not limited to the verification of historical fact, but also involves incorporation of images they use, and intermittently of specific phrases, into his work.

As has been mentioned, Flaubert was also careful to obtain accurate geographical and topographical information about Carthage and the surrounding area; even more than with historical fact, he felt justified in using sources dating from before or after the mercenary war, and indeed utilized his own observations of the region. Flaubert himself mentions Appian, Pliny and Procopius in this respect in his reply to Frœhner; and Benedetto identifies specific contributions of these authors along with several others. He considers Appian's *Roman history* Flaubert's main geographical source, with Strabo important for Carthage's topography and Servius' commentary on the *Æneid* also of some value. Among the information Benedetto attributes to Appian and Strabo is the location of the temple of Eschmoûn; similarly, he believes that Flaubert's temple of Baal-Khamon is based on Appian's temple of Apollo. Pausanias 5.13 is the source of the temple of Moloch, where the *Anciens* meet. Elsewhere, Benedetto attributes minor topographical details to Virgil (of whom more later), Diodorus, Pliny and Procopius. As with historical sources, the breadth of Flaubert's geographical sources is considerable. These authors' influence, moreover, is not, according to Benedetto, limited to geography: Strabo is one of several authors to whom he attributes details of the barbarian tribes within the mercenary army - specifically the Psylles (*OC*I,

p.712), mentioned in Strabo 3.17.44[45]; while concerning Pliny, Benedetto writes, "la maggior parte delle superstizioni popolari raccolte nel libro sono di origine pliniana" (*op.cit.*, p.315).

Most sources so far identified have been relatively accessible, well-known classical texts. Characteristically, however, rather than limiting himself to these, Flaubert gleaned copious information from more obscure writers. Among these is Vegetius, the late fourth century author of the *Epitoma rei militaris*, whom Flaubert states he is reading in October 1859 (letter 823); the author also features in Gautier's laudatory article on *Salammbô*[46], specifically as a source for battle scenes: "M. Gustave Flaubert est un peintre de batailles antiques qu'on n'a jamais égalé et qu'on ne surpassera point. Il mêle Homère à Polybe et à Végèce" (*op.cit*, p.453). The first thirty chapters of Vegetius' fourth book are about siegecraft, and apparently provide much of Flaubert's data for the siege of Carthage. Details are given of the use of onagers, albeit in defence, not attack, in chapter 22; in chapter 11, Vegetius warns of the dangers of attacking cities with siege ladders, recommending instead the use of *sambucæ*, *exostra* and *tollenones*. Of these, Flaubert mentions two during his siege, writing that, "On avança les échelles de corde, les échelles droites at les sambuques" (*OC*I, p.770) - whose description tallies well with Vegetius' - and subsequently, that, "Les échelles se trouvant insuffisantes, on employa les tollénones" (p.771). Again, the description of these corresponds to Vegetius', and the reason for their deployment is, as Flaubert suggests, the

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45 The same tribe, with the same immunity to snake-bite, also feature in Lucan's *De bello civili* 9.891ff.

46 *Œuvres complètes* vol.II, Paris, Club de l'Honnête Homme, 1971.

siege ladders' inadequacy. The siege towers used in Flaubert's siege also owe much to the *Epitoma*, book four, chapter 17. He recommends that they should be higher than the tallest tower of the stronghold besieged, Mâtho accordingly "ordonna de construire des tours en bois qui devaient être aussi hautes que les tours de pierre" (p.770); and Spendius' enormous *hélépole*, like the siege towers Vegetius recommends, has a battering ram at its base (p.776). Similarly, the use of ox-hide to cover the battering ram which opens the attack on Carthage (p.770) is often proposed in the *Epitoma* to defend against fire.

Two specific Carthaginian military contingencies in *Salammbô*, one during the siege, the other earlier, apparently derive at least partially from Vegetius. On page 774, Flaubert describes how, in the absence of various animal parts normally used to manufacture catapult strings, "Hamilcar demanda aux anciens les cheveux de leurs femmes; toutes les sacrifièrent"; these being insufficient, it is decided to use not the eminently suitable hair of 1,200 female slaves ("leurs cheveux, rendus élastiques par l'usage des onguents, se trouvaient merveilleux pour les machines de guerre"), as this would decrease their market value, but that of selected plebeian women, who protest bitterly. Vegetius both vaunts the superior qualities of women's hair for this use - "indubitatum vero est crines feminarum in eiusmodi tormentis non minorem habere virtutem"[47] (4.9) - and describes Roman women's praiseworthy willingness during a siege to use their hair in this way: "maluerunt enim pudicissimæ feminæ deformato ad tempus capite libere

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[47] "There is no doubt that women's hair has no less virtue in such kinds of torsion-engines" (trans. N.P. Milner, *Epitome of military science*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1993).

vivere cum maritis quam hostibus integro decore servire"[48] (*ibid.*). Traces of this passage are evident in Flaubert's account.

In chapter 8 of *Salammbô*, Flaubert recounts Hamilcar's method of crossing the river Macar during manœuvres before the battle nearby:

> "Le Suffète ordonna que trente-deux des éléphants se placeraient dans le fleuve cent pas plus loin, tandis que les autres, plus bas, arrêteraient les lignes d'hommes emportées par le courant; et tous, en tenant leurs armes au-dessus de leur tête, traversèrent le Macar comme entre deux murailles" (*OC*I, p.743).

The technique is identical to that described by Vegetius for negotiating rivers, except that Flaubert has substituted elephants for horses:

> "ergo explorato vado duæ acies equitum electis animalibus ordinantur intervallis conpetentibus separatæ, ut per medium pedites et inpedimenta transeant. nam acies superior aquarum impetum frangit, inferior qui rapti subversique fuerint colligit atque transponit"[49] (3.7).

Interestingly, Livy also mentions a very similar technique, specifically used by a Carthaginian general - Hannibal - with elephants: "Cœlius auctor est... Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis"[50] (21.47.4). However, Livy's account mentions only one line of elephants, omitting those posted downstream in *Salammbô* to catch men washed away. Flaubert may, then,

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[48] "For women of the highest character preferred to disfigure their heads for the moment in order to live in freedom with their husbands, than become slaves to the enemy with their beauty intact" (*ibid.*).

[49] "So when the ford has been sounded, two lines of horsemen on picked mounts are lined up in parallel with sufficient space between them for infantry and baggage-train to pass through the middle. The upper line breaks the force of the waters, while the lower line collects up any who may be snatched away or swept under and brings them safely across" (*ibid.*).

[50] "Cœlius states... that Hannibal himself led his army across the Po by an upper ford, after placing the elephants in a line to break the current of the river" (trans. Foster).

have based this manœuvre on a combination of the two works, Vegetius supplying its technical basis, Livy confirming that elephants as well as horses were used. It is finally worth noting another possible source for both this general technique of crossing rivers and that of using women's hair in war-engines: Julius Cæsar mentions both in his *Civil war*, the former in 1.64.5-6, the latter in 3.9. There is little evidence, however, that Flaubert knew Cæsar's works; Frœhner supposes some familiarity, claiming that Flaubert's main source for Moloch's statue is the 'wicker man' used by the ancient Gauls for human sacrifice, presumably as Cæsar describes in his *Gallic War*; but Frœhner's suppositions constitute only scanty evidence.

Also obscure are two epic texts named in Flaubert's *Correspondance* as sources for *Salammbô*. In April 1857, he reports to Feydeau that he is reading "un poème latin en six chants sur la guerre de Numidie, par le sieur Corippus, lequel poème m'embête fort!"[51]; in May, he writes to Duplan that "Je viens de m'ingurgiter de suite les dix-sept chants de Silius Italicus, pour y découvrir quelques *traits* de mœurs"[52]. The former work, Corippus' *Iohannides* (comprising eight, not, as Flaubert states, six books), is of the sixth century; the latter, Silius Italicus' *Punica*, of the first century. As with many of the historians hitherto discussed, both works deal with Carthage, or North Africa more broadly, albeit not during the period of the mercenary war: the *Punica* - the longest extant Latin epic - narrates the second Punic War; the *Iohannides* a punitive expedition mounted in the time of the Byzantine

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[51] Letter 698, [Paris, April 1857].

[52] Letter 709, [Croisset, around 16th - 17th May 1857].

emperor Justinian. Of the two, the lengthy *Punica* seems to have been particularly important; Corippus' work also provides Flaubert with some data, but, perhaps because of his professed antipathy towards it, is less fertile ground.

Flaubert cites, in his reply to Sainte-Beuve, Silius Italicus as one of his sources for child sacrifice in Carthage, together with Diodorus, Eusebius and St. Augustine (*OC*II, p.753); and it is true, as Benedetto emphasizes, that the *Punica* includes a passage (4.763-829) where child-sacrifice is demanded. The circumstances are strikingly similar to those in *Salammbô*: the child in question is son of a military leader, this time Hannibal himself; its death is demanded - by a character named Hanno, Hannibal's sworn enemy - for political reasons. Benedetto claims a close resemblance between Hamilcar's feigned grief when his supposed son is taken away - "Ah! pauvre petit Hannibal! oh! mon fils! ma consolation! mon espoir! ma vie! Tuez-moi aussi! emportez-moi! Malheur! malheur!" (*OC*I, p.778) - and that of Hannibal's wife, Imilce, in the *Punica*; for him, "Il dolore di Amilcare non è tutto finzione... La corrispondenza coi versi di Silio Italico è litterale" (*op.cit.*, p.204). In fact, such a word-for-word similarity is hard to detect, except perhaps in Imilce's demand, "me, me, quæ genui, vestris absumite votis"[53] (4.798). Nevertheless, the similarity of situation is plain; moreover, later in the *Punica*, we learn of the death in battle of one Gala, who was saved from such a fate in precisely the same way as Hannibal in *Salammbô*:

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[53] "slay me, me the mother, and thus keep your vows" (trans. J. D. Duff, Loeb edition, 1934).

"tunc et furtiva tractantem prœlia luce
deiecit Galam; sacris Carthaginis illum
supposito mater partu subduxerat olim,
sed stant nulla diu deceptis gaudia divis"[54] (15.462-6).

It seems probable that Flaubert's description of Hamilcar's fraud owes something to these passages of the *Punica*. The relationship of Hanno and Hannibal in that work mirrors closely that of Hannon and Hamilcar in *Salammbô* elsewhere: Hannon's accusation, "Il veut se faire roi!" (*OC*I, p.733) echoes his namesake's, aimed at Hannibal, "consedit solio rerumque invasit habenas"[55] (2.292), also delivered at a session of the Carthaginian 'senate'.

Many other elements of *Salammbô* similarly derive from Silius Italicus; Benedetto indicates several, more or less convincingly, suggesting, for instance, that Salammbô's sudden, prophetic arrival in chapter 1, recalls the description of the priestess of Dido in Silius' first book:

"hic, crine effuso, atque Hennææ numina divæ
atque Acheronta vocat Stygia cum veste sacerdos"[56] (93-4).

However, apart from a very general similarity in the uncanniness of the priestess' appearance and Salammbô's, the resemblance between the former's dishevelled aspect and the latter's stately dignity is not evident. Where Flaubert does apparently use Silius Italicus, though, is not only as he admits for "quelques *traits* de mœurs", but also, as with Vegetius, for various

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54 "Now he overthrew Gala, a soldier who owed his life to a trick: his mother had saved him from the sacrificial fire of Carthage, and had put another infant in his place; but no rejoicing lasts that is got by cheating the gods" (*ibid.*).

55 "[he] has taken his seat on a throne and seized the reins of government" (*ibid.*).

56 "Here the priestess with streaming hair and Stygian garb calls up Acheron and the divinity of Henna's goddess" (*ibid.*).

military details. A recurring image in *Salammbô* is that of the *phalarique*, a defensive weapon consisting of a sharpened stake, set alight with pitch and hurled from a tower - in Flaubert's work, most often on an elephant's back. It is mentioned on six occasions, four times literally, being used on a battlefield (e.g. p.762: "çà et là quelque phalarique prête à s'éteindre brûlait contre un monceau de bagages"), twice in a comparison of a character's eyes with a blazing *phalarique*. Flaubert may well have obtained details of this weapon from Silius' lengthy description in lines 350-64 of his first book, where it is used against, not by, the Carthaginians.

Specific military incidents of *Salammbô* may also derive, partially at least, from the *Punica*. For example, Spendius' ploy to use pigs covered with bitumen and set alight to frighten the Carthaginian elephants at Utica recalls a similar plan of Hannibal's in Silius' work. In book seven of the *Punica* (312-75), Hannibal escapes surrounding Roman forces at night by using cattle with torches attached to them. Flaubert actually attributes the inspiration of this passage to Ælian and Polyænus[57] in his reply to Sainte-Beuve (*OC*II, p.753); however, some memory of this passage of Silius may also have been relevant here. It might also be argued, generally speaking, that Spendius' character, especially during his notably inventive period at the siege of Carthage ("Il cherchait à inventer des machines épouvantables et comme jamais on n'en avait construit" [*OC*I, p.771]) owes something to that of Archimedes, depicted in the *Punica* as another clever Greek at a siege, albeit on the defending side, at Syracuse: Silius details at length Archimedes' various contraptions in book

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[57] A Greek writer of the 2nd century A.D. and, as Flaubert mentions, author of the *Stratagems*.

fourteen (316-52). A further military incident in *Salammbô* which may partly derive from the *Punica* is Hamilcar's burning of the mercenaries' camp in chapter 11. Towards the end of Silius' work, the camp of one Syphax is burnt by Scipio during his expedition into Africa (17.88-108). Overall, the resemblance between the two passages is no more than might be expected; however, one specific detail of Flaubert's account does seem to derive from the *Punica*. Silius writes in the epic that,

> "castra levi calamo cannaque intecta palustri,
> qualia Maurus amat dispersa mapalia pastor,
> aggreditur, furtum armorum tutantibus umbris,
> ac tacita spargit celata incendia nocte.
> inde, ubi collecti rapidam diffundere pestem
> cœperunt ignes et se per pinguia magno
> pabula ferre sono, clare exspatiantur in auras
> et fumos volucri propellunt lumine flammæ"[58] (88-95).

Hamilcar's attack is also nocturnal; more tellingly, however, his enterprise too is assisted by the reeds of which the enemy camp is made: "Leurs cabanes de roseaux brûlaient, et les tiges, en se tordant, éclataient dans la fumée et s'envolaient comme des flèches" (*OC*I, p.760). Some details of the mercenaries' starvation in the *défilé de la hache* may also be based upon Silius. Flaubert writes, "le soir du cinquième jour, la faim redoubla; ils rongèrent les baudriers des glaives et les petites éponges bordant le fond des casques" (p.784). Silius reports that the inhabitants of Saguntum were reduced to similar extremities when besieged:

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58 "As the enemy's tents were wattled with light rushes and reeds from the marshes, like the lonely cabins dear to the Moorish herdsman, Scipio attacked the camp while darkness concealed his stratagem, and in the silence of night scattered fire-brands undetected. Then, when the fires began to unite and spread the danger quickly, and to rush with a great noise over the rich food provided for them, the flames rose up blazing to the sky and drove clouds of smoke before them with their flying glare" (*ibid.*).

"nil temerare piget; rabidi ieiunia ventris
insolitis adigunt vesci; resolutaque, nudos
linquentes clipeos, armorum tegmina mandunt"[59] (2.472-4).

The resemblance between the two situations is clear.

Most examples of Flaubert's use of Silius Italicus so far adduced have been debatable; he has used the author as a source of general circumstances, little more than evidence that, for instance, in a state of extreme hunger, soldiers might resort to chewing leather. As such, although the *Punica*'s influence here seems likely, it is inconclusive. There are, however, several minute elements of *Salammbô* which, although perhaps owed to a subconscious reminiscence on Flaubert's part, almost incontestably derive from Silius' work. In a battle-scene in book two, Silius refers fleetingly to "clarumque Micipsam / nomine avi"[60] (160-1); in Flaubert's fifth chapter, one of Salammbô's servants is named Micipsa (*OC*I, p.720). More strikingly, Flaubert seems later almost to have borrowed an entire phrase from the *Punica*. During the catalogue of the barbarian tribes who join the mercenary army, he enumerates their various weapons, prefacing the list with the introductory "Pas une invention de mort qui n'y fût" (p.768). The sense of this is extremely close to Silius' comment during the description of the battle of Cannæ that "non ullum defit teli genus"[61] (9.335). Admittedly, the weapons Flaubert describes

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[59] "They shrank from no pollution; their fierce hunger forced them to eat strange food; they stripped their shields bare and gnawed the loosened coverings of their bucklers" (*ibid.*).

[60] "Micipsa, famous for the glory of his ancestor" (*ibid.*). It is unclear who the ancestor was: however, a *later* Numidian king, who adopted the famous Jugurtha, was named Micipsa. It seems relatively unlikely that Flaubert owed the name to an account of the later Micipsa, who is not a subject of any known source of *Salammbô*.

[61] "Every kind of weapon was employed" (*ibid.*).

are considerably more inventive - and grotesque - than in Silius' text; but some similarity of thought, conscious or otherwise, is apparent. It seems likely, then, that Flaubert owed rather more than "quelques *traits* de mœurs" to the *Punica*.

Corippus' work is used less extensively in *Salammbô*, partly because the events it describes and the time of its composition are so much more distant from Flaubert's subject, partly because of his afore-mentioned dislike for the *Iohannides*. Benedetto enumerates most of what borrowings there are. Thus, in Flaubert's catalogue of barbarian tribes, three derive from Corippus: "les Caunes, les Macares, les Tillabares, chacun tenant deux javelots et un bouclier rond en cuir d'hippopotame" (*OC*I, p.767). Corippus mentions all three in a catalogue of Moorish forces in *Iohannides* 2 (23-161). It is unclear where Flaubert's details for their arms were found; the only element of his description which Corippus may have provided, as Benedetto points out, is the carrying of two spears, attributed to the *Mauri* in line 133, "binaque prævalido portant hastilia ferro"[62]. Also influenced by Corippus is the scene in chapter 5 where Mâtho visits Salammbô's bed-chamber only to receive her curse:

> "Malédiction sur toi qui as dérobé Tanit! Haine, vengeance, massacre et douleur! Que Gurzil, dieu des batailles, te déchire! que Mastiman, dieu des morts, t'étouffe! et que l'Autre, - celui qu'il ne faut pas nommer - te brûle!" (*OC*I, p.720).

Both Mastiman and Gurzil occur several times in the *Iohannides*, as gods of the Moorish barbarians: as Benedetto surmises, Salammbô calls upon Mâtho the curse not of the gods she worships, but of those in which she assumes he believes. Often in Corippus, 'Gurzil' occurs as a Moorish battle-cry - "inde

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[62] "They carry two spears with strong metal heads" (my translation).

ferunt Gurzil: Gurzil saxa cava resultant"[63] (5.39) - or designating the idol of that name. There is apparent confusion over that god's designation as 'dieu des batailles'; in the *Iohannides*, that position appears to belong to another god, not mentioned by Flaubert:

> "hi Sinifere colunt, quem Mazax numina Martis
> accipiunt atque deum belli putant esse potentem"[64] (8.305-6).

Benedetto assumes this is a simple error on Flaubert's part, perhaps the fault of inaccurate commentators; it seems equally likely, however, that Flaubert found Gurzil's name more appropriate than Sinifere's in this context. His appellation of Mastiman, like Gurzil used often as a Moorish battle-cry in the *Iohannides*, as 'dieu des morts' seems to be justified by the source text: he is named as a recipient of human sacrifice at one stage:

> "Mastiman alii [colunt] Maurorum hoc nomine gentes
> Tænarium dixere Iovem, cui sanguine multo
> humani generis mactatur victima pesti"[65] (8.307-9).

Benedetto, again correctly, identifies Salammbô's 'Autre' with a god in Corippus: "L'«altro», come già sappiamo, è Moloch, il «corniger Ammon» dello testo corripiano" (*op.cit.*, p.234). Ammon is mentioned twelve times in the *Iohannides*, frequently as *corniger* - 'horned', like Moloch - and Corippus identifies him with Jupiter; his cruelty, as evoked by the author, closely mirrors Moloch's in *Salammbô*:

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63 "Then they bring Gurzil [presumably an image of the god]; the hollow rocks resound with [the name of] Gurzil".

64 "These men worship Sinifere, believed by the Mazax [a Moorish tribe] to be the same god as Mars: to him they attribute power over warfare".

65 "Others of the Moors worship a god named Mastiman, calling him Tænarian Jupiter; many a victim is sacrificed to this scourge, with great outpourings of human blood".

> "Marmaridum fines, habitat quo corniger Ammon,
> inde petit, durique Iovis responsa poposcit.
> semper amat miseras deceptor fallere mentes
> Iuppiter hic quem, vane, rogas: in sanguine gaudet
> horridus et cunctas quærit disperdere gentes"[66] (6.147-51).

However, Benedetto did apparently omit some minor elements of Corippus' influence upon *Salammbô*. Specifically, Flaubert apparently found the name of another barbarian tribe, albeit one absent from his catalogue, in the *Iohannides*. Late in *Salammbô*, he thrice mentions the Naffur:

> "une troupe des Naffur, bandits nomades rencontrés dans la région-des-dattes" (*OC*I, p.791);
>
> "aux deux ailes il distribua des Naffur, montés sur des chameaux à poils ras, couverts de plumes d'autruche" (p.792);
>
> "Hamilcar commanda aux Numides d'avancer. Mais les Naffur se précipitèrent à leur rencontre" (*ibid.*).

The name, although without any of the characteristics Flaubert ascribes to the Naffur, occurs four times in the *Iohannides*: once during the catalogue of Moorish forces - "sævis Naffur in armis"[67] (2.52), and otherwise in battle-scenes (3.190-1; 4.48; 7.384), twice with the epithet *anhelus* - 'breathless'. Other influence is more general in nature: Corippus' work shares with Flaubert's an emphasis upon thirst (the very introduction to the *Iohannides* announces "latices negatos" (1.4) - 'water withheld' - as a subject) and hunger. In particular in book six, the troops under Iohannis, the eponymous hero, suffer from both; their torment is described in terms not unlike those

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66 "[Carcasan, the leader of the Moors] then went to the region of the Marmarides, where horned Ammon lives, to consult the oracle of harsh Jupiter. You fool: that Jupiter whose advice you seek ever delights in leading poor men's minds astray: he wickedly rejoices in spilt blood and wishes to destroy all peoples".

67 "The Naffur with their savage weapons".

Flaubert uses in the episode of the *défilé de la hache*:

> " vacuantur fontibus utres,
> iamque Ceres nusquam, siccis tunc faucibus ardent
> deficiuntque fame. heu, miles bacchatur anhelans
> et solis fervore rubens exæstuat, ardens
> ignibus immensis"[68] (6.299-303).

Just as, in *Salammbô*, Flaubert writes of the mercenaries trapped in the *défilé* that "Ils venaient vers les capitaines et ils les suppliaient de leur accorder quelque chose qui apaisât leurs souffrances" (*OC*I, p.784), so too does one of Iohannis' soldiers act as a mouthpiece for his fellows, describing their condition thus:

> " macies iam contrahit artus
> ossaque nuda rigent siccis tenuata medullis
> stringuntur nervi, cutis aret, lumine merso
> infectæ pallore genæ"[69] (321-4).

The overall impression resembles Flaubert's description of the starving soldiers: "Ils étaient maintenant d'une maigreur hideuse; leur peau se plaquait de marbrures bleuâtres" (*OC*I, p.784). Admittedly, Flaubert could probably imagine for himself the effects of hunger and thirst without difficulty; however, Corippus may at least have provided some inspiration for the *défilé de la hache* episode.

The religious element of *Salammbô* shows great continuity with earlier works, in its theory, its imagery and the sources Flaubert uses. Those sources as identified by Benedetto correspond very closely indeed to those Seznec

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68 "The waterskins were empty of liquid, and there was now no food to be seen. Then their dry throats burned, and they became faint with hunger. Alas, the breathless soldiery raved and burned red with the sun's heat, blazing in the great flames".

69 "Emaciation afflicts our thin limbs, our slender bones are stiffening around their dried-up marrow, our sinews are drawn tight, our skin is dry, our pale cheeks are blasted by light".

later established for *TSA*. Indeed, Benedetto identifies several similarities between the two works, for instance seeing Apollonius of Tyana, with his great religious learning, as an avatar of Schahabarim and the serpent worshipped by the Ophites as a predecessor of Salammbô's. Benedetto emphasizes Creuzer as a major source of Flaubert's information on Tanit, including the identification of her with Astarte; but he also states that "le sue ispirazioni più importanti gli sono venute direttamente dalle fonte antichi" (*op.cit.*, p.116). Of these he stresses "i due antichi che gli gioveranno di più per la sua ricostruzione del culto e della religione di Cartagine: Apuleio e Luciano" (*ibid.*, p.61). Examples abound of Apuleius' putative influence: Salammbô's prayer to Tanit derives partly from the prayer to Isis in book eleven of the *Golden Ass* (as, it will be remembered, does the description of Cybele in *TSA*). Indeed, almost all Tanit's attributes are shared by Isis as worshipped by Lucius in Apuleius' work; not least, her multiform character, evoked by Salammbô at the start of her prayer in chapter 3 - "Anaïtis! Astarté! Derceto! Astoreth!..." (*OC*I, p.708) - and by Lucius, who addresses Isis thus at the start of his:

> "sive tu Ceres alma frugum parens originalis... seu tu cælestis Venus... circumfluo Paphi sacrarion coleris - seu Phœbi soror... veneraris delubris Ephesi... seu nocturnis ululatibis horrenda Proserpina... vario cultu propitiaris"[70] (11.2).

This identification with an eastern universal goddess is clearly central to Flaubert's conception of Tanit. Benedetto also suggests that Mâtho's and Spendius' journey through Tanit's temple may partly derive from the rather allusive account in the *Golden ass* of initiation into the rites of Isis. The

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70 "Whether you are bountiful Ceres, the primal mother of crops... or heavenly Venus, who ... are worshipped in the island sanctuary of Paphos; or Phœbus' sister [Diana], who are venerated at the illustrious shrine of Ephesus; or dreaded Proserpina of the nocturnal howls [, who]... are propitiated by diverse rites" (trans. Hanson).

identification of Apuleius as a major source for the religious aspect of *Salammbô* is corroborated by other writers; Griffin[71] compares Salammbô's previously mentioned prayer to another section of Apuleius' work, that of Cupid and Psyche, assimilating it to Psyche's prayer to Ceres. Certainly her suggestive phrase in her attempt to describe to Taanach the experience of religious inspiration - "c'est une caresse qui m'enveloppe, et je me sens écrasée comme si un dieu s'étendait sur moi" (*OC*I, p.708) - recalls Psyche's literal experience when visited by Cupid; it seems conceivable that the Cupid and Psyche legend plays a similar part in *Salammbô* to its rôle in *Madame Bovary*. Apuleius' importance in the novel seems clear.

Benedetto considers the second strongest influence on the religious aspect of *Salammbô* to be Lucian's *De Syria dea*, a source also adduced by Seznec for *TSA*. He points out that many of Tanit's characteristics are shared with the Syrian goddess, whom Flaubert, like his contemporaries, regarded as another incarnation of the 'universal' goddess also represented by Isis, Cybele and others: both Tanit and the Syrian goddess are lunar in nature, omnifecund prime causes and omnipotent. Benedetto produces a minutely comparative study of the *De Syria dea*, demonstrating that Flaubert derived from Lucian many elements of Tanit's temple and numerous minor details of *Salammbô* besides: for example, the ritual chant at the sacrifice to Moloch - "Ce ne sont pas des hommes, mais des bœufs!" (p.781) - is based on a similar refrain reported by Lucian to have been used during human sacrifice to the

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71 *The rape of the lock - Flaubert's mythic realism*, Lexington (Kentucky), French Forum, 1988, p.205

Syrian goddess: "λέγουσιν ὅτι οὐ παῖδες, ἀλλὰ βόες εἰσί"[72] (*De Syria dea* 58). It is unnecessary to enumerate all Benedetto's findings on this writer; certainly he demonstrates that Flaubert has again used his work extensively.

Other less significant religious sources have been proposed for *Salammbô*. Benedetto tentatively suggests Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* for Schahabarim's "théorie des âmes qui descendent sur la terre, en suivant la même route que le soleil par les signes du zodiaque" (*OC*I, p.753); if correct, this would be another connection between *Salammbô* and *TSA*, which the *Somnium Scipionis* incontestably influenced (see above, pp.156-8). One might also remark that one of the works Flaubert stated he was reading during the composition of *Salammbô* was "le grand hymne à Cérès (dans les *Poésies homériques* en grec)"[73]. This Hesiodic hymn celebrates Ceres-Demeter, an avatar of Tanit, as 'ὡρηφόρος' (e.g. 192), 'bringer of seasons'; this is one of Tanit's characteristics as described by Salammbô - "Et tous les germes, ô Déesse! fermentent dans les obscures profondeurs de ton humidité" (*OC*I, p.708). The hymn later recounts the drought caused by Demeter after Hades kidnaps her daughter Persephone:

> "αἰνότατον δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν
> ποίησ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ κύντατον· οὐδέ τι γαῖα
> σπέρμ' ἀνίει, κρύπτεν γὰρ ἐυστέφανος Δημήτηρ"[74] (305-7).

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[72] "They say that they are not children, but oxen" (my translation).

[73] Letter 793 (Croisset, [19th December 1858]). It is interesting that Flaubert indicates he read the poem in Greek, suggesting a reasonable level of proficiency in that language.

[74] "Then she caused a most dreadful and cruel year for mankind over the all-nourishing earth: the ground would not make the seed sprout, for rich-crowned Demeter kept it hid" (trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White, Loeb edition, 1954 [reprinted]).

The perception in *Salammbô* of the drought, and its eventual termination, as Tanit's work, may owe something to this element of the Hesiodic hymn. Certainly overall the religious element of *Salammbô* and the sources Flaubert exploited to realize it continue to demonstrate his interest in the religions of antiquity and the oriental influences which shaped them.

(iv) Less formal influences: a degree of continuity

Compared to the sheer breadth of Flaubert's sources for historical and religious data used in *Salammbô*, the less 'official' classical influences upon the work seem somewhat limited. This is partly due to the book's previously-argued 'anti-classical' credentials; more, however, it is inevitable because *Salammbô*, like *TSA* but unlike *MB*, demanded by the very nature of its subject extensive research, leaving less room for more general classical influences to manifest themselves. However, *Salammbô* undoubtedly contains some such influences; unsurprisingly they resemble those found in previous works.

In several cases of such influence, Flaubert's mouthpiece for classical allusion is Spendius. In chapter 1 of *Salammbô*, Spendius incites Mâtho to take command of the mercenaries with a rhetorical question:

> "N'es-tu pas las de dormir sur la terre dure, de boire le vinaigre des camps, et toujours d'entendre la trompette?... Rappelle-toi toutes les injustices de tes chefs, les campements dans la neige, les courses au soleil, les tyrannies de la discipline et l'éternelle menace de la croix!" (*OC*I, p.699).

The enumeration of the travails of military life recalls a poem of Ovid, an author Flaubert has imitated before. In poem nine of book one of his *Amores*, Ovid draws a lengthy comparison between the privations of army life and those

suffered by the lover. The simile is perhaps overstated in the poem, but several points of similarity with Spendius' speech may be detected. Ovid states, for instance, that "pervigilant ambo, terra requiescit uterque"[75] (7), suggesting Spendius' reference to sleeping on the bare ground; similarly, Ovid states that "congestas exteret ille nives"[76] (12), suggesting perhaps Spendius' "campements au neige". The resemblance is minimal in terms of direct imitation; but one might argue that knowledge of the context of Ovid's poem reinforces it, as Mâtho does, after all, to some extent substitute for the life of a soldier that of a lover. Also somewhat tenuous, though still noteworthy, is the resemblance between Spendius' advice to Mâtho, "laisse aller ta colère comme un char qui s'emporte" (*OC*I, p.711) and another simile in classical literature, this time in a work to which Flaubert apparently alludes only rarely: Virgil's *Georgics*. At the end of book one of that work, Virgil compares the latent chaos of his time, exemplified by the ever-present threat of civil war, to a chariot out of control:

> "ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigæ,
> addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens
> fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas"[77] (512-4).

Again, although the superficial resemblance is minimal, the context - Mâtho has unleashed just such a chaotic war as Virgil feared; Spendius is exhorting

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75 "Both [soldier and lover] watch through the night, each takes his rest on the ground" (trans. John Barsby, Bristol, Bristol Classical Press, 1979 [reprinted]).

76 "he [here the lover, although it is implied that the same applies to the soldier] will tread his way through snow piled high" (*ibid.*).

77 "So, when racing chariots have rushed from the starting-gate, they gather speed on the course, and the driver tugs at the curb-rein - his horses runaway, car out of control, quite helpless" (trans. Day Lewis).

him to intensify it - renders the imitation suggestive. One might add that Spendius' apparent status as a mouthpiece for such allusions may itself be significant, given the possibility that he is in some sense an avatar in *Salammbô* of Flaubert's own classical 'incarnation' (see above, p.283).

Another author with an extensive record of influence upon Flaubert who may also shape several passages of *Salammbô* is Horace. In chapter 11, 'Sous la tente', Mâtho, after seducing Salammbô, fantasizes aloud about a paradisiac island where they could both go and live. The passage's overall sentiment resembles that of Horace's *Epode* 16, where the poet recommends that the Roman people should escape the renewed ravages of civil war[78] (Mâtho too specifies that he will abandon war in order to take Salammbô with him - "J'abandonne l'armée! je renonce à tout!" [*OC*I, p.760]) - by migrating to the *divites insulæ*, the Fortunate Isles. Besides this general similarity, there are some specific resemblances between the passage and the poem: the idea of fertility features in each: Mâtho speaks of "les citronniers plus hauts que des cèdres" (*ibid.*), while Horace writes that in the *divites insulæ*,

> "reddit... Cererem tellus inarata quotannis
> et imputata floret usque vinea,
> germinat et numquam fallentis termes olivæ,
> suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem"[79] (43-6).

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78 It should be acknowledged that Flaubert in his notes for this passage described it thus: "Expansion de Mâtho. Rêves de bonheur, îles fortunées (v. Critias)" (*Œuvres complètes* vol.II, p.302, Paris, Club de l'Honnête Homme, 1971). Although the term "îles fortunées" recalls Horace's *divites insulæ*, the reference to Critias suggests that a conscious source of the passage is Plato's *Dialogue* placed in the mouth of Critias, in which the island of Atlantis is described in similar terms to those Mâtho uses.

79 "where every year the land, unploughed, yields corn, and ever blooms the vine unpruned and buds the shoot of the never-failing olive; the dark fig graces its native tree" (trans. Bennet).

Where Mâtho describes flower-covered mountains, Horace refers to streams coming from the *altis montibus* (47), the high mountains. Mâtho claims the island is probably uninhabited: "Personne encore ne l'habite, ou je deviendrai le roi du pays" (*OC*I, p.760); Horace hints that the same may apply to the *divites insulæ*:

> "non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus,
> neque impudica Colchis intulit pedem;
> non huc Sidonii torserunt cornua nautæ
> laboriosa nec cohors Ulixeï"[80] (57-60).

Perhaps the general sentiment is more similar than the specific resemblances; but some Horatian influence seems possible.

More suggestive, however, is a brief simile concerning the *hélépole*, the giant siege tower with which Spendius attempts to take Carthage. As it advances towards the city walls, Flaubert describes it as "pareille à une montagne qui se fût élevée sur une autre" (*OC*I, p.776). The comparison is strikingly similar to a well-known mythological incident, during the war between the gods and giants. In the fourth of his so-called 'Roman odes', Horace mentions,

> "fratresque tendentes opaco
> Pelion imposuisse Olympo"[81] (51-2).

This attempt to scale the gods' domain by piling up mountains is also alluded to by Virgil - in fact in the same book of the *Georgics* as that mentioned above (pp.312-3), the first. Here, Virgil writes,

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80 "hither came no ship of pine with straining Argo's oarsmen, nor here did any shameless Colchian queen set foot; no Sidonian mariners hither turned their spars, nor Ulysses' toiling crew" (*ibid.*).

81 "and those brothers who strove to set Pelion upon shady Olympus" (trans. Williams).

"ter sunt conati inponere Pelio Ossam
scilicet, atque Ossæ frondosum involvere Olympum;
ter Pater exstructos disiecit fulmine montes"[82] (281-3).

The possible allusion is suggestive because the image of the rebellious giants was a recognized classical commonplace, often serving as a metaphor for the struggle of chaos against order, barbarism against civilization; in this *Ode*, Horace implicitly uses it thus, and, especially in view of the already-mentioned preoccupation in *Georgics* 1 with the chaos of civil war, characterized by the runaway chariot simile, it seems reasonable to assume a similar use of the image there. It is unclear whether Flaubert had Horace or Virgil in mind here, or whether he owed the simile to no specific text; as already noted, he seems to have used the *Georgics*, with which he was relatively unfamiliar, only rarely, although imitation of the Roman *Odes* in particular and Horace's *Odes* in general is apparent in several works (see pp.99-103, pp.199-201, 210-12, etc.). However, the main point is simply that Flaubert chose to use the simile, thereby, with its various connotations, reinforcing the theme - central to *Salammbô* - of civilization and barbarism and their manifestations in the actions of the Carthaginians and the mercenaries.

Another seemingly minor allusion within *Salammbô*, which may in fact have more resonance than is initially apparent occurs in chapter 10, before Salammbô's departure for the mercenary camp. Seeing that Salammbô is sad, her nurse, Taanach asks what is wrong and reminisces, "Quand tu étais toute petite et que tu pleurais, je te prenais sur mon cœur et je te faisais rire

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82 "Three times they [the giants] tried, three times, to pile Ossa on Pelion - yes, and to roll up leafy Olympus on Ossa's summit; and thrice our Father dislodged the heaped-up hills with a thunderbolt" (trans. Day Lewis).

avec la pointe de mes mamelles; tu les as taries, maîtresse!" (*OC*I, p.755). Taanach's character and her status as nurse of a 'leading lady' are in any case resonant for any reading of *Salammbô* as a classically-influenced text: many Greek and Roman tragic heroines - notably Medea and Phædra - have nurses, who act as a dramatic confidante, as Taanach to some extent does. The passage quoted may owe something to a classical tragedy where such a nurse refers to her early duties suckling her charge; a possible example is Seneca's *Phædra*, already tentatively identified as a source for some of Flaubert's works (see above, pp.83, 97-8, 189-92, 217-8). Here the heroine's nurse, equally as nostalgically, begs the heroine to desist from her threatened suicide:

> "per has senectæ splendidas supplex comas
> fessumque curis pectus et cara ubera
> precor, furorem siste teque ipsa adiuva"[83] (246-8).

The passages' similarity is not limited to the allusion to suckling; the two situations are comparable: the nurse is trying to dissuade the heroine from a course of action which, the nurse believes, will inevitably cause her death. In Phædra's case, the nurse succeeds in preventing the heroine's immediate suicide, but Phædra's demise is not long postponed; in Salammbô's, Taanach does not prevent her charge's departure, and to some extent is correct in seeing the man who comes to collect Salammbô as "un présage de mort" (*OC*I, p.756). More importantly, if *Phædra* is an intertext here, a central

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83 "By these silvered hairs of age, I beg you, by this care-worn heart and the breasts you sucked, please restrain this passion and save yourself" (trans. Boyle).

suggestion of Anne Green's thesis[84] - that the myth of Pasiphaë, Phædra's mother, is central to the work - is considerably strengthened.

Salammbô contains a few other possible marginal classical allusions. To consider the principal scene of the chapter 'Sous la tente' again, Salammbô's abortive impulse to stab Mâtho with a dagger -

> "Au chevet du lit, un poignard s'étalait sur une table de cyprès; la vue de cette lame luisante l'enflamma d'une envie sanguinaire... Elle se rapprocha; elle saisit le fer par le manche. Au frôlement de sa robe, Mâtho entr'ouvrit les yeux, en avançant la bouche sur ses mains, et le poignard tomba" (p.760)

- recalls a similar incident in Suetonius' *Caligula*, a work Flaubert probably knew, when Suetonius discusses rumours that Caligula murdered his imperial predecessor, Tiberius:

> "nec abhorret a veritate, cum sint quidam auctores, ipsum postea etsi non de perfecto at certe de cogitato quondam parricidio professum, gloriatum enim assidue in commemoranda sua pietate, ad ulciscendam necem matris et fratrum introisse se cum pugione cubiculum Tiberi dormientis et misericordia correptum abiecto ferro recessisse; nec illum, quanquam sensisset, aut inquirere quicquam aut exsequi ausum"[85] (*Caligula* 12.3).

The similarity, if there is one, is presumably coincidental - the circumstances of the two scenes have little in common - and probably unconscious[86]. Perhaps

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[84] See '*Salammbô* and the myth of Pasiphaë', *French Studies*, 32, 2 (April 1978), pp.170-8 and *op.cit.*, ch.6.

[85] "And this is likely enough; for some writers say that Caligula himself later admitted, not it is true that he had committed parricide [Caligula was Tiberius' adopted son], but that he had at least meditated it at one time; for they say that he constantly boasted, in speaking of his filial piety, that he had entered the bedchamber of the sleeping Tiberius dagger in hand, to avenge the death of his mother and brothers; but that, seized with pity, he threw down the dagger and went out again; and that though Tiberius knew of this, he had never dared to make any inquiry or take any action" (trans. Rolfe).

[86] Naturally, other similar incidents may have equally well served as intertexts here; the Bible has been cited as an important element in the creation of *Salammbô*, and *1 Samuel* 24 and 26, whose protagonists are David and Saul, may have inspired Flaubert.

more telling is a later reference in *Salammbô*, chapter 13, where Salammbô tries to frighten her younger brother, Hannibal, into acquiescence with threats of "Lamia, une ogresse de Cyrène" (*OC*I, p.778). The reference is relatively obscure. However, according to Greek legend, Lamia was daughter of Belus and Libya; a queen of the land of Libya, raped by Zeus, and robbed of the children of the union by his jealous wife Hera. She proceeded, in a kind of indirect revenge, to kill and eat other people's children. Two sources suggest themselves, both well-known to Flaubert; in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, so central to *TSA*, *a* Lamia (the term seems to have come to designate a *species* of monster) infests Corinth, but is vanquished by Apollonius (8.7); and the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, a playwright Flaubert much admired, contains two burlesque references to Lamia (1035 and 1177). Neither text mentions Lamia's child-eating activities; but it seems likely that any annotated version Flaubert read would have enlarged upon Lamia's characteristics; or her legend might have been part of Flaubert's overall knowledge of the classics. However this may be, since Lamia is mentioned in the chapter *Moloch*, where the Carthaginians perform their child-sacrifice, the seemingly casual reference to an infanticide ogress may be more meaningful than it seems.

Such allusions, even where they contain evidence of hidden significance, do not prove extensive influence in *Salammbô* by any one of their sources. It is necessary, finally, to consider some works of one particular genre which unquestionably do shape the work extensively. The genre is that of epic; the works are those of Homer and, more especially, Virgil.

(v) The influence of Homer and Virgil

It was argued in the previous chapter of this study that *MB* has clear affinities in terms of plot, themes and imagery with Virgil's *Æneid*. *Salammbô*'s similar connections with works of classical epic have been evident to critics from the first: the work's subject matter and setting both have standard 'epic' connotations: a chronicle of a war of antiquity could not but evoke memories of the *Iliad* and *Æneid*. To quote Brombert[87]:

> "The predominance of military exploits, the massive displacement of troops, the lengthy sieges which allow for a theatrical display of both individual and group action - all this unfolding of seemingly inexhaustible resources in energy and men easily lends the novel an 'epic' physiognomy" (*op.cit.*, p.110).

As seen above (p.295), Gautier in his well-disposed article on *Salammbô* compared Flaubert's battle-scenes to Homer's as well as to Polybius and Vegetius; while Flaubert may well himself have informed Gautier of his debt to Polybius and Vegetius, the comparison with Homer was more probably spontaneous. Gautier concludes unambiguously: "Ce n'est pas un livre d'histoire, ce n'est pas un roman, c'est un poème épique!" (*op.cit.*, p.455,). A week earlier, Sainte-Beuve criticized the snake scene in *Salammbô* on the grounds that, "Ce qu'on excuse, ce qu'on attend ou même qu'on cherche dans un roman à la manière d'Apulée, est messéant dans une *Iliade* ou dans une *Pharsale*" (*op.cit.*, p.429). On the same day as the publication of Gautier's article, 22nd December 1862, Sainte-Beuve's final instalment of his analysis of *Salammbô* criticized the heroine's character in the following terms:

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87 *The novels of Flaubert (A study of themes and techniques)*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1966.

> "Virgile et Apollonius, soyez à jamais bénis de tous les esprits délicats et de tous les cœurs tendres pour nous avoir laissé votre Didon et votre Médée: créations enchanteresses et immortelles! Salammbô, en comparaison, n'est que bizarre..." (*ibid.*, p.437).

The implication is that the work has pretentions, however ill-founded, to an epic quality. Frœhner's hostile article of 31st December[88] takes a comparable approach, saying of Salammbô herself, "le cœur humain ne bat pas assez dans sa poitrine pour que nous prenions le même intérêt à ses aventures qu'à celles de Didon" (p.374). And Benedetto, whose knowledge of *Salammbô* and its sources is second to none, considered the novel an epic of sorts:

> "Nulla importano le sue offese alla maestà del documento: è un bene che la storia, attraverso le nostalgie della sua anima, si sia trasfigurata in lirica e in epopea" (*op.cit.*, p.323).

It should be noted, however, that Flaubert himself recoiled from the epic appellation. For example, he refuted Sainte-Beuve's criticism by denying any such dimension to his work: "Je n'ai pas eu la prétension de faire l'*Iliade* ni la *Pharsale*" (*OC*II, p.753); and in 1860, while writing chapter 8 of *Salammbô*, 'La bataille du Macar', he expressed to Feydeau his wariness of the genre:

> "Ce n'est pas une petite besogne que la narration et la description d'une bataille antique, car on retombe dans l'éternelle bataille épique qu'ont faite, d'après les traductions d'Homère, tous les écrivains *nobles*"[89].

Brombert, for whom, as was mentioned above, the novel's setting is suggestive, specifies that Spendius parallels Homer's cunning Odysseus. Whatever Flaubert's reservations, then, his novel's overall effect, in terms of

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[88] *Œuvres complètes* vol.II, Paris, Club de l'Honnête Homme, 1971, pp.371-87.

[89] Letter 865, Croisset, 4th July 1860.

subject-matter and setting is that of something of a latterday epic[90].

We have already seen Flaubert in *Salammbô* use extensively two late Latin epics, the *Punica* and the *Iohannides*. There is besides some evidence for the Homeric influence to which Gautier, Sainte-Beuve and Brombert all refer. The most striking example of a specific imitation of Homer occurs at the opening of chapter 7, when Hamilcar finally returns to Carthage. His advent is imposing and dramatic: he sails into the city's harbour at dawn. Flaubert describes his ship in some detail:

> "Elle s'avançait d'une façon orgueilleuse et farouche, l'antenne toute droite, la voile bombée dans la longueur du mât, en fendant l'écume autour d'elle; ses gigantesques avirons battaient l'eau en cadence; de temps à autre l'extrémité de sa quille, faite comme un soc de charrue, apparaissait, et sous l'éperon qui terminait sa proue, le cheval à tête d'ivoire, en dressant ses deux pieds, semblait courir sur les plaines de la mer" (*OC*I, p.728).

The passage recalls one common to the three versions of *TSA*, though greatly reduced in the definitive version, where Helen of Troy describes the ship in which Paris abducted her:

> "A la proue de la trirème, où il y avait un bélier sculpté qui, à chaque coup des vagues, s'enfonçait sous l'eau, je restais immobile, le vent soufflait, la quille fendait l'écume" (p.394 [1849 version]).

It has already been argued (pp.172-3 above), that this passage owes something to two passages of Homer's *Iliad* (1.480-3, 15.381-3); it seems equally probable that the description of Hamilcar's ship derives from the same source, albeit presumably at second hand. In fact, the passage may contain another resonance from a non-Homeric classical epic, to be discussed shortly.

As for *MB*, however, the main epic intertext for *Salammbô* (although

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90 We will consider at a later stage the possibility that Flaubert may use epic *techniques* in both *Salammbô* and *MB*.

paradoxically, its importance in the former work is greater than in that set during classical times), is probably Virgil's *Æneid*. Both the *Iohannides* and the *Punica* closely imitate the *Æneid*, sometimes to the extent of quoting it verbatim; and, irrespective of Flaubert's professed admiration for the work, the geographical setting of its first and fourth book in north Africa and Carthage enabled him to glean factual as well as artistic material from it. Certainly the *Æneid* was likely to be on Flaubert's mind when composing *Salammbô*: in several letters of early 1861, he refers to regular reading of the work, with expressions of great admiration for its style (see p.59). It is never mentioned in any of Flaubert's articles in defence of *Salammbô* as part of his documentation, but it would be perverse to assume that it cannot therefore have affected the novel. In fact, as Shroder (*op.cit.*, p.28) points out, a work set in ancient Carthage immediately assumes a Virgilian dimension: "Our literary associations are Virgilian, and the myth of Dido makes of the city the natural setting for a tale of tragic love". Louis Bertrand too[91] finds parallels between the two works:

> "ne voit-on pas *Salammbô*, en dépit des apparences, se rapprocher insensiblement des œuvres de la plus pure tradition classique, d'une *Énéide*, par exemple, où l'élément historique, pourtant si considérable, se perd en quelque sorte et s'oublie dans la perfection d'art de l'ensemble? Et ce n'est pas par hasard que je cite l'*Énéide*. Nous savons, par la correspondance de Flaubert, que, durant toute la conception de *Salammbô* il lut et relut le poème de Virgile" (*op.cit*, pp.144-5).

It has already been suggested that the *Æneid* could provide Flaubert with both documentation and artistic inspiration. Of the former, Benedetto

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[91] *Gustave Flaubert (avec des fragments inédits)*, second edition, Paris, Mercure de France, 1912.

indicates several examples. Thus, some of Carthage's topography is ascribed to Virgil: Benedetto states that Flaubert "ripete con insistenza lo *strata viarum* virgiliano" (*op.cit.*, p.112). The phrase *strata viarum*, 'paved streets', occurs in line 422 of *Æneid* 1, and is in fact Lucretian in origin (although there is no evidence that Lucretius is Flaubert's source here); Benedetto indicates several instances where Carthage is depicted as having such streets: thus in chapter 1 of *Salammbô*, Mâtho and Spendius watch as "Les grands chariots arrivant de la campagne faisaient tourner leurs roues sur les dalles des rues" (*OC*I, p.699); in the second, Hannon includes "le dallage des rues" in the list of the Carthaginian government's expenses (p.705); and at the start of the book's final chapter, the main noise in the hubbub of Carthage is "le cri des porteurs d'eau arrosant les dalles" (p.794). Benedetto writes at length about Flaubert's use of the Virgilian term *magalia* (*Æneid* 1.421, 4.259, etc.), which has become in *Salammbô* the name Malqua, one of the quarters of the city; he claims that Flaubert knew of the statement by the Virgilian commentator Servius that "Cartagine era formata di due parte concentriche; *Byrsa* e *Magalia*" (*op.cit.*, p.92), and of the ancients' understanding of the meaning of the word *magalia*, of Punic origin:

> "Nel nome di Malqua il Flaubert ha riunite un po'arbitrariamente le idee di plebe e di crapula: gli serve di scusa la definizione che danno di *magalia* o *mapalia* [an alternative term found in some Latin texts, including Silius' *Punica*] gli antiche: umili cabanne, construzione primitive e barbariche" (*ibid.*, p.94).

It seems at any rate possible that the name Malqua derives from Virgil. Benedetto also argues that the reference in chapter 1 of *Salammbô* to "la pourpre du lit" (*OC*I, p.698) - that is, the dining couch - on which Mâtho reclines recalls another feast in Carthage, in *Æneid* 1, shortly after Æneas'

arrival in Dido's realm: "stratoque super discumbitur ostro"[92] (1.700).

Besides Benedetto's examples, Flaubert seemingly gleaned other facts from the *Æneid* for use in *Salammbô*. Thus the repeated references to the Numidian cavalry's lack of bridles (as Narr'Havas first arrives at the mercenary camp, he leads "une troupe de cavaliers galopant sur des chevaux sans brides" [*OC*I, p.715]); and when he defects to Hamilcar, the horses in his troop are described as "allongeant leur tête sans bride" [p.761]) may derive from Virgilian phrases such as "Numidæ infreni", the "bridle-less Numidians" (4.41). Flaubert repeatedly uses as a symbol of Carthage a horse's head: when Hannon reaches Sicca, he has with him "les enseignes de la République... des bâtons de bois bleu, terminés par des têtes de cheval ou des pommes de pin" (p.704); Hamilcar's ship, in the passage quoted on page 53, has the sculpture of a horse on it; and after the battle of the Macar, Flaubert writes that, "Mâtho s'avançant toujours, crut distinguer des enseignes puniques, car des têtes de cheval qui ne bougeaient pas apparaissaient dans l'air" (p.746). This symbol may originate in *Æneid* 1, where Virgil recounts that upon arrival in Africa, Dido's Tyrians discovered,

> " signum, quod regia Iuno
> monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello
> egregiam et facilam victu per sæcula gentem"[93] (1.443-5).

Virgil here explains the emblem, as Flaubert never does. The reference to an ivory-headed horse on Hamilcar's ship, given its maritime associations, may

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92 "[They] disposed themselves upon the purple-upholstered couches" (trans. Day Lewis).

93 "the sign which royal Juno had promised - the skull of a spirited horse; it was a sign that henceforth their nation would thrive in wealth and war throughout the ages" (*ibid.*).

recall another passage of *Æneid* 1, well-known to Flaubert, where Neptune calms the storm Æolus raised against the Trojans, riding across the waves in a horse-drawn chariot:

> "sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, æquora postquam
> prospiciens genitor cæloque invectus aperto
> flectit equos curruque volans dat lora secundo"[94] (154-6).

Like many of Flaubert's classical allusions, this possible intertext carries a weight of suggestion. As with the reference in the *Georgics* (see above, pp.312-3) to another chariot, this one out of control, and that in the *Georgics* or Horace's *Odes* (see pp.314-5) to the battle of the gods and giants, the relevant passage of the *Æneid* can be considered another symbol of the struggle between chaos, exemplified by the unruly winds, and order, personified in Neptune. The relevance of this image to domestic unrest, and hence to civil war, is emphasized by Virgil several lines earlier (151f.), when, in an unusual simile comparing a natural event to one in human society, he assimilates the winds to a fractious crowd, Neptune to a respected public figure calming it. The relationship alluded to in the simile and 'reflected' in the 'real' situation involving Neptune is comparable to that between Hamilcar and the mercenaries. It would, of course, be overstating the case to say that Hamilcar 'is' Neptune in this passage, but, in tandem with the instances already tentatively identified of allusion to classical passages carrying overtones of chaos-order / civil war-peace antitheses, it provides convincing evidence that Flaubert sought in *Salammbô* to establish a meaningful pattern of such

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94 "So now the crash of the seas died down, when Neptune gazed forth over the face and the sky cleared, and the father of ocean, turning his horses, wheeled away on an easy course" (*ibid.*).

images, perhaps in order to reinforce one of his book's key themes.

One should note that in several cases, information attributable to the *Æneid* may equally be a product of Flaubert's reading of Silius Italicus. The *Punica* several times (e.g. 2.438) mentions *mapalia*, albeit not the Virgilian *magalia*; the discovery of the horse's head is also mentioned briefly, as an event depicted on Hannibal's shield, (2.410-1); and in book one, Silius too asserts that Numidian cavalry do not use the bridle (215-9). Naturally, just as Virgil's epic was based on Homer's, so too - indeed, much more extensively - is Silius' indebted to Virgil's; thus, it can be difficult to ascertain the precise provenance of various items of apparent Virgilian influence in *Salammbô*. This is acknowledged by Benedetto in relation to one particular allusion in the novel: the temple of Tanit, described in chapter 5, owes elements not only to Lucian and others, as mentioned earlier, but also to Juno's depicted by Virgil and Proserpine's described by Silius. In particular the grove surrounding the temple may derive either from the *Æneid* (1.451f.) or the *Punica* (1.81f.); but many other aspects of the temple scene seem to be owed to Virgil alone. Benedetto suggests that Flaubert's "escalier d'airain" (*OC*I, p.717) is based upon the following lines of the *Æneid*:

> "ærea cui gradibus surgebant limina nexæque
> ære trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aënis"[95] (1.448-9).

Griffin (*op.cit.*, p.206) suggests that the comparison of the pomegranate and other trees in Flaubert's sacred grove to "des feuillages de bronze" in their immobility (*OC*I, p.716) is an allusion, conscious or otherwise, to the golden

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[95] "Bronze was its threshold, approached by a flight of steps; the door-posts were braced with bronze, and the door with its grinding hinges was bronze" (*ibid.*).

bough which Æneas in *Æneid* 6 has to obtain before an initiatory journey like that undertaken by Mâtho and Spendius; and arguably Mâtho's alarm at the supposed approach of the goddess ("- Fuyons! s'écria Mâtho. C'est elle! je la sens; elle vient" [p.718]) recalls the supernatural presages of a goddess arrival in that book:

> "ecce autem primi sub lumina solis et ortus
> sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga cœpta moveri
> silvarum, visæque canes ululare per umbram
> adventante dea"[96] (255-8).

The same passage, insofar as it suggests a literal divine presence may also influence Schahabarim's pronouncement concerning Rabbetna-Tanit in chapter 3 of *Salammbô* that, "bien qu'elle soit partout épandue, c'est ici qu'elle demeure, sous le voile sacré" (*OC*I, p.709). It is likelier, though, that the notion of Tanit's physical presence is based, once again, on the description of the temple in book one, which, Virgil writes, is "donis opulentum et numine divæ"[97] (447).

As for the *voile sacré* to which the high priest refers, the *zaïmph*, it has already been suggested (p.280 above) that it derives partly from the legend of the *Palladium*. If so, the aspect of the *zaïmph* owed to legend is its status as protector of Carthage, rather than its lethal qualities: as Spendius explains to Mâtho, "c'est parce que Carthage le possède, que Carthage est puissante" (*OC*I, p.716). Although Benedetto (*op.cit.*, pp.174-6) attributes the *zaïmph* to Dureau de la Malle, who uses various obscure texts as evidence for its

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96 "But listen! - at the very first crack of dawn, the ground underfoot began to mutter, the woody ridges to quake, and a baying of hounds was heard through the half-light: the goddess was coming" (*ibid.*).

97 "made rich by offerings and the indwelling presence of Juno" (*ibid.*).

existence, it seems realistic to detect Virgilian influence also. The *Palladium* is mentioned, and its attributes delineated, in *Æneid* 2; interestingly, the speaker describing it is Sinon, a cunningly mendacious Greek like Spendius in some respects:

> "omnis spes Danaum et cœpti fiducia belli
> Palladis auxiliis semper stetit. impiu ex quo
> Tydides sed enim scelerumque inventor Ulixes,
> fatale adgressi sacrato avellere templo
> Palladium cæsis summæ custodibus arcis,
> corripuere sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis
> vigineas ausi divæ contingere vittas,
> ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri
> spes Danaum, fractæ vires, aversa deæ mens"[98] (162-70).

Arguably the same fate as Sinon alleges befalls the mercenary army after the *zaïmph* is stolen. Clearly the *Palladium* is envisaged here as a statue or image of the goddess, and, although there are images of Tanit in her temple, the *zaïmph* is not one; however, another passage in *Æneid* 1 may justify Flaubert's depiction of it as a veil or robe. Interestingly, it is while describing a fresco in that temple of Juno on which Tanit's temple is partly based, that Virgil writes the following:

> "interea ad templum non æquæ Palladis ibant
> crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant
> suppliciter, tristes et tunsæ pectora palmis;
> diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat"[99] (479-82).

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[98] "All the hope of the Greeks, their assurance in starting the war, was sustained by the backing of Pallas Athene. But when the godless Diomed and that master-craftsman of crime, Ulysses, set out to steal Troy's luck, Athene's image, away from her holy place, massacred the sentries high on the citadel, snatched up the sacred image, and dared to lay their blood-stained hands on her virginal headband - from that day forth, the hopes of the Greeks were caught in an undertow and carried away, their strength was shattered, for the goddess had hardened her heart against them" (*ibid.*).

[99] "Meanwhile to the shrine of their goddess, their foe's friend, the Trojan women are walking to make intercession: their hair is unbound, they carry the goddess' ritual robe, the mourn and beat their breasts: but the goddess keeps her eyes on the

The idea of the *zaïmph*, a protective, sacred robe, may be at least partly based on a conflation of these two passages, a possibility strengthened by the presence of the last mentioned in a passage of the *Æneid* already demonstrated to have furnished various elements for *Salammbô*'s religious imagery.

Unlike its immediate predecessor, *Salammbô* apparently owes relatively little, in terms of characterization or plot structure, to the story of Dido and Æneas as told in the *Æneid*; indeed, as we have seen, it is precisely Salammbô's *dis*similarity to Dido which offends Sainte-Beuve and Frœhner (see pp.319-20). Some comparison may, nonetheless, be established between the two couples Salammbô and Mâtho, and Dido and Æneas. An obvious point is that the symbolic identification of the heroine and the moon-goddess, the hero and the sun-god, implicit in *MB* (see pp.263-8), becomes explicit in *Salammbô*. Admittedly, when Salammbô first appears, a telling phrase in Flaubert's description of her equates her not with Diana, the moon-goddess, who is most readily associated with Dido and, by extension, with Emma, but with Venus[100]. We are told, as she approaches the feasting mercenaries, of "Sa chevelure... réunie en forme de tour selon la mode des vierges chananéennes" (*OC*I, p.697); the phrase "selon la mode des vierges chananéennes" recalls Venus' explanation of her disguised appearance in

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ground and regards them not" (*ibid.*).

[100] Admittedly Venus disguised as a Tyrian huntress, intended to hide her identity from Æneas, which assimilates her in many ways to Diana. As so often, Flaubert's adroit use of mythical parallels reflects his belief in the equivalence, on one level at least, of the goddesses of classical mythology.

Æneid 1: "*virginibus Tyriis mos est* gestare pharetram"[101] (336) (my italics). The parallel between Venus and Salammbô is heightened by the fact that this is Venus' first physical appearance in the *Æneid*, just as it is Salammbô's first in the novel, and that the Carthaginian princess's name is also that of a Babylonian goddess often equated with Venus.

Nevertheless, the main mythological similartity is between Salammbô and Diana, and Mâtho and Apollo or the sun god. The confusion engendered in both characters' mind by their mutual identification, each of the other, with the relevant deity has been widely examined, and needs no further explanation here; however, it is worth pointing out that some of Salammbô's attributes prefigure, quite specifically, the Diana of *TSA*III: Salammbô, in chapter 3 of the novel, expresses a desire for dissolution - "je voudrais me perdre dans la brume des nuits" (*OC*I, p.708) - similar to that which afflicts Diana in the later work - "Je veux boire des poisons, me perdre dans les vapeurs, dans les rêves!" (p.560); of course, as has been suggested previously (see chh.3, n.112; 4, n.68), Diana's reference to drinking poison establishes another link, with Emma Bovary. Perhaps even more strikingly, Taanach, in the same scene, says to Salammbô, "La brise qui souffle, un nuage qui passe, tout à présent t'inquiète et t'agite" (p.708); in *TSA*III, Diana is finally carried off by "un nuage qui passe" (p.560). The network of imagery surrounding several Flaubertian heroines strongly implies both a fundamental link between them and a major mythical element in their very conception.

Beyond this symbolic aspect, however, Salammbô's and Mâtho's

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101 "*It is the fashion for Tyrian girls* to carry a quiver" (trans. Day Lewis).

relationship has little in common with that of Dido and Æneas. Griffin, admittedly, suggests (*op.cit.*, p.223) that the consummation of their relationship during a thunderstorm recalls the similar circumstances of that of Virgil's characters, whom a storm drives to a cave; however, it should be remarked that the situation and location are otherwise very different from the *Æneid*, and certainly not as similar as those in the equivalent scene between Emma and Rodolphe in *MB*. Some of the material for Mâtho's character may derive from Virgil's work, although not, as in Rodolphe's case, from the depiction of Æneas himself - rather more, in fact, from some of the barbarians who oppose him. His life-story is given at the same time as Spendius' (*OC*I, p.701):

> "Il était né dans le golfe des Syrtes. Son père l'avait conduit en pèlerinage au temple d'Ammon. Puis il avait chassé les éléphants dans les forêts des Garamantes...".

Several elements of this passage recall a minor but pivotal character of *Æneid* 4, Iarbas, a native king whose prayer to Jupiter, prompted by jealousy of Æneas' and Dido's affair, provokes the divine warning which prompts Æneas to leave Carthage. As with Mâtho, Virgil gives a brief life-history of Iarbas:

> "hic Hammone satus rapta Garamantide nympha
> templa Iovi centum latis immania regnis,
> centum aras posuit vigilemque sacraverat ignem,
> excubias divum æternas, pecudumque cruore
> pingue solum et variis florentia limina sertis"[102] (198-202).

The use, common to both passages, of the proper nouns Ammon and Garamantes strongly implies some connection between the two; equally, the life-story of both includes a reference to a shrine to Jupiter-Ammon, and both

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102 "He, the son of Ammon by a ravished African [Day Lewis explicates the more obscure *Garamantide*] nymph, had established a hundred shrines to Jove in his ample realm, a hundred altars, and consecrated their quenchless flames and vigils unceasing there; the ground was richly steeped in victims' blood, and bouquets of flowers adorned the portals" (*ibid.*).

are native African barbarians. One might add that Mâtho's feelings towards Salammbô echo Iarbas' obsessive jealousy - Salammbô, like Dido, is involved with a man, Narr'Havas, who is considered somewhat effeminate: in chapter 8, as Mâtho contemplates him, "le Numide... roulait les yeux comme une femme et souriait d'une manière irritante" (*OC*I, p.742); courting Salammbô in the fourteenth, he wears a flowered robe, and provokes in her "une foule de pensées vagues":

> "Ce jeune homme à voix douce et à taille féminine captivait ses yeux par la grâce de sa personne et lui semblait être comme une sœur aînée que les Baals envoyaient pour la protéger" (p.788).

It is worth recalling that Iarbas (see above, p.249) lambasts Æneas as,

> " ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu,
> Mæonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem
> subnexus"[103] (4.215-7).

Similar tensions underlie relations between Mâtho and Narr'Havas. It is also noticeable that, just as Salammbô is bedazzled by the grace of Narr'Havas' person, so too is Dido's initial attraction for Æneas a result of his physical appearance (on this element of Emma's and Rodolphe's relationship, see p.249): "obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido"[104] (1.613). However, the parallel should not be forced: Narr'Havas is less closely associated with Æneas by the text than Rodolphe in *MB*, nor is Salammbô's attraction to him remotely similar to that of Dido to the Trojan leader. Some comparison between the characters of Iarbas and Mâtho, Æneas and Narr'Havas may be valid, but in no sense is there a systematic imitation in *Salammbô* of the

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[103] "that philanderer, with his effeminate following - his chin and oil-sleeked hair set off by a Phrygian bonnet" (*ibid.*).

[104] "Sidonian Dido [was] amazed first by the man's appearance" (*ibid.*).

situation in *Æneid* 4[105].

It may also be considered that Mâtho, in general terms, recalls another barbarian opponent of Æneas, the Rutulian warlord Turnus, and more widely, standard epic heroes throughout antiquity. During the siege of Carthage, Flaubert shows him in the grip of battle-frenzy:

> "Il avait gardé son fort ceinturon, où luisait une hache à double tranchant, et avec sa grande épée dans les deux mains il s'était précipité par la brèche, impetueusement... Ceux qui tentaient de le saisir par les flancs, il les renversait à coups de pommeau; quand ils l'attaquaient en face, il les perçait; s'ils fuyaient, il les fendait..." (*OC*I, p.775).

Many passages concerning Turnus, or indeed heroes of other classical epics - Achilles in the *Iliad*, for example - could be adduced for comparison; indeed, in *Æneid* 9 (691-818), Turnus, like Mâtho here, breaks into the enemy's encampment; perhaps most notable, however, is the following:

> "iamque neci Sthenelumque dedit Thamyrumque Pholumque,
> hunc congressus et hunc, illum eminus; eminus ambo
> Imbrasidas, Glaucum atque Laden..."[106] (12.341-3).

Although Flaubert does not imitate the epic convention of listing the names of victims in such passages - perhaps for fear of falling into cliché - his overall tone is very similar to Virgil's.

Another possible element of Virgilian imitation in the same passage comes when we are told that, in the hope of entering Carthage,

"tout en brandissant la terrible hache, [Mâtho] courait sur les boucliers,

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[105] The Iarbas of the *Æneid* may feature in *Salammbô* as a god - he may originally have been an African god when borrowed by Virgil. One of the procession of Baals brought forth during the sacrifice to Moloch is "l'Iarbal de la Libye" (*OC*I, p.779).

[106] "Sthenelus now he killed, Thamyrus, Pholus - the first from a distance, the other two at close quarters: he killed with spear-casts the sons of Imbrasus, Glaucus and Lades" (trans. Day Lewis).

> pareils à des vagues de bronze, comme un dieu marin sur des flots et qui secoue son trident" (p.775).

It is impossible to avoid thinking of the passage (mentioned above, pp.324-5) describing Neptune, the sea-god, similarly traversing the surface of the ocean; ironically, of course, the suggestion made earlier was that Mâtho's arch-enemy, Hamilcar, was compared with the god, as a symbol not of barbarism, but of order and civilization: if there is any allusion to the *Æneid* here, it seems likely that Flaubert is using it deliberately to blur the distinction between 'civilization' and 'barbarism'.

It would seem, then, that although there is no systematic imitation of the *Æneid* in *Salammbô* to compare with that in *MB*, the novel's debt to Virgil, together with Homer, is indisputable. Certainly, for example, the battle-scene on page 775 referred to above seems Virgilian in inspiration. However, there has been a tendency in recent criticism, to detect along with *Salammbô*'s contemporary allusions a certain subversion in terms of subject-matter of classical epics. Thus Michel Butor (*op.cit.*, p.141) comments on the anti-epic implications of the depiction of a phalanx formation in battle: it is a "Char d'assaut fait d'hommes qui ne peuvent plus devenir des guerriers au sens épique, manifestant leur vertu"; that is, there is no room for the depiction of individual heroism so common in classical epic. While admitting the broad truth of this observation, one should recall Flaubert's emphasis upon Mâtho's individual fighting prowess; indeed, in an eminently epic manner (cf. the *Odyssey*, *La Chanson de Roland*, etc.), he is at the end of the work the last survivor of a considerable body of fighting men, such is his fortitude. Anne Green (*op.cit.*), while detecting, again, an epic appearance to the book in its

treatment of a vast subject, its depiction of divine-human interaction and so on, claims that this status is undermined by the absence of a hero or of a real resolution to the work.

There is clearly a degree of subversion of the novel's apparent epic status but it does not seem remotely extensive enough to preclude *Salammbô*'s being considered an epic in at least a limited sense. It would perhaps be truer to consider the work a reinvention of the genre. The notion suggested by Green, that an epic *must* have a clear resolution is arguable. The end of the *Æneid* is distinctly ambiguous, even disturbing, in contrast perhaps to Homer's works; and Lucan's Silver Latin 'anti-epic', *De bello civili*, has much in common with the subversion detected in *Salammbô*: it has no obvious hero, no gods who influence the action and no resolution[107] - yet it is commonly accepted as an example of the genre. Flaubert's work seems a blending of classical materials - historical facts, religious ideas, epic imagery - into the modern novel to create almost a new type of work. In other words, Flaubert's practice in *Salammbô* is comparable to that in *MB*: both novels seem to take themes with some epic resonance - more obviously in *Salammbô* - and subject them to a modern treatment.

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[107] A possible term for the 'new' genre represented by *Salammbô* is identified by Alan Busst in his article 'Epic realism and pseudo-epic. A comparison of Flaubert's *Salammbô* with Zola's *Germinal*' (*Romance Studies* 17, Winter 1990, pp.67-81). Busst argues that a work of 'epic realism', while superficially epic in form, in fact contains, "a lack of inner cohesion, an antagonism or self-contradiction, by which epic enlargement is challenged and refuted within the text itself" (p.71). He believes the ambiguous status of aspects of *Salammbô* such as the heroine's unexplained death contributes to such a 'lack of inner cohesion' and identifies the work (unlike *Germinal*, which he considers 'genuinely' epic) as a specimen of 'epic realism'. The argument is relatively persuasive, although by the same token certainly Lucan's *De bello civili* and possibly the *Æneid* could be representatives of the genre.

Chapter 6: Flaubert's later works (1862 - 1880): variety and continuity

Of Flaubert's last three narrative works[1] - the 1869 *Education sentimentale*, *Trois contes* and *Bouvard et Pécuchet* - only one section, 'Hérodias' in *TC*, may be condidered classical in subject and setting in the same way as *TSA* or *Salammbô*. Given the relative brevity of that one section and the likely scarcity of classical influence upon the other two *contes* or either novel, I intend to devote one chapter to all three works. This chapter's object will be to discern whether Flaubert's debt to classical antiquity continued to be as apparent in his later works as in his earlier, and to seek evidence of such systematic classical imitation in these works as has been found in *MB* and *Salammbô*.

(i) The *Education sentimentale* of 1869

As with *Salammbô*, so too with its chronological successor: *ES*II superficially

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[1] I intend to refer little to Flaubert's dramatic works of this period. Like much of Flaubert's work, they include some casual classical allusions: in *Le Château des cœurs*, the *Grand Pontife* addresses *Collégiens* as "éphèbes" and exhorts women to chastity, "tournant le dos à Cupidon" (6th Tableau, scene 1; *OC*II, p.346). A character in *Le Candidat* is described as "ce Catilina de village" (p.404); another expostulates "Ah! la populace! je comprends Néron" (p.410); broadly, *Le Candidat*'s status as political satire reflects some of Aristophanes' comedies, which Flaubert appreciated; but in neither work is there evidence of systematic imitation of the classics. A few specific situations and lines recall aspects of familiar classical works: Jeanne's offer to Paul and Dominique - "Plutôt que de continuer vos courses périlleuses, il serait meilleur pour vous de rester dans ce royaume (p.352) - recalls Dido's to the Trojans in *Æneid* 1.572, "vultis et his mecum pariter considere regnis?" ("or would you like to share my kingdom, on equal terms?" [trans. Day Lewis]); while the Fairy Queen's address to Paul - "Pour devenir immortel, exécute l'œuvre d'un dieu!" (p.359) - resembles the first stanza of Horace's fifth Roman *Ode*, comparing Augustus to Jupiter on the strength of his imperial conquests: he will become a *præsens divus* (2), a "god among us". These isolated, dubious examples do not constitute a pattern of allusion.

contrasts with the previous work in setting and tone. It may be, as Green argues (see above, pp.276-7), that *ES*II in fact represents merely a more direct way of treating contemporary history than the allusions in *Salammbô*, and that the change of setting is less complete than it seems. However that may be, the basic subject matter of *ES*II does not necessitate research into classical authors, as *Salammbô*'s did; indeed, much of Flaubert's reading at the time consisted of contemporary or near-contemporary texts. The period of *ES*II's composition is relatively poor in voluntary reading of classical texts, moreover; there is some evidence for reading of Plato and maybe Catullus at the time (see p.62), and in early 1863 Flaubert reports "une forte rage de Théocrite"[2], but the demands of researching the Orléans monarchy and 1848 revolution seem to have taken their toll.

Another significant aspect of *ES*II, besides its modern setting, is its deliberate incoherence and lack of pattern. This facet of the novel is especially emphasized by modern critics: Brombert, despite earlier arguments positing certain themes as unifying factors in the novel, writes, "much of *L'Education sentimentale* is an exercise in discontinuity. Even the conventional link between motivation and action is here frequently absent" (*op.cit.*, pp.184-5). Culler, writing specifically of the scene at Rosanette's masked ball - although his argument applies to the entire work - states that, in contrast to a comparable scene in Balzac's *Peau de chagrin*, "There is no such principle of coherence in Flaubert's description" (*op.cit.*, p.97); Alan Raitt has in several articles indicated the incoherence associated with the names

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[2] Letter 1098, [Croisset, end of March / start of April 1863].

used in *ES*II and its very structure[3]. Despite the possible existence of an overall pattern and some recurrent themes - prostitution, water, memory, etc. - the argument that *ES*II as a whole lacks a coherent structure seems to preclude much systematic imitation of or reference to classical, or indeed any literature, such as *MB* and *Salammbô* apparently include; any such system would contradict the novel's very essence.

It remains nevertheless unsurprising to find in *ES*II, as in most of Flaubert's works, an 'undercurrent' of classical reference. A few examples will suffice. On a very superficial level, it has been suggested[4] that Sénécal's name recalls that of Seneca: it is tempting to speculate that Flaubert deemed the combination of dogmatism and hypocrisy apparent in the characters of the Stoic philosopher and the political activist sufficient link to justify this assimilation. Weightier classical allusions include Sénécal's enthusiasm for "une sorte de Lacédémone américaine" (*OC*II, p.57) and his ironically juxtaposed opinion (p.58) that "l'ouvrier, vu l'insuffisance des salaires, était plus malheureux que l'ilote, le nègre et le paria". Hussonnet at one stage encourages Frédéric to be "mon Mécène" (p.64); Deslauriers claims that "le législateur... a prétendu modeler la société comme un Lycurge!" (p.72); the *Club de l'intelligence* debates a motion to adopt Latin as the common language of "la Démocratie européenne" (p.118); during Frédéric and

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[3] 'La décomposition des personnages dans *L'Education Sentimentale*' (in Wetherill, P.M. [ed.], *Flaubert: la dimension du texte*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1982, pp.157-74); '*L'Education sentimentale* et la pyramide' (in Agulhon, M. [ed.], *Histoire et langage dans* «L'Education sentimentale», Paris, Editions C.D.U. et SEDES réunis, 1981, pp.129-42).

[4] e.g. by Robert Benet, 'Clé de lecture pour *L'Education sentimentale*: le bal masqué chez Rosanette', *L'Information Littéraire*, 3 (May - June 1993), pp.13-22.

Rosanette's sojourn at Fontainebleau, trees are compared (presumably from Frédéric's viewpoint) to "un groupe de Titans immobilisés dans leur colère" (p.126); and Flaubert writes that among the regulars at the Dambreuse household, "On allait applaudir la *Foire aux idées*; et on comparait les auteurs à Aristophane" (p.140). Most of these represent a similar phenomenon to that detected in *MB* (see above, pp.228-35): bourgeois misappropriation of classical images as *idées reçues*, an example of how *not* to use the classics. The last-quoted example particularly contrasts with a comment of Flaubert's about that author: in a letter of 1852, not long after the precise historical moment depicted in *ES*II, Flaubert stated that "ce qui manque à la société moderne... c'est un Aristophane, mais il serait lapidé par le public"[5]. We may assume that the qualities the Dambreuses' friends attribute to the authors of the *Foire aux idées* are not those which Flaubert identifies in Aristophanes as so salutary but repugnant to their society.

Consistent with this concept of bourgeois misuse of classical *idées reçues* is a perceptible tendency among characters in *ES*II to use rhetorical commonplaces, especially in the earlier part of the book, where Frédéric and Deslauriers are both studying law. Thus in chapter 5 of part 1, we read that "Pellerin se lança dans une catilinaire contre les épiciers" (*OC*II, p.38) - the bathos of his target adding piquancy to the irony of *catilinaire*. Shortly afterwards (p.39), Frédéric contemplates his own prospective oratory prowess:

> "Il se voyait... noyant ses adversaires sous ses prosopopées, les écrasant d'une riposte, avec des foudres et des intonations minuscules dans la voix, ironique, pathétique, emporté, sublime".

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[5] Letter 463, [17th December 1852].

After Frédéric inherits a fortune, when Deslauriers and Hussonnet try to persuade him to fund their newspaper, his refusal of responsibility - "Est-ce ma faute?..." (p.64) - is taken up by Deslauriers: "il répétait «Est-ce leur faute?» avec une ironie cicéronienne...". Although the specifically classical aspects of these examples - *catilinaire*, *prosopopée*, *cicéronienne* - occur within the body of the narrative and not the direct speech of any character, it seems reasonable - and certainly correct in the second example - to attribute them to the characters, with Pellerin fondly imagining his bluster to be worthy of Cicero's speeches against Catiline and Deslauriers consciously comparing himself to the same orator. It is of course Cicero who connects the first and third example, and arguably, given his predilection for the rhetorical device of *prosopopeia*, the second; in view of his place in the school curriculum of the time (see above, pp.9-10), he would be a natural *idée reçue* to occur to Frédéric and his friends.

Besides the references of characters within *ES*II to classical figures and writers, one may detect, in this work as in others, less obvious allusions in the text itself, independent of the characters. Their exact status, as always, is dubious; two examples will suffice here. While Frédéric and Arnoux are serving in the National Guard, Frédéric is tempted to kill Arnoux 'accidentally' by discharging the older man's gun while he is asleep - "il aurait fallu seulement que le chien du fusil se levât! On pouvait le pousser du bout de l'orteil; le coup partirait, ce serait un hasard, rien de plus!" (*OC*II, p.123). An obvious parallel is one cited in connection with the scene in *Salammbô* where the heroine nearly stabs the sleeping Mâtho (see above, p.317); the episode in Suetonius' *Caligula* (12.3), where the future emperor almost kills his

sleeping predecessor, Tiberius, obviously contains the element of a drowsy and vulnerable enemy, and, as with the scene in *Salammbô* may have provided Flaubert with at least a subconscious model.

Rather differently, during an encapsulation of Madame Dambreuse's character (part 3, chapter 4), a reference is made to, "Son spiritualisme (Mme Dambreuse croyait à la transmigration des âmes dans les étoiles)" (*OC*II, p.149). A clear parallel exists with a text already used by Flaubert as a source for *TSA*: Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* in the *De re publica*, where Scipio learns that the souls of the blessed do migrate to the stars (see above, pp.156-8). Madame Dambreuse is probably not consciously alluding to Cicero, but the text may have been vestigially in Flaubert's mind when he wrote *ES*II.

Most allusions to the classics so far identified have been very general in nature: difficult to attribute to a specific author, or probably unintentional - in other words, little more than might naturally occur in the writing of an educated nineteenth-century Frenchman. However, one may identify more specific classical sources for various elements of *ES*II. Given Flaubert's confession of "une forte rage de Théocrite" during the early stages of the work's composition (see p.337), it would be unsurprising if that writer's *Idylls* influenced the novel - although the two works' settings are rather alien: Flaubert describes Theocritus' pastoral poems as "Jolie préparation pour peindre les mœurs parisiennes!"[6]. Some Theocritan influence may indeed occur in the novel, but only at a very general level. For example, just as Frédéric's 'unhappy' love-life leads him to contemplate suicide by drowning - "il se demanda pourquoi n'en

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[6] Letter 1098, [Croisset, end of March / start of April 1863].

pas finir? Rien qu'un mouvement à faire..." (*OC*II, p.36), so too does one of Theocritus' characters, Daphnis, drown himself in despair:

> "χὠ Δάφνις ἔβα ῥόον ἔκλυσε δίνα
> τὸν Μοίσαις φίλον ἄνδρα"[7] (1.140-1).

The traffic jam Flaubert describes following the scene at the races in *ES*II may owe something to that described in the streets of Alexandria in Theocritus' fifteenth *Idyll*. Particularly, both are dangerous for pedestrians: in Paris, "çà et là, quelque flâneur, au milieu de la voie, se rejetait en arrière d'un bond, pour éviter un cavalier qui galopait entre les voitures" (*OC*II, p.84), while in Alexandria, one of the women Theocritus depicts complains,

> "ὢ τᾶς ἀλεμάτω ψυχᾶς· μόλις ὕμμιν ἐσώθην,
> Πραξινόα, πολλῶ μὲν ὄχλω, πολλῶν δε τεθρίππων·
> παντᾷ κρηπῖδες, παντᾷ χλαμυδηφόποι ἄνδρες"[8] (4-6).

Admittedly, in neither case is the connection very strong between Flaubert's text and Theocritus'; perhaps, at most, Flaubert half-remembered elements of a text which represented a pleasant distraction while composing *ES*II rather than a true source.

More substantial is the possibility that, connected with the earlier-identified use of rhetorical commonplaces in the novel, *ES*II may contain a trace of Silver Latin literature, of which declamatory rhetoric was both a major inspiration and a satirical target. It is tempting to see Petronius' *Satyricon*, which Flaubert certainly knew (see above, pp.15 and 23) and whose extant

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[7] "Daphnis went to the stream. The waters closed over him whom the Muses loved" (trans. Gow).

[8] "What a helpless thing I am! I hardly got here with my life, Praxinoa, among all that crowd and the chariots - hob-nailed shoes and men in cloaks all over the place" (*ibid.*).

part opens with an attack on declamation and its practitioners, as a source of the overall tone of decadence and decay in *ES*II, although Brombert warns against this: "[Flaubert] is not out to rival Petronius' description of decadence in the *Satyricon*. His aim is neither sensational nor allegorical" (*op.cit.*, p.130). Certainly no more than a generic similarity is apparent. More influential, perhaps, are the *Satires* of Juvenal, an equally typical Silver Latin author, whom we have already considered as a source for the satirical sallies against contemporary Paris in *ES*I (see above, pp.122-4). Certainly the unedifying picture of Paris in the 1869 novel bears comparison with Juvenal's criticisms of Rome; and Deslauriers' bitterness, for all its self-interest, compares well with Juvenal's: "Tout lui déplaisait. Pas un homme en place qui ne fût un crétin ou une canaille" (*OC*II, p.48). Juvenal's view of the ruling classes is equally jaundiced: he describes a meeting of an emperor's Privy Council thus,

> " vocantur
> ergo in consilium proceres, quos oderat ille,
> in quorum facie miseræ magnæque sedebat
> pallor amicitiæ"[9] (4.72-5).

The traffic jam (*OC*II, pp.83-4) whose description, it has already been argued, Theocritus' work may have influenced, may also owe something to Juvenal's third *Satire*, a strident condemnation of urban life, in which the discomfort and perils of a Roman traffic jam are enumerated (236-61). The two passages are broadly similar - noticeably, it is the ever-disgruntled Deslauriers who accidentally receives "une éclaboussure, jaillissant de dessous les ressorts" (*OC*II, p.84). Equally in Juvenal one of the inconveniences of being a

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9 "So the privy council was summoned. He hated them all, and their faces carried the pallor that goes with a great and sickening friendship" (trans. Rudd).

pedestrian in a traffic jam is that one may have "pinguia crura luto" (247) - "legs encrusted with mud". The only direct recollection of the *Satires* in *ES*II may be coincidental, but remains noteworthy. The *pièce de résistance* at Rosanette's masked ball is "un gigantesque turbot occupant le milieu de la nappe, bordée par des assiettes pleines de potage à la bisque" (*OC*II, p.53); and Juvenal's fourth *Satire* tells of the presentation to the emperor Domitian of a "spatium admirabile rhombi" (39) - an enormous turbot[10]. The similarity may be accidental; but Flaubert may have Juvenal in mind at least as a source of satirical ideas in writing *ES*II.

Another specific image which apparently recurs in the novel is that of Lucretia, the Roman matron whose rape by Sextus Tarquinius in book one of Livy's history sparks the revolution that overthrew Tarquinius Superbus. Lucretia's rôle as a figure in *TSA* - as an 'incarnation' of Helen-Ennoia - has been discussed (see above, p.169); she has also been posited as a possible rôle model for Emma Bovary (p.242). Unlike *TSA*, *ES*II has no direct reference to Lucretia; rather she becomes a relevant topos thanks to the frequency with which Madame Arnoux - in Frédéric's eyes the epitome of a virtuous French matron - is found engaged in domestic activity. When Frédéric first sees her, of course, "Elle était en train de broder quelque chose" (*OC*II, p.10); later, visiting her regularly, "quand elle travaillait à un ouvrage de couture, c'était pour lui un grand bonheur de ramasser, quelquefois, ses ciseaux" (p.60); later still, when the Arnoux' finances are in a parlous state, he finds her working again on "une veste que j'arrange pour ma fille" (p.137). The first and last

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10 It is in order to discuss how to serve up this turbot that the meeting of the privy council mentioned above takes place.

examples are especially important. Livy writes that before the rape, when sought by Sextus Tarquinius and his companions,

> "Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum æqualibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanæ inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio ædium sedentem inveniunt"[11] (1.57.9),

and that this awakened Sextus' lust: "ibi Sex. Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiæ per vim stuprandæ capit"[12] (57.10). Similarly, the first sight of Madame Arnoux embroidering arouses lust in Frédéric - although Flaubert writes that "le désir de la possession physique même disparaissait sous une envie plus profonde" (*OC*II, p.10), such a desire nonetheless exists, albeit dissimulated. Moreover, just before the last example cited, Frédéric watches Madame Arnoux' window briefly: "il regardait au second étage, derrière les rideaux, la lueur d'une lampe" (p.137). She, like Lucretia and her maids, *lucubrantes*, is working by lamplight. This element of her description also assimilates her to the Roman 'good housewife' depicted by Virgil in a simile in *Æneid* 8 (see above, pp.241-2), who specifically works by lamplight at night - "noctem addens operi" (411), "adding the night to her worktime"; the similarity is deepened by Virgil's detail that the housewife's work is directed towards a specific end:

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11 "Lucretia was discovered very differently employed from the daughters-in-law of the king. These they had seen at a luxurious banquet, whiling away the time with their young friends; but Lucretia, though it was late at night, was busily engaged upon her wool, while her maidens toiled about her in the lamplight as she sat in the hall of her house" (trans. Foster).

12 "It was there that Sextus Tarquinius was seized with a wicked desire to debauch Lucretia by force" (*ibid.*).

" castum ut servare cubile
coniugis et possit parvos educere natos"[13] (412-3).

Madame Arnoux, of course, also just "keeps a chaste marriage-bed" (to translate literally) and is preoccupied with her children's upbringing. In general, then, it seems that Flaubert, by emphasizing her domestic activities, deliberately allied her with the virtuous Roman matron, exemplified by Lucretia and Virgil's simile; equally, the assumption that domestic laboriousness implies chastity may be a supposition of Frédéric's, and thus actually a classical *idée reçue*. Certainly some confusion results from a similar depiction of *Rosanette*, found by Frédéric after the *Club de l'intelligence* episode accommodating herself to domestic parsimony: "Elle se tenait près du feu, décousant la doublure d'une robe. Un pareil ouvrage le surprit" (*OC*II, p.120) - the reversal of rôles startles Frédéric as well as the reader, accustomed to seeing Rosanette as a 'Dionysian' figure (as Griffin [*op.cit.*] puts it) contrasting with the Apollonian Madame Arnoux. Indeed, the detail that Rosanette is working beside the fire likens her strongly to Virgil's figure, who, he writes, "cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignis"[14] (410). Given Virgil's emphasis upon that housewife's chastity, one must assume that Flaubert here invites an ironic reading, or that this unexpected assimilation of Rosanette and Madame Arnoux through a common classical topos is a further element of 'deliberate incoherence'.

Nevertheless, despite the work's overall incoherence and its relative

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[13] "so that her married life and the bringing up of her little sons be not endangered" (trans. Day Lewis).

[14] "pokes the drowsy embers upon the hearth" (*ibid.*).

paucity of significant classical intertexts, there seems to be a nexus of classical reference around three images or themes in *ES*II. These themes are broadly connected to, though not wholly dependent upon, the figure of Rosanette[15], and, with the classical texts they recall, are familiar from Flaubert's earlier works. All three are introduced by comparatively overt classical references.

The first occurs during an accepted key passage in *ES*II, mentioned several times already in this discussion: Rosanette's masked ball. Among the guests here is a woman, never identified, disguised as a Bacchant; with various others she is described through Frédéric's eyes in two short passages, first in an overview of the room:

> "Un petit berger Watteau, azur et argent comme un clair de lune, choquait sa houlette contre le thyrse d'une Bacchante, couronnée de raisins, une peau de léopard sur le flanc gauche et des cothurnes à rubans d'or" (*OC*II, p.50);

secondly, detailing Frédéric's self-consciously sensual reaction to some of the women in the room:

> "Puis, tout à coup, la Bacchante penchant en arrière sa tête brune, le faisait rêver à des caresses dévoratrices, dans les bois de lauriers-roses, par un temps d'orage, au bruit confus des tambourins" (p.51).

As has been briefly mentioned (p.337), it has been argued, notably by Culler, that in this scene, "heterogeneity, incongruity and parody seem the only governing principles" (*op.cit.*, p.97). However, a Bacchant is not incongruous at such a gathering, whose Dionysiac elements are clear - Flaubert writes later that "les vins circulaient, les plats se succédaient" (*OC*II, p.53). Indeed, Emma Bovary - like the woman depicted here, a sensuous brunette - plays a similar

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15 Given the classical element which Flaubert apparently detected in the universal figure of the prostitute (see, for example, pp.142-5 above), Rosanette may have seemed an especially appropriate character to endow with classical significance.

rôle at a similar gathering on the last night of her life (see above, p.255).

The description of the Bacchant's costume is broadly consistent with classical sources; the *thyrsus*, the symbolic rod carried by Bacchants, occurs in practically every text which features them, such as Euripides' *Bacchæ*; the association with grapes is to be expected of the wine-god's votary, and classical Bacchants regularly wear animal skins - although more often, it is ivy which is worn in the hair, and the hides of fawns, not leopards, which serve as clothing[16]. However, it appears that Ovid, who several times during his *Metamorphoses* refers to the Bacchants, may be a source here: in *Metamorphoses* 3, he describes Bacchus himself thus:

> "ipse racemiferis frontem circumdatus uvis
> pampineis agitat velatam frondibus hastam;
> quem circa tigres simulacraque inania lyncum
> pictarumque iacent fera corpora pantherarum"[17] (666-9).

Here, together with a reference to the *thyrsus*, the "velatam frondibus hastam", we have a figure wearing grapes on its head and associated with, if not wearing the skins of wild cats; Flaubert probably knew this passage.

Frédéric's daydreaming provoked by the 'Bacchant', while Culler is partially right to describe it with his reflections on the other women as "so many Romantic clichés" (*op.cit.*, p.98), nonetheless contains some literary elements. Like the *thyrsus*, tambourines or other percussive instruments feature in almost all passages associated in classical literature with the

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16 Perhaps these 'inaccuracies' of costume are actually deliberate mistakes on Flaubert's part, intended as another example of misappropriation or inaccurate representation of the classics.

17 "He himself had his forehead surrounded with grapes in bunches as he brandished a spear clothed in vine leaves; and around him lay the empty images of tigers and of lynxes and the wild bodies of spotted panthers" (trans. Hill).

Bacchant. Perhaps more interesting is the reference to the Bacchant's tossing her hair. This action, doubtless associated with the cult's wild and orgiastic element, also seems to occur quite regularly in writings about it. Thus in Euripides' *Bacchæ*, the Chorus of Bacchants describe themselves "δέραν / εἰς αἰθέρα δροσερὸν ῥίπτουσ'"[18] (864-5); in another work of Ovid, the *Fasti*, the goddess Ceres,

> "mentis inops rapitur, qualis audire solemus
> Threicas fusis mænades ire comis"[19] (4.457-8);

and most similarly, in *Metamorphoses* 3 again, when Pentheus' murder by Bacchants is described, his mother, Queen Agave, "collaque iactavit movitque per æra crinem"[20] (726). Frédéric's interpretation of the Bacchant's rôle as principally sensual clearly omits the violent elements of the mythical figure; however, his fantasies based on the woman at the ball may still be by his (and Flaubert's) reading of classical texts such as those cited. Furthermore, the element in those fantasies of "caresses dévoratrices" (which may suggest that Frédéric *is* aware of the violence associated with Bacchants) in a forest "par un temps d'orage" may well recall a familiar intertext: *Æneid* 4, where Æneas seduces Dido in a forest during a storm, which has already been suggested as a source for *MB* (see above, pp.244-6) and *Salammbô* (see pp.330-1); one should also recall that Dido later in the same book is herself compared to a

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18 "hurling my throat to the dewy air of heaven" (trans. G.S. Kirk, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1979).

19 "Bereft of her senses, she was swept away, as convention tells us Thracian Mænads rush with streaming hair" (trans. Betty Rose Nagle, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1995).

20 "tossed her neck and moved her hair through the air" (trans. Hill).

Bacchant (see p.255), possibly reinforcing the *Æneid*'s significance as an intertext. In view of this element of the masked ball, Griffin's above-mentoned argument (p.346), that Rosanette is a Dionysiac figure, Madame Arnoux an Apollonian, seems quite plausible. One might then ask why Rosanette herself is not dressed as a Bacchant; the reason may be that, this being the scene where she receives the sobriquet 'la Maréchale', to give her a further rôle would be somewhat to 'overload' her.

Rosanette does, however, unquestionably contain echoes of other classical figures, one of which emerges soon after the masked ball. In the general description of Frédéric's frequentation of Rosanette's house, Flaubert writes,

> "Sans y prendre garde, elle s'habillait devant lui, tirait avec lenteur ses bas de soie, puis se lavait à grande eau le visage, en se renversant la taille, comme une naïade qui frissonne" (*OC*II, p.60).

The scene's erotic, voyeuristic elements may recall the myth of Acteon, already evoked by Flaubert in *TSA*, (see above, pp.187-96) where a young man similarly watches a woman - in this case the goddess Diana - wash, although in the myth the woman is less compliant than the provocative Rosanette, and the story ends in disaster. Certainly the comparison of Rosanette to a Naiad encompasses a similarity to Diana, with whom that class of nymphs were especially associated (in *Metamorphoses* 4, one Salmacis is "solaque Naiadum celeri non nota Dianæ"[21] [304]). Furthermore, the splashing of water may recall Diana's method of cursing Acteon, as recounted by Ovid, whose *Metamorphoses* 3 seems to have been a major source for the

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[21] "the only one of the Naiads unknown to swift Diana" (*ibid.*).

Acteon passage of *TSA*. Given the above argument that it may have provided Flaubert with details of the Bacchant, it may well be significant here:

> "quas habuit sic hausit aquas vultumque virilem
> perfudit spargenque comas ultricibus undis"[22] (189-90).

Obviously Rosanette does not splash Frédéric in the Flaubert passage, but some similarity exists.

Nor is this the only, or first, instance where Rosanette - not uniquely among Flaubert's heroines - parallels Diana. Earlier in the same chapter, when Frédéric visits her home, she is preceded by "deux bichons havanais" (*OC*II, p.55), which later accompany her and Frédéric to the races. Given that the two little dogs' most frequent action is to yap, they are far from the classical idea of a hunting dog; however, their frequent association with Rosanette perhaps recalls the statue of Diana evoked in Apuleius' *Golden ass* and possibly used by Flaubert as a model in the Diana-passage in *TSA* (see above, pp.195-6). In Apuleius, "canes utrimquesecus deæ latera muniunt"[23] (2.4); one may perhaps reasonably consider Rosanette's "bichons" a burlesque modern version of the hunting goddess' hounds.

These passages perhaps establish Rosanette as a Diana-avatar; the link is confirmed by the Fontainebleau episode of *ES*II. In the *salle des fêtes*, Rosanette and Frédéric see among the portraits of royal mistresses, another emulator of Diana:

> "La plus belle de ces fameuses s'était fait peindre, à droite, sous la figure de Diane Chasseresse, et même en Diane Infernale, sans doute

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[22] "still she drew what was to hand, the water, and soaked the man's face and showered his hair with avenging streams" (*ibid.*).

[23] "There were dogs protecting both flanks of the goddess" (trans. Hanson).

> pour marquer sa puissance jusque par delà le tombeau. Tous ces symboles confirment sa gloire; et il reste là quelque chose d'elle, une voix indistincte, un rayonnement qui se prolonge" (*OC*II, p.125).

Frédéric asks the bored Rosanette whether she would have liked to be this woman, Diane de Poitiers; despite her somewhat non-committal response, this reinforces the parallel between Rosanette and the goddess. It is worth adding that in the *Golden ass*, directly after the description of Diana's statue, Byrrhena, a friend of the hero Lucius, swears by the goddess in her infernal form as Hecate; a passage we have already associated with *ES*II thus also justifies the reference in Fontainebleau to "Diane Infernale". Evidently, just as Rosanette's "bichons havanais" and provocative behaviour in washing in front of Frédéric somewhat subvert the indubitable parallel between her and Diana, so too is the irony of the parallelism between a Parisian prostitute and the virgin goddess both justified (because Diane de Poitiers essentially plied the same trade as *la Maréchale*) and highlighted by the similar - equally incongruous, but deliberate - pretentions of a royal mistress.

After leaving the *salle des fêtes*, Rosanette finds something more to her liking: "L'étang des carpes la divertit davantage. Pendant un quart d'heure, elle jeta des morceaux de pain dans l'eau pour voir les poissons bondir" (p.125). Her affinity with fish is reiterated early in chapter 3, part 3, when, Flaubert writes, "elle... donnait de l'eau à ses poissons rouges"[24] (p.136). It may be argued that this affinity connects Rosanette with another Diana-avatar, Salammbô, one of whose first actions is to mourn the killing of her pet fish, which admittedly have more religious significance for her than the carp or

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[24] She is thereby linked with the "maison de la Turque", which was, we find at the very end of *ES*II, "reconnaissable à un bocal de poissons rouges" (p.162).

goldfish. Another possible parallel thus established is with the Babylonian goddess Derceto, metamorphosed into a fish and mentioned by Flaubert both in *TSA* and *Salammbô* (see above, pp.202, 288); and one should notice that Ovid's reference to Derceto - in book four of the *Metamorphoses* - is juxtaposed with a brief mention of a Naiad who turned men into fish,

> "Nais an ut cantu nimiumque potentibus herbis
> verterit in tacitos iuvenalia corpora pisces
> donec idem passa est"[25] (49-51).

It seems possible that the set of associations surrounding Rosanette - Bacchant and Naiad/Diana/Derceto - are partially unified by the intertext of *Metamorphoses* 3 and 4.

The third classical figure seemingly associated with Rosanette also emerges, again quite overtly, at Fontainebleau. In the palace, before viewing the portraits of Diane de Poitiers, Frédéric sees "çà et là des tapisseries représentant les dieux de l'Olympe, Psyché ou les batailles d'Alexandre" (*OC*II, p.125). The allusion to Psyche immediately invites comparison with *MB*, and to some degree *Salammbô*, in the former of which Margaret Lowe argued that the myth of Cupid and Psyche was of paramount importance (see above, pp.226-7); it is also arguably visible - and overtly indicated by the tapestries of Psyche - in the story of Frédéric and Rosanette. Strikingly, Lowe's argument that, "another recurring image connected with the Psyche substructure of *Madame Bovary* is the *papillon*, a further sense of the Greek word *psyche*" (*op.cit.*, p.52), acquires substance from the coincidence that soon after Psyche

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25 [a woman ponders whether to tell the story of Dercetis] "or how a Naiad used an incantation and herbs of excessive power to turn the bodies of young men into silent fish until she suffered the same thing" (trans. Hill).

is mentioned in *ES*II, Frédéric and Rosanette are charmed by "le vol de deux papillons qui les suivaient" (*OC*II, p.127)[26]. The references in *ES*II to the Cupid and Psyche myth (although arguably reinforced by the possible allusions already evoked to Apuleius' work, our chief source for the myth) are perhaps rather slight; but one may certainly contend that just as Rosanette is a burlesque Diana, so is Frédéric and Rosanette's paltry romance a burlesque of the soul's eternal quest for the body, symbolized in precisely that myth.

It is equally arguable, however, that that romance is not only a parody of the Cupid and Psyche myth, but a reversal of it, consistent with *ES*II's inherent incoherence. To be sure, Frédéric, like Rodolphe in *MB*, uses the associated myth of the androgyne, the double-sexed being whose two halves constantly seek one another, to try and seduce Madame Arnoux on several occasions:

> "Frédéric balbutia, chercha ses mots, et se lança enfin dans une longue période sur l'affinité des âmes. Une force existait qui peut, à travers les espaces, mettre en rapport deux personnes, les avertir de ce qu'elles éprouvent et les faire se rejoindre" (p.79);
>
> "Il lui conta ses mélancolies au collège, et comment, dans son ciel poétique, resplendissait un visage de femme, si bien qu'en la voyant pour la première fois, il l'avait reconnue" (p.107).

In these situations he may well cast himself as the male half/Cupid, Madame Arnoux as the female/Psyche (which in many ways coincides with his idealized, spiritual view of Madame Arnoux); however, in his relationship with the much more physical Rosanette, the rôles may be reversed. Admittedly Rosanette 'is' the quintessentially female Diana; but she is also the

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26 One should not over-emphasize, as Lowe perhaps does, the significance of such coincidences. Much earlier in the book, the young Louise Roque "courait après les papillons" (p.42); there is no reason to consider this anything other than a narrative fact, with no more than the most superficial symbolism.

androgynous *Maréchale*; and Frédéric, whose person, Flaubert writes, "avait toujours exercé sur [Deslauriers] un charme presque féminin" (p.97) is well-suited to play the 'female' rôle in his relationship with her[27].

This concept of rôle-reversal is perhaps strengthened by several references within *ES*II to Virgil's *Æneid*. In the scene at Creil, Frédéric, in order to justify the romantic *désespoir* he claims to feel, "exalta les grands types littéraires, Phèdre, Didon, Roméo, Des Grieux" (p.80). Of this odd collection of literary suicides, two are male but two female; it is interesting that Frédéric, at least by implication, compares himself to Dido. The comparison is deepened - albeit unconsciously - by his fantasy, provoked by Rosanette's announcement of her pregnancy, of a child of his and Madame Arnoux':

> "Si, au lieu de la Maréchale...? Et sa rêverie devint tellement profonde, qu'il eut une sorte d'hallucination. Il voyait là, sur le tapis, devant la cheminée, une petite fille. Elle ressemblait à Mme Arnoux et à lui-même, un peu; brune et blanche, avec des yeux noirs, de très grands sourcils, un ruban rose dans ses cheveux bouclants! (Oh! comme il l'aurait aimée!) Et il lui semblait entendre sa voix: «Papa! papa!»" (p.139).

Dido indulges in an equally unrealisable fantasy in her desperate attempts to prevent Æneas' departure in *Æneid* 4:

> "saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
> ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula
> luderet Æneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
> non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer"[28] (327-30).

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[27] Arguably - as in Emma's relationship with Léon - it is Rosanette who takes the lead, probably for financial reasons, in the flirtation between her and Frédéric; indeed in one note, *she* uses a similar argument to that of the androgyne, that she and Frédéric are "pareils à deux fleuves qui se rejoignent!" (p.81).

[28] "If even I might have conceived a child by you before you went away, a little Æneas to play in the palace and, in spite of all this, to remind me of you by his looks, oh then I should not feel so utterly finished and desolate" (trans. Day Lewis).

Dido, like Frédéric, seems almost to *see* the imagined child, whose appearance, recalls the (soon-to-be-) absent loved one, in the very place which she now occupies (*aula* - compare Frédéric's "sur le tapis, devant la cheminée"); certainly it is almost as if Frédéric here is closer to the female side of things, represented by Dido, than to the male. Possibly the theory of an element of rôle-reversal in his relationship with Rosanette, on both a literal and a mythical level, is justified.

One should also remark that, just as there are references to Apuleius, and especially to Ovid's work in the images associated with Rosanette, so too does Virgil's *Æneid*, once again, seemingly recur. Besides the above allusions to Dido, we have already seen the possibility of recollections of *Æneid* 8 (see above, pp.345-6) and the seduction scene in *Æneid* 4 (see p.349). Also worth noting is Frédéric's fear, "redoutant la mobilité ordinaire des femmes", that Madame Arnoux will decide against appearing at their *rendez-vous* (*OC*II, p.108). His sentiment recalls Mercury's solemn warning, regarding Dido, in *Æneid* 4, that, "varium et mutabile semper / femina"[29] (569-70); the aphoristic element of both sentiments connects them strongly, perhaps identifying this as another of Frédéric's classical commonplaces. Given, of course, that no character in *ES*II possesses more *mobilité* than Frédéric Moreau, this might be considered another link between him and Dido. Moreover, at the end of the novel, the end of *Æneid* 4 is perhaps again exploited as was the case towards the end of *MB* (see above, p.261). It is Madame Arnoux who herself removes "une longue mèche" (*OC*II, p.161) of

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29 "Woman was ever a veering, weathercock creature" (*ibid.*).

hair as she leaves Frédéric for the last time, to serve, to quote Griffin, as "the material reminder of her promise... that her soul will never leave him" (*op.cit.*, p.251); in doing so, she perhaps recalls Iris releasing Dido's soul from her body after her suicide[30].

Unlike *MB*, *ES*II, appropriately enough, given Flaubert's policy of incoherence, has no consistent pattern of meaning associated with the *Æneid*; the references to Virgil's work, although almost certainly present, are systematic only superficially, if at all. Perhaps the most one can say of the work for our purposes, is that, regardless of its superficial context, it still contains the type of references to classical themes and works we have come to expect of Flaubert, albeit in less quantity than some earlier works. Perhaps overall these references are more general than specific to a given text, but their exploitation remains deliberate in most instances. In particular, the group of classical myths and figures surrounding Rosanette (who almost assumes a universal - and, as we have seen, partially classical - status as the quintessential prostitute), and to a lesser extent Frédéric in association with her, seems chosen - with backing from several particular sources, most notably Ovid's *Metamorphoses* - to permit Flaubert simultaneously to allude to those figures; to allow his characters occasionally to identify with them; and to deflate both those characters' pretentions and the myths with which the figures are linked - a procedure which, in view of many modern readings of *ES*II, seems characteristic of that work.

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[30] Griffin, characteristically, goes further, and states that "in the *Golden ass*, for example, hair symbolizes the phallic self and is cut off accordingly" (p.368, endnote 32); this is perhaps dubious, but may indicate another link between *ES*II and Apuleius' work.

(ii) *Trois contes*

We will next consider *Trois contes*, published in 1877, fully eight years after *ES*II; of the collection's three short stories, the most obviously relevant for this study is 'Hérodias'. In terms of its setting and of the depth of research devoted to it, it is clearly comparable to *Salammbô* and *TSA*. It is, however, unsurprising to find classical intertexts and myths affecting all three *contes*, albeit in differing degrees. Although the most clearly 'mythical' (or at least 'legendary') of the three is 'La Légende de saint Julien l'hospitalier' and the most clearly historical 'Hérodias', all three are evidently interconnected, albeit in a rather complex manner; to quote Fredric Jameson's article 'Flaubert's libidinal historicism'[31],

> "the temptation to interpret is at every moment subverted by the impossible triangular relationship between the three panels, such that one corner is always eccentric to the stable meaning the interpreter seeks desperately to establish between the other two" (*op.cit*, p.77).

As Jameson implies, the relationships between the individual *contes* are rarely as straightforward as one might expect; nor is it wholly wise, for example, to limit consideration of 'myth' to 'Saint Julien'. In the second section of this chapter, accordingly, we shall consider first mythical intertexts of all three *contes*; then historical classical intertexts, concentrating almost exclusively upon 'Hérodias'; and finally a few other texts of apparent significance both in that and in the other two tales.

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31 In Schor and Majewski (edd.), *Flaubert and postmodernism*, Lincoln; London, University of Nebraska Press, 1984, pp.76-83.

(a) Mythical parallels

Much work has, as might be expected, been done on the medieval and Christian sources of 'La Légende de saint Julien l'hospitalier'; of minimal relevance to this study, these are well summarized in studies by Raitt, Brombert and Bart and Cook[32]. For our purposes, the classical parallel most readily attributed to 'Saint Julien', and that which has most exercised critics, is the Œdipus myth[33]. Berg, Moskos and Grimaud[34] claim that, "The myth of Saint Julian the Hospitaler... has such unmistakeable parallels with the Œdipus myth that even the most cautious critics have acknowledged them" (*op.cit*, p.10), while Shoshana Felman[35], perhaps overstating the case, considers 'Saint Julien' an "insolite condensé d'un récit tragique et d'un récit hagiographique - du mythe œdipien et du mythe christique" (*op.cit*, p.39). Several points should be remembered here. Firstly, 'Saint Julien' is not purely "œdipal": it is not a 'case study' of an Œdipus complex any more than is *Œdipus Rex* or any work which overtly imitates it. Berg *et al.* rightly point out that there is little, if any, hint of incestuous desire in Flaubert's work, just as

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32 See A.W. Raitt, 'The composition of Flaubert's *Saint Julien l'hospitalier*', *French Studies*, 19, 4 (October 1965), pp.358-72; Brombert *op.cit.*, chapter 6 (pp.217-32); Benjamin F. Bart and Robin Francis Cook, *The legendary sources of Flaubert's* Saint Julien, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1977.

33 Addison (*op.cit.*, pp.263-9) in fact claims to detect echoes of the Œdipus myth in works as diverse as *Un Parfum à sentir*, *Loys XI*, *ESI* and *Salammbô*.

34 William J. Berg, George Moskos, Michel Grimaud: *Saint / Œdipus: psychocritical approaches to Flaubert's art*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1982.

35 Shoshana Felman, 'La signature de Flaubert: *La légende de saint Julien l'Hospitalier*', *Revue des Sciences Humaines*, 46, 181 (1981), pp.39-57.

Œdipus Rex lacks the classic psychological element of a subconscious desire to kill the parents. Secondly, one should not in the context of *TC* limit consideration of the Œdipus intertext and its implications to 'Saint Julian': the incest topos may not feature in that story, but , as Griffin implies (*op.cit.*, p.294), it *is* strongly hinted at in 'Un Cœur Simple' with Loulou described as "presque un fils, un amoureux" (*OC*II, p.175). Similarly, incest, albeit of a milder variety, is clearly a key theme of 'Hérodias' - which also, unlike 'Saint Julien', resembles *Œdipus Rex* and classical tragedy in general in its tight structure, adhering to the unities of time, place and action. Examples of such 'slippage' of anticipated themes recur in *TC*. However, can any element of œdipal influence in 'Saint Julien', be traced to specific works?

Broadly speaking, the response must be in the negative, or if positive, only in a very general sense; for example, the chapter structure of 'Saint Julien' reflects the three ages of man - childhood, adulthood and old age - in the Sphinx's riddle[36]. The overall pattern of Julien's story reflects Œdipus', especially in his precipitate flight, at the prompting of a prophecy, from his homeland - in Sophocles' *Œdipus Rex*, Œdipus expresses himself thus:

> "κἀγὼ 'πακούσας ταῦτα τὴν Κορινθίαν
> ἄστροις τὸ λοιπὸν τεκμαρούμενος χθόνα
> ἔφευγον"[37] (794-6).

Julien, like Œdipus, is recognized, albeit *in absentia*, by physical marks - his parents prove their identity to his wife "en décrivant des signes particuliers

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[36] Although, of course, the riddle itself does not directly feature in Sophocles' *Œdipus Rex* or most of its imitators.

[37] "When I heard this I left the land of Corinth, henceforth making out its position by the stars" (trans. Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Loeb edition, 1994).

qu'il avait sur la peau" (*OC*II, p.183); in *Œdipus Rex*, the following exchange occurs:

> "Œdipus: τί δ' ἄλγος ἴσχουντ' ἐν χερσῖν με λαμβάνεις;
> Messenger: ποδῶν ἂν ἄρθρα μαρτυρήσειεν τὰ σά"[38] (1031-2).

In Seneca's Latin version of the same play, Œdipus says, "nunc adice certas corporis nostri notas"[39] (811). Seneca also, like Flaubert, emphasizes the hero's possible desire to commit the prophesied crime: Julien's tortured speculation, "si je le voulais, pourtant?" (*OC*II, p.181) recalls the Senecan Œdipus' statement that "meque non credo mihi"[40] (27). Within 'Saint Julien' itself, however, the textual similarities to Sophocles' and Seneca's Œdipus plays go little further. Interestingly, however, in another example of the sort of 'slippage' mentioned earlier, a key theme of the *Œdipus Rex* recurs in 'Hérodias'. Throughout Sophocles' play, various characters, Jocasta especially, question the credibility of oracles. Jocasta herself at one stage asks rhetorically, "ὦ θεῶν μαντεύματα, / ἵν' ἐστέ;"[41] (946-7); shortly before this, the chorus debates the issue:

> "οὐκέτι τὸν ἄθικτον εἶμι
> γᾶς ἐπ' ὀμφαλὸν σέβων,
> οὐδ' ἐς τὸν Ἀβαῖσι ναόν,
> οὐδὲ τὰν Ολυμπίαν,
> εἰ μὴ τάδε χειρόδεικτα

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38 "Œdipus: What trouble was I suffering from when you took me in your arms? Messenger: Your ankles would bear witness to it" (*ibid.*).

39 "Now name also the sure marks upon my body" (trans. Frank Justus Miller, Loeb edition, 1960).

40 "and I do not trust myself unto myself" (*ibid.*).

41 "O prophecies of the gods, where are you?" (trans. Lloyd-Jones).

πᾶσιν ἁρμόσει βροτοῖς"[42] (897-902).

This scepticism is arguably paralleled by Julien's wife in her arguments denying the possibility of *his* prophecy's fulfilment; but it is more closely reflected in 'Hérodias', at Antipas' feast, by "des Grecs qui se moquaient des oracles" (*OC*II, p.196). It seems, then, that the direct correspondence of text to intertext to be expected if 'Saint Julien' drew uniquely and systematically upon the Œdipus myth is absent; but this does not preclude a wider significance of that myth within *TC* as a unit.

Neither does it preclude the presence of other mythical parallels to 'Saint Julien' for which direct textual evidence *can* be found. One such parallel is familiar from the previous chapters of this thesis, and seems to have been considered by the ancients as well, perhaps, as by Flaubert, to have points in common with Œdipus. The chorus in Seneca's *Œdipus* recalls Acteon's fate (751-63). Bem, in *Désir et savoir*, believes the Acteon myth is central to 'Saint Julien' - "nous nous retrouvons, par maint détail, dans le monde d'Artémis-Isis" (*op.cit.*, p.187). The obvious thematic connection between the tales of Julien and of Acteon is hunting; and in the first hunting scene of 'Saint Julien', Flaubert seems again[43] to have been strongly influenced by Ovid's account of Acteon's death in *Metamorphoses* 3, exploiting especially a central aspect of that work, namely the theme of confusion of identity. Flaubert's first description of the killing of a stag - not one

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42 "No longer shall I go in reverence to the inviolate navel of the earth, nor to the temple at Abæ, nor to that of Olympia, if these oracles do not accord with truth, so that all mortals may point to them" (*ibid.*).

43 See also pp.187-96, 351-2 above.

of those involved in the prophecy - is graphic in its detail:

> "quand le cerf commençait à gémir sous les morsures, il l'abattait prestement, puis se délectait à la furie des mâtins qui le dévoraient, coupé en pièces sur sa peau fumante" (p.180).

In the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid writes that, "cetera turba coit confertque in corpore dentes"[44] (236) and that,

> "undique circumstant mersisque in corpore rostris
> dilacerant falsi dominum sub imagine cervi"[45] (249-50);

like Julien, Acteon's companions enjoy the spectacle: "comites rapidum solitis hortatibus agmen / ignari instigant"[46] (242-3). More telling, however, than the generic similarity in the description of the hounds' laceration of the stag, is the slight ambiguity - possibly accidental, but certainly not grammatically unavoidable - implicit in the phrase "la furie des mâtins qui *le* dévoraient": the pronoun designates the animal, but could equally apply to Julien. This ambiguity becomes explicit in the scene of the stag's prophecy, where the resemblance of the family unit of animals - mother, father, child - to Julien's family has often been noted; the *Metamorphoses* intertext reinforces this. Acteon as a deer is "maculoso vellere" (197), "dappled"; the fawn in 'Saint Julien', with whom Julien can be identified, is *tacheté* (*OC*II, p.181). Moreover, one argument for identifying the deer Julien kills with his family is the following passage: "Le faon, tout de suite, fut tué. Alors sa mère, en regardant le ciel,

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44 "the rest of the pack collected and sank their teeth in his body" (trans. Hill).

45 "They [the hounds] surrounded him on every side, their muzzles buried in his body, and they tore their master apart in his false guise as a stag" (*ibid.*).

46 "his companions, in their ignorance, urged on the savage pack with their usual encouragements" (*ibid.*).

brama d'une voix profonde, déchirante, *humaine*" (*ibid.*) (my italics). They closely resemble another element of the description of Acteon's death:

> " gemit ille sonumque,
> etsi non hominis, quem non tamen edere possit
> cervus, habet, mæstisque replet iuga nota querelis"[47] (237-9).

To some extent, then, the similarities between Flaubert's text and Ovid's add a further symbolic dimension to the prophecy scene in 'Saint Julien', reinforcing the identification of Julien's quarry with his family and showing that, in killing the fawn, he figuratively kills himself.

Another classical myth echoed by the hunting topos in 'Saint Julien' is that of Hippolytus and Phædra: in many versions of this myth, Hippolytus' main pastime is hunting; and, as with Œdipus, a clear, central incest-theme associates it with *TC*. As with *Œdipus Rex*, however, there is scant evidence of direct intertextuality between 'Saint Julien' and any version of *Hippolytus / Phædra*, although Seneca's Hippolytus does refer in line 68 of the play to "inops... Garamans", the "needy Garamant", recalling the "javelots des Garamantes" mentioned in the *conte* (*OC*II, p.178).

Besides the three myths so far mentioned, many others seem to be alluded to in 'Saint Julien' - again without necessarily any intertextual relation to classical works. As Felman claims,

> "Presque tous les mythes de l'héritage occidental y sont présents: les mythes gréco-latins: Œdipe, Narcisse [because of Julien's preoccupation with his reflected image in chapter 3], Ajax [because of the theme of slaughtering animals], Charon; les mythes bibliques - Adam, Noé, Caïn; les mythes évangéliques: la vie du Christ et les récits des saints" (*op.cit.*, p.50).

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47 "he groaned and the sound, even if it was not human, was still not the sort a stag could produce, and he filled the familiar ridges with mournful complaints" (*ibid.*).

One of the few additions one could make to her list is the myth of Odysseus. Julien is similar to the Homeric hero in several respects: most obviously his lengthy wanderings, but his distinguishing physical marks (see above, pp.360-1) associate him at least as much with Odysseus as with Œdipus - famously in book nineteen of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus' nurse recognizes him by just such a feature: "νίζε δ'ἄρ ἆσσον ἰοῦσα ἄναχθ' ἑόν· αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω / οὐλήν"[48] (392-3). Griffin argues, perhaps not entirely convincingly, that the similarity of Julien's father to a wild animal further connects him with a variety of heroes:

> "To avoid a lengthy list, one need only think of Odysseus himself whose name connotes suffering, who according to legend was sired by a bear, who is first known to us as the man 'of many turns' (*polytropos*), who abandons his identity... before his own true identity is revealed" (*op.cit.*, p.304).

It may be unclear how Julien's story reflects many of these characteristics, but Odysseus remains a possible source for elements of Flaubert's hero.

A final possible mythical source for 'Saint Julien' - less obvious than those already proposed, but suggested by Flaubert's reading at the time of composition of *TC* - is Euripides' *Medea*, which we know Flaubert read around 9th March 1874 (see above, p.67). Early in that play, the heroine plans to murder her her faithless husband and his new wife. Although she eventually uses a poisoned robe to kill the young woman (a weapon which, it has been proposed, may have suggested the *zaïmph* in *Salammbô* - see pp.279-80), she considers burning down their palace,

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48 "she came closer now and began to wash her master, and in a moment she knew the scar" (trans. Walter Shewring, Oxford, O.U.P., 1980).

"ἢ θηκτὸν ὤσω φάσγαμον δι' ἤπατος,
σιγῇ δόμους εἰσβᾶσ' ἵν' ἔστρωται λέχος"[49] (379-80).

The general description resembles Julien's murder of his parents, especially the detail that they are "percés au cœur" (*OC*II, p.185). This similarity is certainly textual rather than thematic, although one might tentatively argue that the central figure of *Medea* - the abandoned and vengeful woman - *does* recur in 'Hérodias' in the title rôle.

More convincing as a parallel for 'Hérodias' - and overtly indicated as such by Flaubert within the text - is a myth which, like Acteon's, has become familiar: Cupid and Psyche, as recounted by Apuleius (see above, pp.202, 205-8, 226-7, 318-9, 353-4). In an extraordinary phrase during Salome's dance, Flaubert blatantly reveals most of his favourite Psyche-symbols: "Elle le poursuivait, plus légère qu'un papillon, comme une Psyché curieuse, comme une âme vagabonde, et semblait prête à s'envoler" (*OC*II, p.197). Not only does he overtly indicate the literal meaning of Psyche's name - 'soul' - but he also clearly associates another sense of the Greek word *psyche* - 'butterfly' - with Salome (see above, p.353). There is also strong textual evidence for a link between 'Hérodias' and Apuleius' work. As we have seen, Salome is likened to "une Psyché curieuse" and "une âme vagabonde"; Psyche in the *Golden ass* is *curiosa* (e.g. 5.23) and "illam fugitivam volaticam" (5.31), "that elusive fugitive". Just as Salome "semblait prête à s'envoler", so is Psyche at one point "mitis aura molliter spirantis Zephyri... levatam"[50] (4.35). Phil

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49 "or thrust a sharp sword through their vitals, creeping into the house where the marriage bed is laid out?" (trans. David Kovacs, Loeb edition, 1994).

50 "gently lifted by the breeze of a softly-blowing Zephyr" (trans. Hanson).

Powrie[51], in an article positing 'Hérodias' and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* as intertexts to Breton's 'Le 13 l'échelle a frôlé le firmament', extends the two suggested intertexts' similarity beyond the immediate context of Salome's dance: he believes that Psyche's two jealous sisters in Apuleius share with Salome "a desire to decapitate the dangerous / monstrous male" (*op.cit*, p.462) and accordingly associates their lying description of Psyche's husband - "immanem colubrem multinodis voluminibus serpentem, veneno noxio colla sanguinantem hiantemque ingluvie profunda"[52] (5.17) - with Flaubert's principal depiction of Iaokanann:

> "...quelque chose de vague et effrayant.
> Un être humain était couché par terre sous de longs cheveux se confondant avec les poils de bête qui garnissaient son dos" (*OC*II, p.193).

The resemblance is perhaps superficial, but it is interesting to see possible associations beyond the obvious between the two texts. Indeed, it is not only the Cupid and Psyche section of the *Metamorphoses* that has apparently influenced 'Hérodias'. Hérodias' very appearance at the feast strongly recalls Apuleius: "elle ressemblait à Cybèle accotée de ses lions" (p.197). Again, Flaubert, in naming the mother goddess and comparing Hérodias to her, here makes explicit a mythical parallel which is usually implicit within his work; he also recalls Apuleius' episode where his hero, Lucius, in the form of an ass, is owned by a group of degenerate priests of Cybele. The episode is further recalled by the phrase towards the climax of Salome's dance, "les tympanons

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51 'Breton's vertical labyrinth: towards a psycho-semiosis', *Romanic Review*, 81, 4 (November 1990), pp.454-65.

52 "a monstrous snake gliding with many-knotted coils, its bloody neck oozing noxious poison and its deep maw gaping wide" (trans. Hanson).

sonnaient à éclater" (p.198); in Apuleius (as in Catullus - see above, pp.214-5), Cybele's worship takes place "tinnitu cymbalorum et sonu tympanorum"[53] (8.30), so that the status of Salome's dance as an almost religious tribute to Hérodias' semi-divine feminine power is reinforced by the passage's intertext[54]. Finally in connection with 'Hérodias', it is possible that a slightly odd phrase of Flaubert's derives from a similar one in Apuleius. When Mannaeï brings in the head of Iaokanann, Flaubert writes, "La tête entra" (*OC*II, p.198), apparently - and perhaps intentionally - attributing voluntary motion to a dead object. In the *Golden ass*, a story told to the narrator includes the phrase "processerat mortuus" (2.27), "the dead man came out", a similar grammatical construction.

It is worth mentioning that, consistently with the already-noted commonality of theme between the *contes*, 'Un Cœur simple' also incorporates, arguably, some elements from the *Golden ass*: Félicité's pseudo-pantheism recalls one of Flaubert's favourite passages of Apuleius' work, the prayer to Isis. The most obviously comparable passage is that reproducing Félicité's speculations on the nature of the Holy Spirit: "C'est peut-être sa lumière qui voltige la nuit aux bords des marécages, son haleine qui pousse les nuées, sa voix qui rend les cloches harmonieuses" (*OC*II,

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53 "by the clanging cymbals and the beating drums" (*ibid.*).

54 Margaret Lowe suggests something similar in her article '"Rendre plastique...": Flaubert's treatment of the feminine principle in 'Hérodias'' (*Modern Languages Review*, 78, 3 [July 1983], pp.551-8), arguing that the comparison of Hérodias with Cybele reflects the victory of the eastern mother-goddess cult over the west in the early Christian era.

p.170). Willenbrink[55] compares Félicité's pantheistic tendencies to the Cybele passage in *TSA*I (*OC*I, p.464); since we have argued (p.202 above) that the hymn to Isis influenced that passage, it seems reasonable to suggest the same source for 'Un Cœur simple' - phrases such as, "tuo nutu spirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germinunt semina, crescunt germina"[56] (11.25) clearly parallel Félicité's thoughts. Although this does not constitute a mythical source as such for 'Un Cœur simple', it does at least suggest the *conte* is consistent with Flaubert's views on the equivalence of religions.

Salome's dance owes elements to more than one classical myth, however; several others are indicated almost as clearly as that of Psyche. For example, as Salome begins to dance, "Ses bras arrondis appelaient quelqu'un, qui s'enfuyait toujours" (*OC*II, p.197); and in the second part of the dance Flaubert writes, "Ses attitudes exprimaient des soupirs, et toute sa personne une telle langueur qu'on ne savait pas si elle pleurait un dieu, ou se mourait dans sa caresse" (*ibid.*). Most obviously, the concept of mourning a god recalls the Adonis-myth, already alluded to in *TSA* (see above, pp.201-2), although the reference here is too brief to indicate any specific source. Equally, the reference to endless pursuit of an elusive lover, besides having clear parallels with the Psyche-myth, recalls numerous nymph-myths in classical legend. Typically, these involve a god or hero pursuing a reluctant nymph; however, one suitable parallel for the situation of a female suitor

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55 George A. Willenbrink, *The dossier of Flaubert's* Un Cœur simple, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1976.

56 "At your nod breezes breathe, clouds give nourishment, seeds sprout and seedlings grow" (trans. Hanson).

seeking the attentions of a recalcitrant male is the myth of Echo, a nymph who pined away for the love of a youth until only her voice remained. Ovid tells the story in the *Metamorphoses* in similar terms to the sentence of 'Hérodias' quoted above -

> "ergo ubi Narcissum per devia rura vagantem
> vidit et incaluit, sequitur vestigia furtim" (3.370-1);
>
> "ibat, ut iniceret sperato *bracchia* collo.
> ille fugit..."[57] (389-90) (my italics) -

especially in the emphasis both works place upon the woman's arms. Interestingly, Ovid describes Echo's metamorphosis in the same book as Acteon's, whom we have seen above to be a Julien-avatar; and her quarry in Ovid is Narcissus, another suggested model for Julien (see p.364) - Ovid was, it has been suggested, the first writer to marry the myths of Echo and Narcissus in this way. The same book of the *Metamorphoses*, we should note, also includes the tale of the hapless Semele, who literally "meurt dans la caresse d'un dieu". Finally, towards the end of the dance yet another mythical parallel becomes apparent, as Salome is compared to "les bacchantes de Lydie" (*OC*II, p.198). We have already seen Flaubert in *ES*II exploit the figure of the Bacchant (see above, pp.347-50); and while the reference here is too vague to allow the identification of a source, it is, perhaps, significant that Bacchants were responsible not only for Pentheus' dismemberment - another incident in *Metamorphoses* 3 (see p.349) - but also for that of Orpheus, whose head, according to legend, lived on after his death, as in some senses does

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57 "So when, as Narcissus roamed through remote country, she saw him and caught fire, she followed his footsteps closely"; "... coming to throw her *arms* upon the neck that she had longed for. He fled..." (trans. Hill).

Iaokanann's[58]. There is also, of course, a thematic connection between the notion of dismemberment in Orpheus' case and Acteon's; in short, many of the mythical parallels of 'Saint Julien' and 'Hérodias', with and without specific literary sources, are thematically connected.

Of the *contes*, 'Un Cœur simple' is, as would be expected, poorest in terms of mythical references, despite the evidence already mentioned (p.369) that Félicité's pantheism owes something to Apuleius' passage on Isis. However, one possible myth-parallel exists even in this work. Felman, with 'Saint Julien' in mind, calls hospitality "une figure cruciale dans le conte" (*op.cit*, p.53), no doubt correctly. However, in classical times, a particular myth - again recounted in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* - was a standard *exemplum* of hospitality: that of Philemon and Baucis[59], who supposedly entertained Jupiter and Mercury unawares. Their story, as told by Ovid, bears comparison to the description of the Liébards' hospitality towards Félicité, M^me^ Aubain and her children. Philemon and Baucis' house is described as "parva quidem, stipulis et canna tecta palustri"[60] (*Metamorphoses* 8.630), just as the Liébards' has

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[58] Margaret Lowe, in two articles, explores this parallel, linking it with contemporary French concerns. Her suggestion that perceived similarities between portraits of Salome and those of Bacchants carrying Orpheus' head may have influenced Flaubert is plausible, and she suggests the similarity of Orpheus' and John the Baptist's heads. See '*Hérodias*, 'Roman du second empire'', *French Studies Bulletin*, 1 (Winter 1981/2), pp.9-10; '*Hérodias*, the second empire and 'La Tête d'Orphée'', *ibid.*, 3 (Summer 1982), pp.6-8.

[59] *Le Château des cœurs* (1863) contains equivocal evidence that Flaubert already knew Ovid's version of this legend; in that play, the manservant Dominique is "complètement *métamorphosé* en arbre" (my italics) (*OC*II, p.356), suffering the fate that befalls Ovid's Philemon and Baucis.

[60] "a small [home] indeed thatched with straw and marsh reed" (trans. Hill).

"toits de paille" (*OC*II, p.169). Ovid writes that "illa / consenuere casa"[61] (632-3); Flaubert that "la ferme avait, comme eux, un caractère d'ancienneté" (*OC*II, p.169), linking, like Ovid, the decrepitude of the house and its inhabitants. The food served to the visitors in both texts is homely country fare. In Ovid, Philemon takes down for his guests "sordida terga suis nigro pendentia tigno"[62] (648); Flaubert too emphasizes the beams of the house and the effects of smoke-blackening: "les poutrelles du plafond étaient vermoulues, les murailles noires de fumée" (*OC*II, p.169). With the meal, says Ovid,

> " super omnia vultus
> accessere boni nec iners pauperque voluntas"[63] (677-8);

similarly, in 'Un Cœur simple', a perhaps feigned goodwill is, as it were, served up with the food - "accompagnant le tout de politesses à Madame" (*OC*II, p.168). Equally, the qualities the Liébards claim to detect in Paul and Virginie - "Mademoiselle devenue «magnifique», M. Paul singulièrement «forci»" (p.169) - might recall the genuinely divine nature of Philemon and Baucis' visitors. Some similarity between the two texts is apparent, although it might be argued that Flaubert's 'version' of the legend, like many of his modernizations of classical myth, represents almost a deprecation of the values shown in the original: the Liébards' benevolent hospitality is feigned, or at least venal, that of Philemon and Baucis unthinking and selfless. It seems reasonable to extend Felman's evaluation of hospitality to 'Un Cœur simple';

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61 "[they] there had grown old together" (*ibid.*),

62 "a sooty side of bacon hanging from a blackened beam" (*ibid.*).

63 "Above them all there was in addition a look of goodness in their faces and a willingness neither sluggish nor mean" (*ibid.*).

indeed, given its obvious place in 'Saint Julien' and the fact that the vital scene of 'Hérodias' is Antipas' feast, it might be considered thematically central to all three *contes*.

The myth of Philemon and Baucis has, of course, clear Christian parallels in stories of 'entertaining angels unawares'. Another legend with both classical and Christian elements which has been detected in 'Un Cœur simple', notably by William J. Beck[64], is that of Saint Felicity of Carthage, a third-century martyr executed after being attacked, but not killed, in the arena by a 'wild cow'; her story features in, among other sources, French missals and Munter's *Primordiæ ecclesiæ Africanæ*. Beck argues that the episode where a bull attacks Félicité is a modern diminution of the original Felicity's heroism:

> "Symboliquement, le changement déplorable effectué depuis l'antiquité est illustré par une comparaison de l'épisode du taureau dans le conte avec son premier prototype" (*op.cit*, p.299).

In this sense, the *conte* echoes *ES*II, a depiction of the sorry state of passion as it exists in the modern world. A further significant element of Saint Felicity's story is indicated by James P. Mall[65]: the name Felicity (and, obviously, its French cognate) "is related, through the Indo-European root *dhei*, to the words 'fecundity' and 'feminine'" (p.299). According to Beck, Saint Felicity was pregnant when martyred. It may have appealed to Flaubert's sense of irony to introduce such a parallel into the story of the conspicuously childless Félicité;

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64 'Félicité et le taureau: ironie dans *Un Cœur simple* de Flaubert' - *Romance Quarterly*, 37, 3 (August 1990), pp.293-300.

65 'Flaubert's 'Un Cœur simple', myth and the genealogy of religion', *AUMLA*, 47 (May 1977), pp.39-47.

his erudition may also have been tickled by the contrast between the fertile Felicity and another illustrious and familiar Carthaginian woman, Dido, upon whom Virgil, in *Æneid* 4, often bestows the epithet *infelix* - primarily meaning "unhappy", but with a significant secondary meaning (presumably itself derived from the Indo-European *dhei*) of "sterile", "infertile". It is difficult to identify any strictly classical source where Flaubert might have read the story of Felicity's martyrdom - certainly she seems not to feature in Procopius or Corippus, either of whom might be expected to mention her - but it seems plausible to detect classically-influenced reasons behind Flaubert's choice of Félicité's name, which, through a series of scholarly associations, places her in a thematic and etymological relationship not only with her martyred namesake, but also with Virgil's heroine.

(b) Historical sources

Besides mythical parallels, 'Hérodias' has its sources in a variety of historical texts, which have been identified, but not explored in detail. Among non-classical texts, Bardèche (*op.cit.*) mentions the Cahen Bible, Matthew's and Mark's Gospels, Saint Jerome, Eusebius and Surius' *Vitæ sanctorum*; he also states that Flaubert consulted his friends Frédéric Baudry and Clément Ganneau. Concerning classical sources, Raymonde Debray-Genette[66], discussing modes of speech in *TC*, writes, "The traditional style of ancient history provides much liberty of discourse. I am referring here to the Latins, to

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66 'Profane, sacred: disorder of utterance in *Trois contes*', trans. Huston, S., in Schor, N. and Majewski, H.F. (edd.), *Flaubert and postmodernism*, Linclon; London, University of Nebraska Press, 1984, pp.13-29.

Tacitus and Suetonius primarily, but also to Livy..." (*op.cit*, p.26). It is difficult to detect anything but a tenuous stylistic influence on Livy's part; but Tacitus and Suetonius, whom Flaubert had certainly read, are both sources for 'Hérodias', albeit dwarfed in terms of quantity of information by the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, whose surviving works are mainly in Greek. Alongside these three, it is worth investigating the possible influence of a writer who, while not strictly a historian, may have provided 'local colour' for 'Hérodias': Petronius, author of the *Satyricon*.

Of the three historians proper to be considered, Tacitus is a relatively minor source: indeed, only one element of 'Hérodias' seems attributable solely to his work. Duckworth, in the Nelson Harrap edition of *TC*[67], attributes to *Annals* 6 an element of Antipas' flattering greeting of Vitellius - "on devait le remercier comme vainqueur des Clites" (*OC*II, p.191) - citing Flaubert's note on the subject: "Vitellius envoie contre les Clites de la Cilicie qui refusaient l'impôt, Trébellius avec quatre mille légionnaires" (*op.cit.*, p.224, n.68). The reference is to *Annals* 6.41: "Cietarum[68] natio Cappadoci Archelao subiecta"[69]. He also reports that Vitellius sent one Marcus Trebellius against them, though Flaubert does not repeat this in 'Hérodias'.

Other extensive elements of Antipas' hyperbolic greeting of Vitellius derive from Suetonius, whose *Vitellius* Flaubert, unsurprisingly, consulted for

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67 *Trois contes*, London, Nelson Harrap, 1959.

68 The variants *Cietarum* and *Clitarum* occur in different manuscripts; it is unclear which is Tacitus' original spelling.

69 "the Cietæ, a tribe subject to the Cappadocian prince Archelaus" (trans. Grant).

details on Aulus (the future emperor and immediate subject of *Vitellius*, despite the title) and his father. For example, the following is from the introduction to Suetonius' work:

> "exstat Q. Elogi ad Quintum Vitellium Divi Augusti quæstorem libellum, quo continetur, Vitellios Fauno Aboriginum rege et Vitellia, quæ multis locis pro numine coleretur, ortos toto Latio imperasse; horum residuam stirpem ex Sabinis transisse Romam atque inter patricios adlectam; indicia stirpis mansisse diu viam Vitelliam ab Ianiculo ad mare usque"[70] (1.2-3).

To this, Flaubert owes certainly the details that "Une voie, menant du Janicule à la mer, portait encore leur nom" (*OC*II, p.191) and that "Ils [les Vitellius] descendaient de la déesse Vitellia" (*ibid.*). That Flaubert obtained this latter assertion from Suetonius is proven by Shotter's information (*op.cit.*, p.160) that this is the only extant reference to a Vitellia-cult. Interestingly, no part of Suetonius' passage parallels Antipas' statement that "Les questures, les consulats étaient innombrables dans la famille" (*OC*II, p.191), apart arguably from "inter patricios adlectam"; indeed, although the passage does refer to a Vitellian quæstor under Augustus, Lucius Vitellius was the family's first consul, as Flaubert certainly knew. However, Suetonius does mention controversy over the family's pedigree: "Vitelliorum originem alii aliam et quidem diversissimam tradunt, partim veterem et nobilem, partim vero novam et

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70 "Quintus Elogius, in a pamphlet addressed to Quintus Vitellius, who acted as the quæstor of the Deified Augustus, asserts that the Vitellii were descended from Faunus, the king of the Aborigines, and Vitellia, who in many places was treated as a goddess; their descendants, it was said, once held sway over the whole of Latium. This version continues that the remainder of the stock moved from Sabine country to Rome, and was there enrolled in the patriciate. Traces of the family long survived in the name of the Vitellian Way which ran from the Janiculan hill to the sea" (trans. Shotter, Warminster, Aris and Phillips, 1993).

obscuram atque etiam sordidam"[71] (1.1). Like the reference to Trebellius, this information is not used directly in 'Hérodias', but it may nonetheless have shaped what Flaubert wrote. It is generally agreed that Vitellius' greeting of his host (whose sources we will investigate shortly) deliberately slights Antipas by praising Herod the Great, Antipas' father, rather than Antipas himself. What has not been remarked is that the compliments Antipas proffers, seen in context, amount to an accolade for a victory Vitellius did not himself achieve and the drawing of attention to an ancestry of dubious worth; in the process, Antipas also tells at least one outright lie, alleging "countless consulates" in the family. Antipas' greeting may actually be as deliberately insulting as Vitellius'; perhaps likelier, given Antipas' character, is that he is clumsily attempting to ingratiate himself with the governor through his compliments: possibly trying to place himself on the "right" side of the debate about his visitor's ancestry - or unaware of the debate - possibly, too, unaware of Trebellius' involvement in the suppression of the Clites / Cietæ. This might explain Vitellius' reaction to Antipas' hyperbole - he "les accepta impassiblement" (*OC*II, p.191) - although he is, anyway, predisposed towards hostility to the Tetrarch. Such subtleties, of course, like much of the political background to 'Hérodias', while plain to Flaubert thanks to his acquaintance with classical texts, remain perhaps intentionally obscure to the reader.

Most other facts Flaubert gleaned from Suetonius relate to Aulus Vitellius, a figure who fired Flaubert's imagination at an early age (see ch.1, n.14). Thus, details of Aulus' early career and its effect on his father's

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71 "The accounts of the origin of the Vitellii vary, and indeed wildly so: some say that they were an ancient, well-born family, while others regard them as a family recently emerged from obscurity - and even low-born" (*ibid.*).

prospects apparently derive from *Vitellius* 3.2:

> "pueritiam primamque adulescentiam Capreis egit inter Tiberiana scorta, et ipse perpetuo Spintriæ cognomine notatus existimatusque corporis gratia initium et causa incrementorum patri fuisse"[72].

As elsewhere, Flaubert has condensed this information: "la fortune du père dépendait de la souillure du fils... cette fleur des fanges de Caprée" (*OC*II, p.191). Similarly, Aulus' infatuation with "l'Asiatique", the "enfant très beau, qui souriait toujours" (p.195) derives from Suetonius, who emphasizes Aulus' dependence upon the former slave and the early beginning to their affair (the location of their first encounter at Machærus is entirely Flaubert's invention):

> "magnam imperii partem non nisi consilio et arbitrio vilissimi cuiusque histrionum et aurigarum administravit et maxime Asiatici liberti. hunc adulescentulum mutua libidine constupratum"[73] (12).

Flaubert's description of the slave-boy's admiration for Aulus' greed – "L'Asiatique le contemplait, cette faculté d'engloutissement dénotant un être prodigieux et d'une race supérieure" (*OC*II, p.196) - may owe something to Suetonius' comment that theirs was a "mutua libidine", a 'mutual lust'. Certainly the fact of Aulus' greed, and in particular his custom of self-induced vomiting - "Aulus n'avait pas fini de se faire vomir, qu'il voulut remanger" (*ibid.*) - derives from Suetonius:

> "epulas trifariam semper, interdum quatrifariam dispertiebat, in iantacula et prandia et cenas comissationesque, facile omnibus

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72 "He spent his boyhood and early youth on Capreæ amongst Tiberius' prostitutes; he was always known by the nickname, Spintria, and it was generally thought that his bodily charms marked the beginning and were the cause of his father's promotion" (*ibid.*).

73 "He went on to conduct a large part of his reign listening to the advice and whims of the most worthless actors and charioteers, and was particularly reliant on the ex-slave Asiaticus. Vitellius had had a passionate affair with Asiaticus whilst he was a young man" (*ibid.*).

sufficiens vomitandi consuetudine"[74] (13.1).

Vitellius' comparison of Salome to "Mnester, le pantomime" (*OC*II, p.198) may also have been suggested by an earlier reading of Suetonius' *Caligula*, which contains several references to "pantomimus Mnester" (e.g. 57.4); in particular, Vitellius' comment may have seemed apposite in view of Mnester's effeminacy - Suetonius states in chapter 36 that he had an affair with Caligula. It is possible, though it cannot be proven, that Flaubert read *Caligula* while preparing *Salammbô*, one scene of which, it has been argued, bears the mark of Suetonius' work (see above, p.317).

Much the greatest source of historical information for 'Hérodias', however, was the first-century Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, despite Flaubert's evident antipathy for him. He mentions having read and noted this writer in letters of 27th September 1876[75], and considers him "un joli bourgeois! c'est-à-dire un plat personnage" (letter 2838). He may have known his work previously, as he was among the writers Léon Heuzey recommended for information on Alexandria when Flaubert was researching for *TSA*III (see p.164).

Flaubert seems to have used Josephus' two major works - the *Bellum Judaicum* or *Jewish war*, and the *Antiquitates Judaicæ* or *Jewish antiquities*; some events covered by the two overlap. He also used a minor work, the *Contra Apionem*, a refutation of various anti-semitic beliefs. From the

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[74] "he always had three meals a day, and sometimes even four - breakfast, lunch, dinner and a drinking-session. He coped with these easily because of his practice of self-induced vomiting" (*ibid.*).

[75] Letters 2837, [Croisset, 27th September 1876] and 2838, [Croisset], 27th September [1876].

Antiquities, a lengthy history of the Jewish people, which shares much material with the Old Testament, Flaubert mainly gleaned details of incidents contemporary with 'Hérodias'. Thus the fact of the strained relations between Antipas and Vitellius, tersely stated by Flaubert (*OC*II, p.191), derives from this work; Duckworth quotes the editor of the 1910 Conard edition of *TC*: "Ce passage demeurerait fort obscur si l'on ne se souvenait du récit suivant de Flavius Josèphe, dont il n'est que la condensation..." (*op.cit.*, p.224, n.73) - the passage in question being *Antiquities* 18.101-105, which furnishes all the details Flaubert uses. Shortly after, in the same work, Josephus recounts Antipas' rejection of his first wife and marriage to Herodias with a strong flavour of orthodox Jewish disapproval entirely consistent with that expressed by Iaokanann and other Jewish characters in the *conte*; Josephus states for example that Antipas "τολμᾷ λόγων ἅπτεσθαι περὶ γάμου"[76] (18.110), and later that Herodias marries him "επὶ συγχύσει φρονήσασα τῶν πατρίων"[77] (136). Equally, Phanuel's prediction to Antipas that Iaokanann's murder would draw punishment upon him may have been suggested to Flaubert by *Antiquities* 18.116:

> "τισὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὀλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μάλα δικαίως τιννυμένου κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου βαπτιστοῦ"[78].

Conspicuously absent from Josephus, however, is any reference to Salome's

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[76] "brazenly broached to [Herodias] the subject of marriage" (trans. Louis H. Feldman, Loeb edition, 1965).

[77] "taking it into her head to flout the ways of our fathers" (*ibid.*),

[78] "But to some of the Jews the destruction of Herod's army [at the hands of Aretas, his former father-in-law] seemed to be divine vengeance, and certainly a just vengeance, for his treatment of John, surnamed the Baptist" (*ibid.*).

dance; for that, Flaubert's sources are biblical.

Rather differently - as Duckworth, again, indicates - Flaubert found in the *Antiquities* details of Jewish political concerns contemporary to 'Hérodias'. The incident recounted by the Galileans who denounce Pontius Pilate (*OC*II, p.191) is a summary of *Antiquities* 18.85-7. Similarly, when Flaubert writes that "Eléazar... réclama pour les Pharisiens le manteau du grand prêtre détenu dans la tour Antonia par l'autorité civile" (*ibid.*), Josephus' work clarifies the situation considerably, indicating, despite Flaubert's grammatical ambiguity, that *détenu* refers to the robe, not the high priest: "ταύτην Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφύλαξεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν μέχρι τῶν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος χρόνων"[79] (15.404), and detailing popular Jewish clamour for its restoration - Vitellius eventually does so, "ἐπεὶ παρεκάλεσαν τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ὑπὸ τὴν αὑτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν"[80] (405) (the same story features in similar terms in *Antiquities* 18.92-5).

Details of several members of Antipas' entourage also derive from Josephus: Flaubert writes of Iaçim the Babylonian that,

> "Son père était venu des bords de l'Euphrate s'offrir au grand Hérode, avec cinq cents cavaliers, pour défendre les frontières orientales. Après le partage du royaume, Iaçim était demeuré chez Philippe, et maintenant servait Antipas" (*OC*II, p.192).

Here, Flaubert's information is from *Antiquities* 17.29, although there it is Iaçim himself, not his father Zamaris, who organizes cavalry. The detail that Herod Agrippa's accuser was named Eutychès (p.189) is from *Antiquities* 18.168-86,

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79 "This robe Herod kept safe in that place [the Antonia Tower], and after his death it was in the custody of the Romans until the time of Tiberius Cæsar" (trans. Ralph Marcus, Loeb edition, 1963).

80 "since they asked to have the sacred robe under their own authority" (*ibid.*).

although as Duckworth mentions, Herodias' rôle in his action is Flaubert's invention. Finally on contemporary politics, Flaubert apparently derived Vitellius' reflections on the Jews - "Tibère avait eu raison d'en exiler quatre cents en Sardaigne" (p.192) - from *Antiquities* 18.84, where Josephus writes that, following a religious scandal involving Fulvia, a Roman matron, "οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι τετρακισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους ἐξ αὐτῶν στρατολογήσαντες ἔπεμψαν εἰς Σαρδὼ τὴν νῆσον"[81]. Flaubert's inaccuracy concerning the number exiled presumaly results from carelessness or a desire for euphony. Duckworth states (*op.cit.*, p.226, note 85) that Flaubert noted this episode from both Josephus and Suetonius; however, Suetonius' reference to it is rather vague, not even specifying the number of exiles: "Iudæorum iuventutem per speciem sacramenti in provincias gravioris cæli distribuit"[82] (*Tiberius* 36.1). The incident in fact also features in both Tacitus and Dio Cassius, but Josephus is far the likeliest source.

The *Bellum Judaicum* is arguably even more important than the *Antiquities* for Flaubert's composition of 'Hérodias', providing him with substantial amounts of background information, especially on Herod the Great. For example, many of Vitellius' backhanded compliments to Antipas upon arriving at Machærus derive from Josephus' work. Vitellius states that,

> "le grand Hérode suffisait à la gloire d'une nation. Les Athéniens lui avaient donné la surintendance des jeux Olympiques. Il avait bâti des temples en l'honneur d'Auguste, été patient, ingénieux, terrible, et fidèle toujours aux Césars" (*OC*II, p.191).

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81 "The consuls drafted four thousand of these Jews for military service and sent them to the island of Sardinia" (trans. Feldman).

82 "Those of the Jews who were of military age he assigned to provinces of less healthy climate, ostensibly to serve in the army" (trans. Rolfe).

Beyond its generalities and veiled threats, this eulogy contains two facts, both attributable to Josephus. Firstly, in book one of the *Bellum*, he writes,

> "τούτους γὰρ δὴ καταλυομένους ἀπορίᾳ χρημάτων ὁρῶν καὶ τὸ μόνον ὑπορρέον, οὐ μόνον ἀγωνοθέτης ἧς ἐπέτυχεν πενταετηρίδος εἰς Ῥώμην παραπλέων ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ διηνεκὲς πόρους χρημάτων ἀπέδειξεν, ὡς μηδέποτε ἀγωνοθετοῦσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μνήμην ἐπιλιπεῖν"[83] (1.427).

This clearly explains Flaubert's reference to the Olympic Games, although the source of the mention of the Athenians is obscure; in *Antiquities* 16.149, the people of *Elis* are stated to be responsible for honouring Herod, although even here the reading is conjectural. Secondly, earlier in the same book, Josephus writes that, "ἐπὶ τούτοις δωρησαμένον τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὸν ἑτέρας προσθέσει χώρας, ὁ δὲ κἀνταῦθα ναὸν αυτῷ λευκῆς μαρμάρου καθιδρύσατο παρὰ τὰς Ἰορδάνου πηγάς"[84] (1.404). As implied, Herod had done much the same previously, justifying Flaubert's reference to "*des* temples". This is not the only place where Herod the Great is mentioned, however; while defending himself against the accusations of the Sadducees and Pharisees at the feast, Antipas asserts that "C'est mon père qui a édifié votre temple!" (*OC*II, p.197). Once again, the fact apparently derives from Josephus: "πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ γοῦν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτόν τε τὸν ναὸν ἐπεσκεύασεν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνετειχίσατο χώραν τῆς οὔσης

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[83] "For, observing that [the Olympics] were declining for want of funds and that this solitary relic of ancient Greece was sinking into decay, he not only accepted the post of president for the quadrennial celebration which coincided with his visit on his voyage to Rome, but he endowed them for all time with revenues, which should preserve an unfading memory of his term as president" (trans. H.St.J. Thackeray, Loeb edition 1961).

[84] "When, later on, through Cæsar's bounty he received additional territory, Herod there too dedicated to him a temple of white marble near the sources of the Jordan" (*ibid.*).

διπλασίονα"[85] (*Bellum* 1.401). As with the reference to the Olympic Games, both mentions of Herod's temple-building activities also feature in the *Antiquities*, but in considerably less detail; it seems likelier that Flaubert's information is from the *Bellum*.

The same applies to an interesting passage at the start of Antipas' feast. It will be remembered that, in contrast to the Pharisees' repugnance at being sprayed with galbanum and incense, Aulus Vitellius luxuriously rubs himself with it. Noticing this, "Antipas lui en promit tout un chargement, avec trois couffes de ce véritable baume, qui avait fait convoiter la Palestine à Cléopâtre" (*OC*II, p.195). The latter detail about Cleopatra's designs on Palestine, and their explanation, is apparently inferred from the *Bellum Judaicum* 1.359-63. Here, Josephus recounts that Mark Antony deprived Herod the Great of territory in his lover's favour:

> "πολλὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι φοινικῶνα, ἐν ᾧ γεννᾶται τὸ βάλσαμον, δίδωσιν αὐτῇ πόλεις τε πλὴν Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος τὰς ἐντος Ἐλευθέρου ποταμοῦ πάσας"[86] (361).

Antiquities 15.94-6 tells much the same story, including the comment, relating to the region around Jericho, that "φέρει δ'ἡ χώρα τὸ βάλσαμον, ὃ τιμιώτατον τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ παρὰ μόνοις φύεται"[87] (96). Whichever is the

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[85] "Thus in the fifteenth year of his reign, [Herod] restored the Temple, and, by erecting new foundation-walls, enlarged the surrounding area to double its former extent" (*ibid.*).

[86] "He cut off large tracts of their territory - including, in particular, the palm-grove of Jericho where the balsam grows - and presented them to Cleopatra, together with all the towns to the south of the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon excepted" (*ibid.*).

[87] "This country bears balsam, which is the most precious thing there and grows there alone" (trans. Marcus).

source, Flaubert's adaptation of it is, as usual, highly compressed and allusive; Josephus' comment in *Antiquities* that balsam grows only near Jericho probably justifies Flaubert's "*véritable* baume". Generally, it seems that Flaubert took Josephus' hint that Cleopatra's interest in Palestine and its region was aroused by the prospect of unlimited supplies of balsam, relishing the opportunity afforded him of incorporating into his work a figure who had fired his youthful imagination (see above, pp.102-3, 136-7).

A subject of 'Hérodias' on which Flaubert seems to have acquired most of his information from the *Bellum Judaicum* is that of the Essenes, the Jewish sect to which Phanuel belongs. Book two of the *Bellum* contains a lengthy account of the sect (chh.119-61); that in *Antiquities* 18.18-22 is relatively cursory. Many of Flaubert's details on the Essenes, scattered through the text of 'Hérodias', derive from the *Bellum*. Phanuel twice appears "en robe blanche" (*OC*II, pp.189 and 194); at Antipas' feast, Flaubert writes, he "n'avançait pas jusqu'au Tétrarque, redoutant les taches d'huile qui, pour les Esséniens, étaient une grande souillure" (p.197). Both facts feature in the same passage in Josephus: "κηλῖδα δ' ὑπολαμβάνουσι τοὔλαιον κἂν ἀλειφθῇ τις ἄκων, σμήχεται τὸ σῶμα· τὸ γὰρ αὐχμεῖν ἐν καλῷ τίθενται, λευχειμονεῖν τε διαπαντός"[88] (2.123). When Phanuel speaks to Antipas before Vitellius' arrival, Flaubert briefly describes the Essenes: "On respectait ces hommes pauvres, indomptables par les supplices, vêtus de lin, et qui lisaient l'avenir dans les étoiles" (*OC*II, p.190). All four characteristics can be justified from the text of the *Bellum*: in book two Josephus writes,

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88 "Oil they consider defiling, and anyone who accidentally comes in contact with it scours his person; for they make a point of keeping a dry skin and of always being dressed in white" (trans. Thackeray).

"καταφρονταὶ δὲ πλούτου"[89] (122); in chapter 152, he describes their hardiness during the war with the Romans: "οὐδὲ κολακεῦσαί ποτε τοὺς αἰκιζομένους ἢ δακρῦσαι"[90]; in chapter 129, he writes that they washed themselves daily - "ζωσάμενοί τε σκεπάσμασιν λινοῖς"[91]; and, although he does not specify astrology as their means of divination, he does mention their pretensions to prophecy, as practised by Phanuel during 'Hérodias': "Εἰσὶν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οἳ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προγινώσκειν ὑπισχνοῦνται... σπάνιον δ' εἴ ποτε ἐν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσιν ἀστοχοῦσιν"[92] (2.159). Directly before Flaubert's brief sketch of the Essenes, Phanuel tries to win Antipas' confidence "en alléguant... la soumission des Esséniens aux rois" (*OC*II, p.190). It is difficult to justify this trait from the *Bellum*, but Josephus does recount in *Antiquities* 15.372-8 the genial relations (of dubious historical accuracy) prevailing between Herod the Great and the sect; perhaps Flaubert inferred this characteristic from that passage. Finally, another aspect of the Essenes' beliefs emphasized by Josephus is a devotion to the sun, jarring strangely with their otherwise apparently orthodox Judaism: "πρὶν γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν φθέγγονται τῶν βεβήλων, πατρίους δέ τινας

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89 "Riches they despise" (*ibid.*).

90 "nor ever once did they cringe to their persecutors or shed a tear" (*ibid.*).

91 "after girding their loins with linen cloths" (*ibid.*).

92 "There are some among them who profess to foretell the future... and seldom, if ever, do they err in their predictions" (*ibid.*).

εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχας, ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι"[93] (2.128). Flaubert, possibly to avoid confusing matters, does not directly refer to this element of their cult; however, its pagan implications and symbolic potential must have intrigued him, and he perhaps hints at it during the scene immediately after the banquet, just before the *conte*'s finale.

> "Phanuel, debout au milieu de la grande nef, *murmurait des prières*, les bras étendus.
>
> *A l'instant où se levait le soleil*, deux hommes, expédiés autrefois par Iaokanann, survinrent" (*OC*II, p.199).

The juxtaposition of Phanuel's prayers and the sunrise is perhaps an oblique reference to the Essene sun-cult.

For the opening description of Machærus, Flaubert probably used a passage in book seven of the *Bellum Judaicum*, chh.163-77, describing the fortress in Herod the Great's time; however, Duckworth argues (*op.cit.*, p.212, n.2), probably correctly, that more importance should be attached to Auguste Parent's *Machærous*, which contains Josephus' description in translation and comments by Parent himself. Just after the passage of the *Bellum* mentioned, however, comes one (chh.180-5) which Flaubert probably did use. It is worth citing at length:

> "τῆς φάραγγος δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἄρκτον περιεχούσης τὴν πόλιν Βάαρας ὀνομάζεταί τις τόπος, φύει ῥίζαν ὁμωνύμως λεγομένην αὐτῷ. αὕτη φλογὶ μὲν τὴν χροίαν ἔοικε, περὶ δὲ τὰς ἑσπέρας σέλας ἀπαστράπτουσα τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι καὶ βουλομένοις λαβεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐχείρωτος ἀλλ' ὑποφεύγει"[94] (180-1).

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[93] "Before the sun is up they utter no word on mundane matters, but offer to him certain prayers, which have been handed down from their forefathers, as though entreating him to rise" (*ibid.*).

[94] "In the ravine which encloses the town [Machærus] on the north, there is a place called Baaras, which produces a root bearing the same name. Flame-coloured and towards evening emitting a brilliant light, it eludes the grasp of persons who approach it

The plant baaras, Josephus says, is poisonous to the touch; but he proceeds to specify its value:

> "ἔστι δὲ μετὰ τοσούτων κινδύνων διὰ μίαν ἰσχὺν περισπούδαστος· τὰ γὰρ καλούμενα δαιμόνια, ταῦτα δὲ πονηρῶν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰσδυόμενα καὶ κτείνοντα τοὺς βοηθείας μὴ τυγχάνοντας, αὕτη ταχέως ἐξελαύνει, κἂν προσενεχθῇ μόνον τοῖς νοσοῦσι"[95] (185).

Flaubert mentions baaras in the banquet scene of 'Hérodias'; during the discussion of the miraculous cure of Jacob's daughter, the Pharisees concede that under some circumstances, such cures can be effected:

> "Certainement, objectèrent les Pharisiens, il existait des pratiques, des herbes puissantes! Ici même, à Machærous, quelquefois on trouvait le baaras qui rend invulnérable" (*OC*II, p.196).

Flaubert seems to have borrowed from Josephus at least the fact that baaras grew at Machærus, although its alleged bestowal of invulnerability contrasts with the powers Josephus attributes to it. Flaubert does, however, also mention the plant elsewhere. In *Salammbô*, Schahabarim attempts to treat Salammbô's malady with "le baaras, racine couleur de feu qui refoule dans le septentrion les génies funestes" (*OC*I, p.751), while in *TSA*III, as Antoine undergoes his last vision, "la racine baaras court dans l'herbe" (p.571). Indeed, the earlier references perhaps owe more information to Josephus, or to an intermediate text derived from him, than that in 'Hérodias': that from *Salammbô* classifies the plant as a root (as does that from *TSA*), its fiery colour and its power against evil spirits (described in similar terms to

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with the intention of plucking it, as it shrinks up" (*ibid.*).

95 "With all these attendant risks, it possesses one virtue for which it is prized; for the so-called demons - in other words, the spirits of wicked men which enter the living and kill them unless aid is forthcoming - are promptly expelled by this root, if merely applied to the patients" (*ibid.*).

Josephus'), and arguably contains a slightly garbled reference to the north - "dans le septentrion" echoing Josephus' "κατὰ τὴν ἄρκτον", "on the north [of the town]"; the brief reference from *TSA* also incorporates the idea of the root's mobility described by Josephus. Given that Flaubert must have heard of baaras by 1862 at the latest for it to feature in *Salammbô*, his knowledge of Josephus may in fact extend back some ten years before Heuzey recommended the writer; it is perhaps likelier, however, that he actually came across the plant elsewhere - possibly in a medieval text - and saw the opportunity to allude to it in 'Hérodias' upon finding in the *Bellum* that it grew at Machærus. Whatever the truth is, given the considerable elements of the description in *Salammbô* which are common to the account in the *Bellum*, any surmised intermediate text must surely have been somehow connected to Josephus' work.

As mentioned earlier, together with Josephus' two substantial works, Flaubert seems to have used the *Contra Apionem* for at least two elements of 'Hérodias', again during the description of Antipas' feast. The relevant sections of the *Contra Apionem* are in its second book (chh.80, 89-102); both fall within a section of the work which exists only in Latin, rather than the original Greek; they are a lacuna within the existing Greek manuscript, and have been transmitted via a Latin translation made at the order of Cassiodorus. In book two, Josephus refutes indignantly a charge Aulus makes against the Pharisees at the feast: "Aulus les railla à propos de la tête d'âne, qu'ils honoraient, disait-on" (*OC*II, p.197). The accusation presumably derives from the following rendition of it in chapter 80: "in hoc enim sacrario Apion præsumpsit educere asini caput collocasse Iudæos et eum colere ac

dignum facere tanta religione"[96]. In chapters 89-102, Josephus recounts Apion's slander that the Greek conqueror Antiochus upon entering the Temple, found, in front of a sizeable feast, a man who "ait... cuncta dapium præparatione saginari"[97] (93). The object of this fattening-up is the ritual sacrifice and consumption of the man. Vitellius, reacting to the vehemence of the disputes at the feast, recalls "l'histoire de l'homme qu'ils engraissaient mystérieusement" (*OC*II, p.197) - a story Josephus' work probably suggested to Flaubert. Given the breadth of different sections of Josephus' work recognisable in 'Hérodias', it seems that his reading of the historian in 1876, regardless of whether he knew him previously, must have been most extensive.

A fourth 'historical' parallel for 'Hérodias' occurs in the *Cena Trimalchionis* section of Petronius' *Satyricon*, a work which, as we have seen, Flaubert knew (see above, pp.15, 23), but hitherto has little imitated[98]. This satirical description of a rich man's banquet is quite closely paralleled by the third section of 'Hérodias' in several respects - indeed, the *Cena* sometimes reads uncannily like a burlesque of the later work. On a basic level, several of the foods available at Machærus, both at the feast and seen previously, are similar to those Trimalchio serves up. For example, presented among the

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96 "Within this sanctuary Apion has the effrontery to assert that the Jews kept an ass's head, worshipping that animal and deeming it worthy of the deepest reverence" (*ibid.*).

97 "said... [he] was fattened on feasts of the most lavish description" (*ibid.*).

98 It is perhaps significant that Flaubert apparently associated Petronius' work with Apuleius' (see also p.15; ch.1, n.88), understandably given the similarity of form and to some extent of idiom in both cases.

hors-d'œuvre at Trimalchio's banquet are *olivas* (31.9) and "granis Punici mali" (31.11), pomegranate seeds; at Machærus, "des grenades élevées en pyramides" (*OC*II, p.192) are brought for the feast, and olives are eaten at its start. Among the more exotic delicacies in Petronius are "glires melle ac papavere sparsos" (31.10), dormice sprinkled with honey and poppyseed; several elements of this dish recur in 'Hérodias', where ingredients of the feast include "courges au miel" and "loirs" (*OC*II, p.196). Similarly, although Trimalchio and his guests do not actually consume it, stork - *ciconia* - features as an archetypal luxurious foodstuff in a poetic quotation in the *Cena* (55.6); again, "des cigognes" are among the foods prepared at Machærus.

Admittedly, several of these foodstuffs - dormice especially - are well-known Roman delicacies; their recurrence in 'Hérodias' may be coincidental and could be owed to numerous sources. However, the two texts do share other elements. For instance, dance is a recurring theme of the *Cena Trimalchionis*: at one stage, Trimalchio enquires of his guests, "nemo... vestrum rogat Fortunatam meam, ut saltet? credite mihi; cordacem nemo melius ducit"[99] (52.8); later, "iam cœperat Fortunata velle saltare"[100] (70.10). Obviously this cannot have influenced Flaubert's decision to incorporate into 'Hérodias' Salome's dance, an integral part of the story he was retelling; however, the presence of the dance-theme in Petronius may have suggested to Flaubert a parallel between the works. If the two works do parallel one another, Antipas is Trimalchio's obvious equivalent, as the feast's host;

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99 "None of you ask dear Fortunata to dance. I tell you no-one can dance the cancan [*sic*] better" (trans. Michael Heseltine, Loeb edition, 1969).

100 "Fortunata had now grown anxious to dance" (*ibid.*).

however, the character in 'Hérodias' who seems most to recall Trimalchio is Aulus. Both characters have male favourites, although Trimalchio's "puer... lippus, sordidissimis dentibus"[101] (64.5) little resembles Aulus' "enfant très beau" (*OC*II, p.195); both at some stage in their feast consider having a bath - Trimalchio suggests, "coniciamus nos in balneum"[102] (72.3), Aulus reflects, "Si je prenais un bain?" (*OC*II, p.196).

Probably the most interesting parallel between the two works, however, is the similarity of the conversations during the banquets they recount. A recurring topos in the *Cena Trimalchionis* is human mortality, albeit discussed in a desultory and foolish way; the same question is also debated - hardly less foolishly - in Machærus. At one stage of the *Cena*, Trimalchio laments that "diutius vivit vinum quam homuncio"[103] (34.7) and goes on to compose the following piece of doggerel:

> "eheu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est!
> sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet Orcus.
> ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene"[104] (34.10).

At Machærus, Jonathas the Sadducee sagely proclaims, "Rien de plus sot que la prétention du corps à la vie éternelle" (*OC*II, p.196). Notably in this connection, Jonathas goes on to quote in his support a writer familiar to Flaubert (whom he possibly read while preparing *BeP*): Lucretius. The line

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101 Roughly, "The creature had blear eyes and rotten teeth" (*ibid.*).

102 "let us jump into a bath" (*ibid.*).

103 "wine lives longer than miserable man" (*ibid.*).

104 "Alas for us poor mortals, all that poor man is is nothing. So we shall all be after the world below takes us away. Let us live then, while it can go well with us" (*ibid.*).

cited is from book three of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, dealing with the soul's mortality: "nec crescit, nec post mortem durare videtur"[105] (*ibid.* - the quotation is line 338 of book three). This direct Latin quotation is one of very few such examples in Flaubert's work; however, Trimalchio and others in Petronius' work frequently quote earlier Latin writers, especially Virgil: at one stage, Trimalchio asks "sic notus Ulixes?"[106] (39.9 - from *Æneid* 2.44); later, one of his slaves declaims the opening line of *Æneid* 5, "interea medium Æneas iam classe tenebat"[107] (68.4). None of the quotations in the *Cena* has the same subject as Jonathas'; the quality they share is their inappositeness. Trimalchio's "sic notus Ulixes" is intended as a reassurance that the fare served up at his table will be as sumptuous as expected; in its original context, it is a warning by the Trojan Laocoon that Ulysses is no more to be trusted than ever he was. Equally, the slave's declamation of the *Æneid* has the opposite effect to that intended - the narrator, Encolpius, states that it is so badly performed that "tunc primum me etiam Vergilius offenderit"[108] (68.5). Jonathas' quotation of Lucretius, although intended to please Vitellius, is similarly inapposite. Not only is it incorrectly attributed (presumably by Jonathas himself - Flaubert was well aware that Lucretius wrote a century or so before events in 'Hérodias') to "un poète contemporain" (*OC*II, p.196), but it

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105 "nor [does the body grow] alone, nor is [it] seen to last on after death" (trans. Bailey).

106 "Is that your idea of Ulysses?" (trans. Day Lewis).

107 "Meanwhile Æneas held his fleet on its course through the deep sea" (*ibid.*).

108 "even Virgil jarred on me for the first time" (trans. Heseltine).

is also, in context, far from favourable to his argument. Lucretius was indeed arguing in the cited passage that the body is mortal, but only as an element of the larger assertion that the soul, being dependent for its existence upon the body, is also mortal, a proposition with which Jonathas would surely disagree. Not only is Jonathas comparable to Trimalchio and his boorish contemporaries in misappropriating quotations; he also recalls Frédéric and his friends or Homais (see above, pp.228-30, 338-40), misusing the classics. Seen in this light, Jonathas, together with Trimalchio, is the archetypal bourgeois throughout the ages, arraigned for misunderstanding and misappropriating great literature.

(c) Other influences

Besides mythological influences, which may be partly inadvertent, and historical influences, which are certainly (except perhaps in Petronius' case) deliberate, there seems to be a variety of broadly familiar intertexts within *TC*. Possibly the most familiar comes in 'Un Cœur simple': after Victor's death, Félicité consoles herself beside the river, where, "au fond, de grandes herbes s'y penchaient, comme des chevelures de cadavres flottant dans l'eau" (*OC*II, p.172). Although less clear than the previous examples, which specify *green* hair, this nonetheless seems to be the fourth occurrence in Flaubert's work (see above, pp.139, 201, 222-3) of a compelling image taken from Horace's *Odes* 3, "Neptunum et viridis Nereidum comas"[109] (28.10). In 'Saint Julien',

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109 "Neptune and the green locks of the Nereids" (trans. Williams).

the hyperbolic description of the lands where Julien travels - "des régions si torrides que sous l'ardeur du soleil les chevelures s'allumaient d'elles-mêmes, comme des flambeaux" (p.182) - recalls the effect of the African desert's heat, described in Corippus' *Iohannides* (see above, pp.306-7):

> " heu, bacchatur miles anhelans
> et solis fervore rubens exæstuat, ardens
> ignibus immensis"[110] (6.301-3).

In 'Hérodias', the notion Phanuel advances that Iaokanann will vanish to a distant place, leaving Antipas in peace - "Il ira chez les Arabes, les Gaulois, les Scythes" (*OC*II, p.190) - resembles, in its use of Scythia as an exemplar of extreme remoteness, Virgil's first *Eclogue* - a source Flaubert has not before used - where an Italian exile displaced by military resettlement laments,

> "at nos hinc alii sitientes ibimus Afros,
> pars Scythiam et rapidum cretæ veniemus Oaxen
> et penitos toto divisos orbe Britannos"[111] (64-6).

As always with possible influence from Virgil's *Eclogues*, some doubt subsists as to whether Flaubert knew the Latin work.

However that may be, *TC*, like most of Flaubert's adult works, contains some evidence of influence, albeit here not systematic, of Virgil's major work, the *Æneid*. Unlike *Salammbô* and in a different sense *MB*, *TC* are by definition not epic in form. This does not preclude the incorporation of certain epic techniques - indeed, one may argue that the concept of retelling a traditional story, with which Flaubert explicitly engages in 'Saint Julien' and

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110 "Alas, the breathless soldiers raved and burned red with the sun's heat, blazing in the great flames" (my translation).

111 "But the rest of us must go from here and be dispersed - to Scythia, bone-dry Africa, the chalky spate of the Oxus, even to Britain - that place cut off at the very world's end" (trans. Day Lewis).

which is implicit in 'Hérodias', clearly parallels the epic oral tradition. Brombert indicates rightly in 'Saint Julien' the presence of, "somewhat artificial picturesque detail (archaic forms, terms of venery, epic enumerations, lists of sonorous names of dogs and falcons)" (*op.cit.*, p.221); of these certainly the use of lists and enumeration is potentially Virgilian. Generally speaking, however, Virgil's influence, if such it is, remains limited to relatively isolated instances. For example, besides the possible Seneca-connection (see above, p.364), the "Garamantes" of 'Saint Julien' (*OC*II, p.178) are, as Flaubert doubtless knew (see above, p.331), mentioned in *Æneid* 4.198. On the same page of 'Saint Julien', Flaubert describes how the hero's mother orders her household: "chaque matin elle distribuait la besogne à ses servantes, surveillait les confitures et les onguents, filait à la quenouille ou brodait des nappes d'autel". This description is juxtaposed with the narration of Julien's birth: "A force de prier Dieu, il lui vint un fils". As frequently in Flaubert, there is an apparent association of domestic activity and sexual chastity or fidelity with parallels not only in the 'good housewife' simile in *Æneid* 8, but also in Livy's account of the rape of Lucretia (see pp.344-6); Flaubert may, then, here be transplanting the classical *idée reçue* associating domestic laboriousness and chastity to a medieval context, its status as an *idée reçue* indicated by the unattributed status of "A force de prier Dieu", possibly reflecting a generalized popular belief[112]. To consider 'Hérodias' briefly, Vitellius' reaction to the horses kept in Machærus - "Le Proconsul en resta muet d'admiration" (p.192) -

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112 Interestingly, Griffin (*op.cit.*, p.306) adduces this passage as evidence of Odyssean patterns in 'Saint Julien': "Weaving in her *domestic* scene in the midst of a *forest* puts her in the camp both of Penelope, the symbol of long-suffering devotion, and the chain-weaver Circe who turns men into beasts". This possibility neither excludes nor is excluded by the parallels with Virgil or Livy.

may reflect Æneas' faced with similarly imposing spectacles in Virgil's work; for example, in book one, faced with a fresco depicting the Trojan war, he "stupet obtutuque hæret defixus in uno"[113] (495).

Perhaps the most striking resemblances with the *Æneid*, however, occur during the two storm scenes of *TC*. In 'Un Cœur simple', Félicité briefly imagines a storm at sea afflicting Victor; at the end of 'Saint Julien', the river across which Julien ferries travellers assumes the dimensions of the sea. In their ferocity - sanctioned by Félicité's vivid imagination in the first instance, by the story's legendary demands in the second - both recall the storm which strikes the Trojans in *Æneid* 1, which Neptune eventually quells. Félicité specifically imagines Victor being battered by the storm - "elle le voyait battu par cette même tempête, au sommet d'un mât fracassé, tout le corps en arrière, sous une nappe d'écume" (*OC*II, p.171). In the *Æneid*, a similar fate befalls a Trojan: "excutitur pronusque magister / volvitur in caput"[114] (115-6). More strikingly, several elements of the storm in 'Saint Julien' recall the *Æneid*. Flaubert describes "L'eau, plus noire que de l'encre" (*OC*II, p.187); as the storm descends upon the Trojans in the *Æneid*:

> "eripiunt subito nubes cælumque diemque
> Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra"[115] (88-9).

When Julien tries to row back, the storm worsens:

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113 "stood at gaze, rooted in a deep trance of attention" (trans. Day Lewis).

114 "her helmsman is flicked from off the deck and headlong sent flying" (*ibid.*).

115 "All of a sudden the storm-clouds are snatching the heavens, the daylight from the eyes of the Trojans; night, black night is fallen on the sea" (*ibid.*).

> "[L'eau] creusait des abîmes, elle faisait des montagnes, et la chaloupe sautait dessus, puis redescendait dans les profondeurs où elle tournoyait, ballottée par le vent" (*OC*II, p.187).

Similarly, the Trojans' ships are lifted by mountainous seas and buffeted by the elements:

> " insequitur cumulo præreptus aquæ mons.
> hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens
> terram inter fluctus aperit"[116] (105-7);
>
> " [puppim] ter fluctus ibidem
> torquet agens circum"[117] (116-7).

These examples particularly, with relatively close correspondence between, for instance, "elle faisait des montagnes" and "aquæ mons", are reasonable evidence for influence by the *Æneid*, especially given that this passage of Virgil's work, which features the *quos ego*, was indubitably known to Flaubert. As stated previously, the *Æneid*'s influence in *TC* is less striking than in some of Flaubert's works, but it does seem likely that it somewhat influences the work.

(d) Conclusion

As a whole, then, the importance of *TC* for this study lies in the presence of classical literary parallels to all three *contes* and perhaps more significantly in its status as a mythical node. Bart and Cook (*op.cit.*, p.97) attribute Flaubert's achievement in 'La Légende de saint Julien l'hospitalier' to

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116 "piled up there, a precipice of sea hung. One vessel was poised on a wave crest; for another the waters, collapsing, showed sea-bottom in the trough" (*ibid.*).

117 "three times the vessel is twirled around by the wave" (*ibid.*).

"the way he went about writing... his use of sources whose distant roots are in universal narrative habits (we have called these habits folklore)". The observation applies equally to 'Hérodias', and arguably to the whole work: like *TSA*, but even more densely for its length, it subsumes classical - and medieval - myths, sometimes using identifiable literary sources, sometimes not, and retells them. To limit one's appreciation of this process to the retelling of only one myth is an error; Flaubert was concerned with the essential equivalence of many different myths and traditions - pagan and Christian, ancient, medieval and modern.

'Hérodias' assumes greater significance in that it is the only rival in Flaubert's work to *Salammbô* in terms of classical-based research; Flaubert's use not only of Josephus, but also of Suetonius, Tacitus and Petronius indicates reading for this work at least as intensive as for *Salammbô*. By no means are all the benefits of this research apparent to the casual reader.

TC has been considered a summary of all Flaubert's previous works - a status all the more seemingly apposite given that it was the last of Flaubert's writings to be published during his lifetime. Since Flaubert, naturally, did not himself know this was the case, any such definition must be treated cautiously; however, it is true that, in terms of Flaubert's use of myth, history and classical literature in general, it well epitomizes his attitude towards antiquity.

(iii) *Bouvard et Pécuchet*

Similar caution is necessary in considering *Bouvard et Pécuchet*; given its status as Flaubert's last written work, it is tempting to see it as his deliberate

terminus ad quem, a summary of his works and themes. Admittedly, the view has some validity: Neefs and Mouchard (*op.cit.*, p.104) cite a letter to Sand of February 1876, where Flaubert, referring to *BeP*, writes: "les difficultés d'un pareil livre m'épouvantent. Et pourtant je ne voudrais pas mourir avant de l'avoir fait, car en définitive, c'est mon testament" (letter 2734, [18th February 1876]). However, such portentous declarations are not unusual in Flaubert's correspondence; one could doubtless make an equally valid case, based on his own pronouncements, for seeing most of his adult works as 'central', at least in view of their lengthy gestation and consistent fascination for Flaubert - *TSA* and 'Saint Julien' would be persuasive candidates. It would seem more valuable to regard *BeP*, at least for our purposes, as a continuation of Flaubert's previous preoccupations, strongly and inevitably influenced by *TC*, the work whose composition interrupted its own.

Given this status, it is unsurprising that Bouvard and Pécuchet's reading material - that is, the documents which the characters themselves investigate - includes a fair amount of classically-influenced or -related material; however, an important point arises here. René Descharmes, in his influential 1921 study of the novel[118], states correctly that,

> "le problème des *sources livresques et documentaires* de *Bouvard et Pécuchet* n'est pas tout à fait le même que celui des *origines* proprement dites du roman, et ne doit pas être confondu avec lui" (p.89; the italics are the author's).

What Descharmes terms the *sources* of *BeP* are principally works Flaubert read with a view to making his two heroes read them; and here a number of

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[118] *Autour de* Bouvard et Pécuchet*: études documentaires et critiques*, Paris, Librairie de France, 1921.

limitations apply. We have no evidence in the novel that either Bouvard or Pécuchet is readily capable of reading Latin, let alone Greek; it follows that the only direct acquaintance they can have with the classics is through translations - a limitation which already contrasts them strongly, at least where Latin is concerned, with Flaubert. The only direct reference in *BeP* to a classical translation occurs on p.239 of *OC*II, where among the works Pécuchet sweeps aside in his search for Beaufort's work on Roman history are "des traductions d'Horace"[119]. Descharmes' appendix enumerating Flaubert's borrowings from libraries during the novel's composition mentions only two classical works, in each case with translations: a volume of four works on poetics - by Aristotle, Horace, Vida and Despréaux - borrowed for nine days from the Bibliothèque Nationale in February 1873; and the complete works of Petronius, Apuleius and Aulus Gellius, borrowed for two months from Rouen's *bibliothèque municipale* early in 1880. While it is conceivable that any of these authors may have been on Bouvard and Pécuchet's 'reading list', and while there is, as we shall see, strong evidence for influence by Apuleius at least as an *origine* of the work, in Descharmes' terms, there is little if any concrete evidence in the novel that the major characters knew any of these authors. Generally speaking, then, most overt allusions to classical authors in the work refer to their rôle in other, mediating texts, not their use as direct source material. Their importance for this study is thus secondary.

Nevertheless, such references are quite frequent in *BeP*, and the fact of their presence may be significant. For example, the above-mentioned

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119 Bouvard and Pécuchet's possession of these works likens them to one of Flaubert's earliest creations, Mathurin - see above, p.102.

"ouvrage de Beaufort sur l'histoire romaine" is said to refer to Livy[120], Sallust, Fabius Pictor and Seneca, among others; La Mothe le Vayer (*OC*II, pp.239-40) is then said to refer to Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, Herodotus and Julius Cæsar[121]. In the same section, dealing with history, Tacitus also features - "on est reconnaissant à Tacite d'avoir déchiré Tibère" (p.239) - in a clear reference to *Annals* 4. Rather differently, on page 260, Bouvard, speaking of women, says, "J'en ai connu qui, sous l'apparence de saintes, étaient de véritables Messalines!"[122]. Later, either Bouvard or Pécuchet asks the unattributed rhetorical question, "«Qu'y a-t-il de commun entre le plaisir d'Archimède trouvant les lois de la pesanteur et la volupté immonde d'Apicius dévorant une hure de sanglier!»" (p.271). Archimedes is a well-known figure, Apicius less so; Juvenal mentions him (*Satires* 4.23) as the type of a glutton, and Tacitus (*Annals* 4.3) in connection with unsavoury rumours surrounding the youth of Sejanus. Flaubert, of course, knew both writers; it is unlikely, however, that Bouvard or Pécuchet did, and it may well be intended that most or all such references derive from their reading of historical or documentary works rather than to the classical authors in the original or in translation. They nonetheless contribute to a classical flavour in the novel, shared with most of Flaubert's works.

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120 "Tite Live attribue la fondation de Rome à Romulus" (*OC*II, p.239) - a clear reference to book one of Livy's *History*.

121 The references to Celtic archæology, pp.236-7, however, seem to owe little if anything to Cæsar's *Gallic war*; some of them actually contradict Cæsar's information.

122 It is interesting to note that, in a letter of this period (letter 2806, [Croisset, 3rd July or August 1876]), Flaubert himself jocularly dubs his niece's dog "une véritable Messaline".

It seems probable that much of the classical reference within *BeP* is intended as an ironic attack upon bourgeois misappropriation of the classics, one of Flaubert's favourite targets, it has been argued (see above, pp.228-35, 338-40, 392-4), most apparent in the *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*. The typical position he attacks is exemplified when Bouvard enumerates various critical considerations of great writers, including several of Flaubert's favourites:

> " Et il lut une note qui lui avait demandé bien des recherches.
> «Bouhours accuse Tacite de n'avoir pas la simplicité que réclame l'Histoire.
> «M.Droz, un professeur, blâme Shakespeare pour son mélange du sérieux et du bouffon... Blair, Anglais, déplore dans Virgile le tableau des Harpies. Marmontel gémit sur les licences d'Homère. Lamotte n'admet point l'immoralité de ses héros. Vida[123] s'indigne de ses comparaisons...»" (*OC*II, p.248).

This attitude is comparable to that criticized by Flaubert in various contemporary letters, such as one of 1874 (see above, p.72) attacking Sacy, who "m'a déclaré qu'il n'avait jamais lu Lucrèce (sic) ni Pétrone". Overall, bourgeois classical allusion in *BeP* is incomplete or inappropriate; on *OC*II, page 267, Marescot glibly refers to "la Pythie de Delphes" while discussing premonitions; on page 283, Jeufroy alludes to "le témoignage des Sibylles «dont le fond est véritable»"; and the commonplaces of ancient history which Pécuchet attempts to drum into Victor and Victorine properly belong in the *Dictionnaire*:

> "Il y a pour la grecque: «Nous combattrons à l'ombre»; l'envieux qui bannit Aristide, et la confiance d'Alexandre en son médecin. Pour la romaine: les oies du Capitole, le trépied de Scévola, le tonneau de Régulus..." (p.292).

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[123] See above, p.401 for Flaubert's borrowing of Vida's work on poetics in 1873.

Most such references cannot, naturally, be taken to imply a specific borrowing by Flaubert; however, there is one interesting exception. On page 283, Jeufroy (presumably - the passage is in *style indirect libre*, but can fairly safely be attributed to him) defends the book of Isaiah against charges of immodesty:

> "Isaïe ne se dépouilla pas complètement, *nudus*, en latin, signifiant nu jusqu'aux hanches; ainsi Virgile conseille de se mettre nu pour labourer, et cet écrivain n'eût pas donné un précepte contraire à la pudeur!".

This rather disingenuous argument relies on *Georgics* 1.299, where Virgil, in his advice to farmers, does indeed write, "nudus ara, sere nudus"[124]. Various interpretations of this phrase have been attempted; as Day Lewis' translation implies, one is that farmers should plough and sow in hot weather, hence lightly dressed; another is that, although the implication is indeed that these activities should take place in summer, *nudus* suggests a greater degree of nudity than "in shirt sleeves" - the commentator Page[125] states that the phrase is a translation of Hesiod and should be taken almost literally. Flaubert may here be placing in Jeufroy's mouth what he considered a foolish gloss on *nudus*, found in an edition of the *Georgics*. Further evidence that a reading of that work may have influenced Flaubert's composition of *BeP* occurs on page 256, where Bouvard or Pécuchet exclaims that "Les abeilles prouvent la monarchie!" - a central theme of book four of the *Georgics*. Whether or not this is so, however, the main point stands: the classics feature quite strongly

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[124] "Plough and sow in the warm months, in your shirt-sleeves" (trans. Day Lewis) - Day Lewis's translation is extremely interpretative, the Latin's superficial meaning being simply "plough naked, sow naked".

[125] *P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica et Georgica*, London, Macmillan, 1963.

among the works misread or misused by Bouvard and Pécuchet's sources or their marginally more educated contemporaries.

Less evidently than direct classical references within the text, *BeP* arguably incorporates ideas or images from numerous other works - what Descharmes would term the book's *origines* rather than its *sources*. Although the work's *origines* can and do include non-classical works - Kempf[126] suggests *Candide* - there is evidence that classical works and myths constitute a substantial proportion of them - offering thereby some continuity with other works. Lalonde, in his article '*Bouvard et Pécuchet*, poème bucolique'[127], argues that the novel imitates and parodies the pastoral genre (thereby associating it with Theocritus' *Idylls* - another work Flaubert knew - and with Virgil's other non-epic composition, the *Eclogues*), citing its very title as evidence:

> "le titre... évoque par sa forme (deux noms propres unis par un 'et'), inusitée au dix-neuvième siècle, les titres de certains *romans grecs* (*Daphnis et Chloé*...), par lesquels les motifs hérités de la pastorale théocritienne ont été transposés dans la technique alors nouvelle du roman..." (*op.cit*, p.159).

Lalonde suggests two scenes - the visit to Faverges' farm and Pécuchet's wanderings with Victor in search of landscapes to paint - which contain bucolic elements (broadly speaking he is correct, but it is virtually impossible to associate them with specific texts). He also shares Mouchard's and Neefs' opinion (*op.cit.*, p.335) on the Latin connotations of Bouvard's and Pécuchet's names:

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126 *Bouvard, Flaubert et Pécuchet*, Paris, Bernard Grasset, 1990.

127 *French Studies*, 49, 2 (April 1995), pp.155-63.

> "les noms 'Bouvard' et 'Pécuchet' sont manifestement forgés sur des racines liées à celles du mot 'bœuf' (du latin *bos*, *bovem*) et de pécore (du latin *pecus*, signifiant 'tête de bétail')" (p.159).

As with most of Lalonde's arguments, this suggestion is true up to a point; however, one should recall that Flaubert's original choice for Bouvard's name was the less patently bucolic 'Dumolard', abandoned only after he discovered it had already been used. Generally, Lalonde makes a good case for a degree of probably subconscious pastoral influence in *BeP*, but fails to identify any specific classical *origines* for the work.

Lalonde is correct, of course, in comparing *BeP* to *Paul et Virginie*, and especially in assimilating it in this respect to 'Un Cœur Simple', with both M^me^ Aubain's children in the *conte* and Victor and Victorine in the novel paralleling Saint-Pierre's central characters. Indeed, some of the *origines* of *BeP* are, unsurprisingly, shared with *TC*, whose composition interrupted the novel's. For example, the *Odyssey*, which has been considered a key text for 'Saint Julien', is introduced as a theme in *BeP* by the *bahut* (*OC*II, p.232) (one of the scenes depicted on it is "Circé et ses pourceaux"); Queneau[128] considers it central to the work:

> "*Bouvard et Pécuchet* est une *Odyssée*, madame Bordin et Mélie sont les Calypso de cette errance à travers la Méditerranée du savoir et la copie finale est l'Ithaque où, après avoir massacré tous les prétendants, ils font avec un enthousiasme plein de sagesse l'élevage des huîtres perlières de la bêtise humaine" (p.116).

The myth of Philemon and Baucis too, arguably glimpsed in 'Un Cœur Simple' (see above, pp.371-3), may re-emerge in the description of the Gouys' run-down farm in chapter 2 of *BeP*, although it is harder to find specific parallels

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128 '*Bouvard et Pécuchet*', in *Bâtons, chiffres et lettres*, Paris, Gallimard, 1965.

with Ovid's version of the myth in the novel than in the *conte*. Conceivably *père* Gouy's admittedly idiomatic statement that "il se portait toujours comme un chêne" (*OC*II, p.293) could be read as a subtle allusion to Philemon's and Baucis' metamorphosis into trees; and it is interesting that Kempf cites the myth almost gratuitously, in discussing the Chavignollais' view of the novel's heroes:

> "D'aucuns caressaient-ils l'espoir que les deux trublions s'assagiraient avec l'âge - ou plutôt le grand âge - , muets, un jour, dans leur verger, comme les Philémon et Baucis de l'amitié?" (*op.cit.*, p.200).

There is little evidence for more than limited influence in the novel from this myth, but it is quite likely that any allusions to it in 'Un Cœur Simple' led Flaubert to incorporate it subconsciously in *Bouvard*.

Such continuity between *TC* and *BeP* is certainly visible elsewhere. On page 257, for instance, Bouvard cites the Essenes, among others, as an example in a political argument[129]. Petronius, also an influence on 'Hérodias' (see above, pp.390-4) is arguably visible in the *cadavre* episode of the novel[130]. It has been argued, convincingly, that the heroes' sight of a dog's corpse, which awakens in them thoughts of suicide, is influenced by Baudelaire's poem 'Une Charogne' in *Les Fleurs du mal*[131]. The main point,

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129 Although it should be noted that Flaubert's interest in the Essenes dated to before the composition of 'Hérodias': la Vatnaz similarly cites them as an example in *ES*II, with "les frères Moraves" and "les Jésuites de Paraguay", whom Pécuchet also mentions (*OC*II, p.121). However, Phanuel's rôle in 'Hérodias' may well have reminded Flaubert of them.

130 Coincidentally, Petronius' *Satyricon* is among the works Queneau (*op.cit.*) classifies with *BeP* as an *Odyssey* (as opposed to an *Iliad*: he argues that all great works are one or the other).

131 Constance West, 'Flaubert and Baudelaire: an echo of *Une Charogne* in *Bouvard et Pécuchet*?', *Modern Languages Review*, 55, 3 (July 1960), pp.417-8.

however, where Flaubert differs from Baudelaire is in the precise philosophical reaction to the corpse: Pécuchet exclaims, "*Nous* serons un jour comme ça!" (p.275), whereas Baudelaire limits his consideration to his mistress' mortality - "Et pourtant *vous* serez semblable à cette ordure". Pécuchet's thought, in its inclusiveness, is in fact closer to Trimalchio's in the *Cena Trimalchionis*; in his pseudo-philosophical ramblings (see above, p.392), he produces a model of a skeleton, proclaiming, "sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet Orcus"[132] (34.10). Again, the similarity is limited, but may provide some evidence of continuity; this is clearest, however, with major authors.

Ovid, of course, is the likeliest source of any reference in *BeP* or *TC* to Philemon and Baucis, and certainly influences several 'nymph' allusions in 'Hérodias' (see p.370). It was suggested that Salome's dance in that work contains allusions to the story of the nymph Echo; the novel contains a passage which stylistically closely resembles Ovid's version of that myth. When Bouvard and Pécuchet discover an echo in their garden, Flaubert transcribes their testing of it thus:

> "Bouvard, qui était sur le perron, cria de loin:
> - Ici! on voit mieux!
> - Voit mieux, fut répété dans l'air.
> Pécuchet répondit:
> - J'y vais!
> - Y vais!
> -Tiens, un écho!
> - Echo!" (*OC*II, p.215)

In Ovid's account of the nymph Echo's pursuit of Narcissus, her repetition of his words is similarly textually quoted in *Metamorphoses* 3:

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[132] "So we shall all be after the world below takes us away" (trans. Heseltine).

"dixerat, 'ecquis adest?' et 'adest' responderat Echo" (380);

"'huc coeamus', ait, nullique libentius umquam
responsura sono 'coeamus' rettulit Echo"[133] (386-7).

The similarity, as previously with Ovid, is reinforced by another reference earlier in chapter 2: the heroes' discovery in their garden of the "dame en plâtre", "la tête sur l'épaule, comme craignant d'être surprise" (p.208), is yet another instance of Flaubert's almost obsessive imitation of the Acteon myth from the same book of the *Metamorphoses* (see above, pp.187-96, 351-2, 362-4). The myth is recalled partly through the topos of a woman surprised in a delicate situation; specifically, the position of the *dame*'s head resembles that of Diana in Flaubert's 1848 and 1856 versions of *TSA* - "Elle marche en regardant derrière" - and in Ovid's version of the myth - "oraque retro / flexit"[134] (187-8). It seems that the burlesque of the *dame en plâtre* episode is yet another allusion to the Acteon story, here in a devalued, modern setting.

Apuleius' *Golden ass* has also been posited as an important source for elements of Salome's dance, and other sections of 'Hérodias' (see pp.366-9). We have seen (p.401) that Flaubert borrowed Apuleius' complete works from Rouen library in 1880 - although he unquestionably knew the author well already - and it is apparently central to a specific episode of *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, although the relevant section of the *Golden ass* is not, as in 'Hérodias", the Cupid and Psyche subplot. The episode involved is Pécuchet's brief affair with the maid Mélie. The girl's name is itself suggestive:

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[133] "[Narcissus] had said, 'Is there anybody here?' and, 'Here', Echo had replied"; "'Here, let us come together', he said and Echo, who would never respond more willingly to any sound, replied, 'Let us come together'" (trans. Hill).

[134] "and bent her head back" (*ibid.*).

it closely resembles μέλι and *mel*, the Greek and Latin words for 'honey', and may imply that Mélie represents something of a honeyed trap for Pécuchet[135]. This possibility is strongly reinforced by the fact that in the *Golden ass*, during Lucius, the hero's, affair with Photis[136] - another maidservant - a similar image recurs: at one stage, Photis flirtatiously warns Lucius, "cave ne nima mellis dulcedine diutinam bilis amaritudinem contrahas"[137] (2.10); shortly afterwards, she kisses him "occursantis linguæ illisu nectareo"[138] (*ibid.*); later, Lucius addresses her as "mea mellitula"[139] (3.22).

Thus far, the resemblance of the two affairs - Pécuchet's and Mélie's, Lucius' and Photis' - rests only on linguistic coincidence. However, they also share a striking resemblance of incident. Pécuchet is first attracted to Mélie as she performs a household task revealing part of her anatomy:

> "Mélie, dans la cour, tirait de l'eau.
> La pompe en bois avait un long levier. Pour le faire descendre, elle courbait les reins, et on voyait alors ses bas bleus jusqu'à la hauteur de son mollet. Puis, d'un geste rapide, elle levait son bras droit, tandis qu'elle tournait un peu la tête" (*OC*II, pp.258-9).

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135 Addison (*op.cit.*) suggests a range of explanations for Mélie's name, some connected with the goddess Demeter. As she concludes, "*Mélie* is something of a hold-all name" (p.260). None of her theories discounts the connection I have suggested.

136 It is perhaps stretching a point to suggest that the same applies to her (otherwise unattested) name as to Mélie's - 'Photis' is related to Greek φῶς, 'light', and arguably labels its owner a dangerous flame to which Lucius is attracted like a moth. Balancing this possibility is the fact that Lucius' name, which suggests the Latin *lux*, 'light', is recognized to parallel Photis'.

137 "Be careful not to catch a chronic case of bitter indigestion from eating too much sweet honey" (trans. Hanson).

138 "her tongue darting against mine with a touch like nectar" (*ibid.*).

139 "my little honey" (*ibid.*).

This strongly resembles the passage in Apuleius where Lucius is impelled to seduce Mélie (although, unlike Pécuchet, he has already decided to do so) upon seeing her preparing a meal:

> "suis parabat viscus fartim concisum et pulpam frustatim consectam, ambacupascuæ iurulenta et. quod naribus iam inde hariolabar, tuccetum perquam sapidissimum. ipsa linea tunica mundule amicta et russea fasceola prænitente altiuscule sub ipsas papillas succinctula, illud cibarium vasculum floridis palmulis rotabat in circulum, et in orbis flexibus crebra succutiens et simul membra sua leniter illubricans, lumbis sensim vibrantibus, spinam mobilem quatiens placide decenter undabat."[140] (2.7).

Apuleius' description is much more suggestive than Flaubert's, but basic similarities exist: the revealing household task, described in detail, recurs in both passages - and although the two tasks are different, Pécuchet does subsequently enjoy the sight of Mélie carrying out a similar chore: "soit qu'elle balayât le corridor, ou qu'elle étendît le linge, *ou qu'elle tournât les casseroles*, il ne pouvait se rassasier du bonheur de la voir" (*OC*II, p.260) (my italics). Indeed, an element of voyeurism features in both affairs: the sight of the woman produces similar reactions in Pécuchet and Lucius - the former, "en la regardant, sentait... un plaisir infini" (p.259), the latter, "isto aspectu defixus obstipui[t] et mirabundus steti[t]"[141] (2.7). Beyond the pleasure of seeing, too, Mélie's effect upon Pécuchet resembles Photis' upon Lucius:

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[140] "She was fixing pork innards cut up for stuffing and meat sliced into pieces... juicy and, as I had already divined with my nostrils, an utterly delicious sausage. She herself was neatly dressed in a linen tunic and had a dainty, bright red band tied up under her breasts. She was turning the cooking-pot round and round with her flower-like hands, and she kept shaking it with a circular motion, at the same time smoothly sliding her own body, gently wiggling her hips, softly shaking her supple spine, beautifully rippling" (*ibid.*).

[141] "[he] was transfixed by the sight, utterly stunned. [He] stood in amazement" (*ibid.*). The formula "isto aspectu defixus obstipui" has a pseudo-epic ring to it, recalling Virgilian phrases like "obstipuit primo aspectu" (*Æneid* 1.613).

Photis warns Lucius that, "si te vel modice meus igniculus afflaverit, ureris intime"[142] (*ibid.*); Mélie inspires a similarly fevered reaction in Pécuchet - "Il en avait les fièvres et les langueurs" (*OC*II, p.260). Similarities of detail also exist between the two works: just as Mélie, drawing water from the well, "tournait un peu la tête", so too does Photis, flirting with Lucius, "in me respexit" (2.8) and "cervicem intorsit"[143] (2.10).

The relationships themselves are very different: Lucius and Photis, unlike Pécuchet, are sexually experienced (Mélie, of course, is more experienced than she seems). Some parallels do exist, nevertheless, in specific matters of detail: the man in each case, at some stage, plants a kiss in the same place - "Un soir, [Pécuchet] toucha des lèvres les cheveux follets de sa nuque" (*OC*II, p.260); "pronus in eam, qua fine summum cacumen capillus ascendit, mellitissimum [again, the honey-topos occurs] illud savium impressi"[144] (2.10). In both texts, the woman at some stage returns a kiss: "Elle lui rendit son baiser" (*OC*II, p.260); "cum dicto artius eam complexus cœpi saviari. iamque æmula libidine..."[145] (2.10). As might be expected, Pécuchet's seduction of Mélie little resembles Lucius' and Photis' sexual gymnastics - it is tempting to consider their affair, like Emma Bovary's and

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142 "if my little flame should blow against you even slightly, you will burn deep inside" (*ibid.*).

143 "looked round at me" and "twisted her neck" (*ibid.*).

144 "[I] planted that most delicious [lit. honeyed] of kisses on the spot where her hair rose towards the top of her neck" (*ibid.*).

145 "with that I held her tight and began to kiss her. Her ardour now began to rival my own" (*ibid.*).

Rodolphe's, a modern, devalued version of a classical original - and it may be significant that, whereas *before* his seduction, Lucius is "respiciens præministrantem Photidem"[146] (2.11), *after* Pécuchet's and Mélie's tryst, at table, "Pécuchet tournait les yeux, pour éviter les siens" (*OC*II, p.261). A final parallel may lie in the unfortunate consequences of each affair: while Pécuchet's *fructus belli* is a bout of venereal disease, it is a mistake committed by Photis that occasions Lucius' transformation into an ass. This, too, may mark Pécuchet's and Mélie's affair as a prosaic, modern rewriting of a classical original; certainly Apuleius has again affected a work of Flaubert's.

Another classical writer who apparently influenced both *TC* and *BeP* is Lucretius - it will be remembered that Jonathas inappropriately quoted his *De rerum natura* in 'Hérodias' (see above, pp.392-4). Some caution is required concerning this connection. The passage where most allusions to Lucretius occur is in the novel's eighth chapter, during a discussion of the nature of the soul, and Flaubert writes that Bouvard, in whose mouth most Lucretian references are placed, "tirait ses arguments de la Mettrie, de Locke, d'Helvétius" (*OC*II, p.270). Although it cannot be excluded, there is no evidence that Flaubert intended either of his heroes to be conversant with Lucretius; very probably they could not be so conversant, in the original at least. Flaubert, however, certainly was; Lucretius may have been on his mind at one stage at least of the composition of *BeP*, as he mentions him in a letter of June 1874 (see above, p.72); and besides the reference in 'Hérodias', he seems to have alluded to the writer - and especially book three of *De rerum*

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[146] "turning around to look at Photis serving" (*ibid.*).

natura - in several youthful works (see pp.86-7, 141-2). Certainly in a passage on the subject of the soul, it is natural that book three should occur to Flaubert, perhaps unconsciously, familiar as he was with it; Lucretius seems thus to be an *origine* rather than a *source* of *BeP*.

Several of Bouvard's statements in his discussion with Pécuchet sound extremely Lucretian. Contradicting Pécuchet's assertion that "l'âme est immatérielle" (*OC*II, p.270), he points out that "la folie, la chloroforme, une saignée la bouleversent" (*ibid.*). Lucretius likewise believes "naturam animi et animai / corpoream... esse"[147] (*DRN* 3.161-2), and, arguing for the soul's consequent mortality, adduces its susceptibility to physical disease - "quin etiam morbis in corporis avius errat / sæpe animus"[148] (3.463-4) - and specifically to the influence of alcohol and epilepsy, in similar terms to Bouvard's:

> "quin etiam subito vi morbi sæpe coactus
> ante oculos aliquis nostros, ut fulminis ictu,
> concidit et spumas agit..."[149] (487-9).

Bouvard later contends that, given the changes which occur in the mind in the course of a lifetime, it cannot be an unchanging entity: "Si l'âme était simple, répliqua Bouvard, le nouveau-né se rappellerait, imaginerait comme l'adulte. La pensée, au contraire, suit le développement du cerveau" (*OC*II, p.270). Lucretius also argues that the new-born mind is weak, and seems to develop:

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147 "the nature of mind and soul is bodily" (trans. Bailey).

148 "Nay more, during the diseases of the body the mind often wanders astray" (*ibid.*).

149 "Nay more, some man, often before our very eyes, seized suddenly by violent disease, falls, as though by a lightning-stroke, and foams at the mouth; he groans and shivers throughout his frame" (*ibid.*).

"nam velut infirmo pueri teneroque vagantur
corpore, sic animi sequitur sententia tenvis"[150] (447-8);

later, making a slightly different point - that metempsychosis is an absurdity - he uses similar arguments:

" tamen quæram cur e sapienti
stulta queant fieri, nec prudens sit puer ullus...
nec tam doctus equæ pullus quam fortis equi vis?"[151]
(761-2, 764).

Again, when Bouvard argues that the mind's indivisibility does not prove immortality - "Quant à être indivisible, le parfum d'une rose ou l'appétit d'un loup, pas plus qu'une volition ou qu'une affirmation, ne se coupent en deux" (*OC*II, p.270) - he echoes Lucretius' arguments in discussing the soul's physical attributes. Lucretius too uses the example of smell in claiming that, although physical, the soul consists of very small atoms, since the body is no smaller after its departure at the moment of death,

"quod genus est Bacchi cum flos evanuit, aut cum
spiritus unguenti suavis diffugit in auras,
aut aliquo cum iam sucus de corpore cessit"[152] (221-3).

Similarly, Bouvard's assertion that, "Ayant eu un commencement, notre âme doit finir, et dépendante des organes, disparaître avec eux" (*OC*II, p.270), has a similar tone to Lucretius' claim that,

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150 "For as children totter with feeble and tender body, so a weak judgement of mind goes with it" (*ibid.*).

151 "still I will ask why a soul can become foolish after being wise, why no child has reason... why the mare's foal is not as well-trained as the bold strength of a horse" (*ibid.*) - Lucretius' point is that, if metempsychosis does take place, the experience of previous lives should be available to the new-born.

152 "Even so it is, when the flavour of wine has passed away or when the sweet breath of a perfume is scattered to the air, or when its savour has gone from some body" (*ibid.*).

"quapropter neque natali privata videtur
esse die natura nec funeris expers"[153] (711-2).

As for the soul's dependence upon the physical organs, Lucretius reiterates this several times during book three; for example:

"crede animam quoque diffundi multoque perire
ocius et citius dissolvi in corpora prima,
cum semel ex hominis membris ablata recessit"[154] (437-9).

At the end of chapter 8, Bouvard and Pécuchet contemplate suicide. As they contemplate the nothingness of death, the *idée reçue*, attributed to neither, that "le Néant qui est devant nous n'a rien de plus affreux que le Néant qui se trouve derrière" (*OC*II, p.276), is in effect a summary of lines 832-42 of *De rerum natura* 3:

"velut anteacto nil tempore sensimus ægri...
sic, ubi non erimus...
scilicet haud nobis quicquam, qui non erimus tum,
accidere omnino poterit sensumque movere"[155]
(832, 838, 840-1).

Interestingly - and perhaps with intentional irony - in the same passage, the heroes' reflection, "Où est le mal de rejeter un fardeau qui vous écrase? et de commettre une action ne nuisant à personne? Si elle offensait Dieu, aurions-nous ce pouvoir?" (*OC*II, p.276), has a highly Stoic - as opposed to Epicurean - tone; specifically, it sounds similar to pronouncements of Seneca's such as,

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153 "Wherefore it is seen that the nature of the soul is neither without a birthday nor exempt from death" (*ibid.*).

154 "you must believe that the soul too is scattered and passes away far more swiftly, and is dissolved more quickly into its first-bodies, when once it is withdrawn from a man's limbs, and has departed" (*ibid.*).

155 "And even as in the time gone by we felt no ill... so, when we shall be no more... you may know that nothing at all will be able to happen to us, who then will be no more, or stir our feeling: no, not if earth shall be mingled with sea, and sea with sky" (*ibid.*).

"nil melius æterna lex fecit, quam unum introitum nobis ad vitam dedit, exitus multos"[156] (*Epistulæ morales* 70.14). However, the resemblance is somewhat vague, and, although Flaubert seems to have known Seneca's work, the evidence for influence here is equivocal; that for some Lucretian influence upon Bouvard and Pécuchet's philosophical speculation, on the other hand, seems quite persuasive.

We have seen (above, pp.395-8) that there is some apparent Virgilian influence in *TC*, albeit less extensive than in *MB* or *Salammbô*, and that parts of *BeP* provide rare evidence that Flaubert may have known Virgil's *Georgics* (p.404). Overall, the situation in *BeP* is comparable to that in *TC*, although one part of the novel does appear to contain a near-systematic pattern of reference to the *Æneid*. Before investigating this, it is worth noting a few possible minor allusions to Virgil's works. Besides the hints of influence by the *Georgics*, Mélie becomes yet another avatar of Lucretia and/or the woman in the simile in *Æneid* 8.407-13 (see pp.344-6, 396). In the scene when she first appears, she is embroidering (*OC*II, p.232); and tellingly, on page 260, she, like Lucretia and Virgil's woman, works "à la clarté d'une chandelle". Whereas in *ES*II and 'Saint Julien' the use of this image is usually connected to an *idée reçue* implying a correlation between domestic laboriousness and chastity, we may safely assume that in Mélie's case, its use is ironic. Following their unfortunate experiences with the opposite sex, Bouvard and Pécuchet relieve their feelings concerning women by expressing "tous les lieux communs qu'elles ont fait répandre" (p.262). Among these is the notion that women

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156 "The best thing which eternal law ever ordained was that it allowed us one entrance into life, but many exits" (trans. Richard M. Gummere, Loeb edition, 1953).

share the "variété de la lune" (*ibid.*), a conceit echoing Mercury's aphoristic pronouncement in *Æneid* 4, "varium et mutabile semper / femina"[157] (569-70). Although the Virgilian provenance of Flaubert's *lieu commun* is uncertain, its possibility is perhaps increased by the similarity of *variété* and *varium*.

Most strikingly, however, in this respect, Flaubert seems in *BeP* to reprise, briefly, an affair - between Gorju and Madame Castillon - whose characteristics, like Emma's and Rodolphe's in *MB*, recall quite strongly the story of Dido and Æneas. Indeed, in at least one respect, the similarity goes further. When Pécuchet, in chapter 7, overhears the lovers' argument, Gorju, like Æneas but unlike Rodolphe, whose departure is unannounced, is threatening to leave: "laisse-moi tranquille! je dois partir!" (*OC*II, p.259). Madame Castillon at first begs him to stay - "Mais si tu es tué, mon amour! Oh! reste!" (*ibid.*) - on the grounds of the danger he faces in seeking to participate in the revolution; Dido tries to persuade Æneas to stay in markedly similar terms:

> "quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem
> et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum,
> crudelis?"[158] (4.309-11).

Madame Castillon subsequently changes tack, with a new proposition: "laisse-moi partir avec toi! je serai ta domestique!" (*ibid.*) - Dido too considers following her lover in a position of subservience: "Iliacas igitur classis atque

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[157] "Woman was ever a veering, weathercock creature" (trans. Day Lewis).

[158] "Now, in the dead of winter, to be getting your ships ready and hurrying to set sail when northerly gales are blowing, you heartless one!" (*ibid.*).

ultima Teucrum / iussa sequar?"[159] (537-8); and finally, just as Dido eventually curses the Trojans (625-9), she becomes hostile - "elle arracha la croix d'or qui pendait à son cou, et la jetant vers lui: - Tiens! canaille!" (*OC*II, p.260).

Were this the only similarity between the affair and its classical antecedent, it would not seem an especially striking case of classical influence. However, the elements Gorju's and Madame Castillon's affair shares with both Emma's and Rodolphe's and Dido's and Æneas' are quite numerous. For example, the characteristics of Gorju which attract Madame Castillon resemble those attracting Emma and Dido to their lovers: she tells him, "Du moment que je t'ai connu, tu m'as semblé beau comme un prince. J'aime tes yeux, ta voix, ta démarche, ton odeur!" (p.259). This recalls Emma's words to Rodolphe - "tu es mon roi, mon idole! tu es bon! tu es beau! tu es intelligent! tu es fort!" (*OC*I, p.639 - see above, p.249) - and her earlier fascination with his eyes and smell:

> "Elle distinguait dans ses yeux des petits rayons d'or, s'irradiant tout autour de ses pupilles noires, et mêmes elle sentait le parfum de la pommade qui lustrait sa chevelure" (*OC*II, p.624 - see above, pp.248-9).

Virtually all that is said of Emma's resemblance to Dido in her feelings for Rodolphe (above, pp.248-9) also applies to Madame Castillon here: like Emma and Dido, she is attracted "du moment que je t'ai connu" - "obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido"[160] (1.613) - and finds her lover's eyes especially alluring: Æneas, at his first encounter with Dido, has "lætos oculis...

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[159] "Well then, am I to follow the Trojans' fleet and bow to their lightest word?" (*ibid.*).

[160] "Sidonian Dido, amazed first by the man's appearance" (*ibid.*).

honores"[161] (1.591). It seems less likely that Madame Castillon is especially affected, as are Emma and Dido, by the scent of her lover's hair; but like both, she seems susceptible to his apparent heroic qualities - Dido, Virgil writes, "multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat / gentis honos"[162] (4.3-4) - although, of course, in Gorju's case, the element of breeding ("beau comme un prince") is illusory.

Besides her proposals noted above, other elements of Madame Castillon's pleas to Gorju recall Dido's arguments against Æneas. Just as she "lui rappela les premiers temps de leur amour" (*OC*II, p.259), so does Dido recall to Æneas the first day of their liaison, swearing "per coniubia nostra, per inceptos hymenæos"[163] (4.316). Significantly, Flaubert writes of Madame Castillon: "Elle songeait, la pauvre femme[164], à la vanité de ses sacrifices, les dettes qu'elle avait soldées, ses engagements d'avenir, *sa réputation perdue*" (p.259) (my italics). The last of these considerations does not occur to Emma (although the others do); but it does to Dido, who complains to Æneas:

> " te propter eundem
> exstinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,
> fama prior"[165] (4.321-3).

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[161] "a gallant light in[to] his eyes" (*ibid.*).

[162] "Much did she muse on the hero's nobility, and much on his family's fame" (*ibid.*).

[163] "by our union of hearts, by our marriage hardly begun" (*ibid.*).

[164] This appellation arguably recalls Virgil's frequent use of the phrase - sometimes in apostrophe - "infelix Dido", "unhappy Dido" (e.g. *Æneid* 4.68).

[165] "because of you I have lost my old reputation for faithfulness - the one thing that could have made me immortal" (trans. Day Lewis).

The similarity of idea here is quite striking. Overall, the similarities to the *Æneid* in *BeP* are neither as strong nor as extensive as in *MB*, but they do recall both that work and its intertext. Just as the Rodolphe episode of the earlier novel can (in one sense) be considered a rewriting of the story of Dido and Æneas, with Rodolphe as "a modern, devalued... Æneas" (above, p.270), so too does this brief scene extend the same process: Gorju is an utterly debased Æneas, who, unlike Rodolphe, makes absolutely no attempt - however insincere - to apologize for deserting his lover.

Although it was, of course, a long-term project of Flaubert's, this seems as good a point as any to consider the importance of Flaubert's *Dictionnaire des idées reçues* for his interest in the classics, it being most readily associated with *BeP*. The occasional classical quotations used in the *Dictionnaire* - always in Latin - are often traceable: thus the entry under 'Argent' - "*Auri sacra fames*"[166] (*OC*II, p.304) - is from *Æneid* 3.57, and that under 'Foule' - " «Turba ruit» ou «ruunt» "[167] (p.519, Folio edition of *BeP*, ed. Claudine Gothot-Mersch, 1979) - is a widespread Ovidian term, occuring, for example, in *Metamorphoses* 3.529, 716-7. Both Virgil and Ovid are also clearly alluded to in the *Dictionnaire*: Ovid under 'Métamorphoses' - "Rire du temps où on y croyait. - Ovide en est l'inventeur"[168] (*OC*II, p.311) - Virgil under 'Cygne' - "Le cygne de Mantoue, c'est Virgile" (p.306) - and, with several other

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[166] "this cursed craving for gold" (*ibid.*).

[167] In effect, "a/the throng rushed" (trans. Hill).

[168] It is perhaps significant that the 'narrator' of the *Dictionnaire* appears ignorant of the existence of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

ancient notables, under 'Parallèle' - "On ne doit choisir qu'entre les suivants: César et Pompée... Horace et Virgile" (Gothot-Mersch, p.545). Other classical writers whom Flaubert knew - Homer and Seneca, for instance - have their own entry.

Other than such direct allusions or unacknowledged quotations, it is hard, for our purposes, to make much of the *Dictionnaire*, thanks partly to its complex textual history, partly to the length of time covered by its composition. However, it seems safe to claim that it contains a degree of reference to the classics higher than might be expected and displays a high degree of glib ignorance of the classics - presumably imputed to a supposed modern bourgeois narrator. Entries such as the following -

> "ACHILLE Ajouter «aux pieds légers»; cela donne à croire qu'on a lu Homère" (Gothot-Mersch, p.486);
>
> "ANTIQUITÉ - et tout ce qui s'y rapporte: Est poncif, embêtant! etc." (*ibid.*, p.488);
>
> "DIANE Déesse de la chasse-teté" (*ibid.*, p.506) -

suggest both the importance of the classics to Flaubert and, concomitantly, his consistent disdain for the bourgeois view of the classics, which the *Dictionnaire* seemingly encapsulates, and which the rest of Flaubert's work apparently demonstrates.

In conclusion, then, there are few grounds for considering *BeP* a deliberate 'summary' of Flaubert's work; he was, after all, unaware that he would not live to complete it. However, the novel does represent a probably conscious reprise of many of Flaubert's regular themes - indeed, to such an extent that Flaubert's own *œuvre*, arguably, constitutes, in Descharmes' terms, both a kind of *source* (in its reference, for example, to the Essenes), and an

origine (for instance, in its apparent use of Emma's and Rodolphe's affair as an intertext for Madame Castillon's and Gorju's), making the novel a kind of *mise en abyme*. This applies as much to his classical themes and sources as to any other - notably, Virgil and Apuleius retain considerable importance. It seems fair to say, then, that, as in all Flaubert's adult works, the classics are, in *BeP*, a key *point de répère*.

Conclusion

We have seen that classical influence may be detected in practically all Flaubert's adult works. It remains to examine whether this aspect of Flaubert's writing singles him out from other nineteenth century writers and to assess the importance for his work of this area of influence.

(i) Flaubert and other writers of his time

We have seen, especially in chapter one of this study, that Flaubert's *Correspondance* and other unpublished works feature extensive theoretical considerations of classical antiquity and its literature which compensate for the lack of published theoretical writing (see, for example, pp.23-4, 53-4, 60-1, 68-9, 72-3 above). However, there is little evidence that Flaubert was particularly original in his ideas. It will be recalled from the first chapter[1] that Flaubert considered the rules of Greek drama less restrictive than those of *le grand siècle*. Similar attitudes were far from uncommon; Canat[2] quotes *Le Globe* in an article of 26th July 1827 thus: "Sophocle fait rentrer admirablement l'horreur dans le cadre de l'art" (*op.cit*, vol.II, p.131). He goes on to quote Villemain: "La véritable tragédie grecque ne diffère-t-elle pas infiniment de la tragédie française? Eschyle, Euripide même ne ressemblent-ils pas

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[1] Pp.49-50; Flaubert alludes to a scene of Sophocles' *Ajax* featuring slaughtered animals and disparagingly compares Racine's reputedly *hardi* use of dogs on stage, presumably in *Les Plaideurs*.

[2] *L'Hellénisme des Romantiques*, Paris, Marcel Didier, 1951-5.

quelquefois à Shakespeare?" (*ibid.*, p.134). The *aperçu*, shared by Flaubert, that, as Maynial (see above, p.79) has it, many classical writers were "des romantiques avant la lettre", was almost a commonplace of Romantic thought during Flaubert's formative years. To take another example, Canat again (*ibid.*, p.143) cites Janin's view of Aristophanes, who, he states, has "toute la grâce de l'invention, toute la verve intarissable, toute la chaleur hardie, pittoresque et railleuse qui font les poètes comiques"; the terms used are very close to Flaubert's in 1847 (see above, p.37), where he exclaims of Aristophanes in a letter, "Voilà qui est beau et verveux et bouillant".

Canat is doubtless correct to conclude, in a section specifically dedicated to Flaubert's views of Greece, that his speculations on antiquity, while perceptive, are unoriginal: "Nous connaissions tout cela déjà, et sur le fond des choses Flaubert n'apporte rien de bien neuf" (*op.cit.*, vol.III, p.134). It is no doubt significant that Canat considers Flaubert's artistic *credo* to echo that which writers of his time associated with Greece: as he puts it,

> "La Grèce sur ce point [that ideal art is simple] a confirmé, précisé, mûri certaines de ses aspirations et fait chanter le rêve de beauté que le visiteur [i.e. Flaubert during the *voyage en Orient*] avait apporté" (*ibid.*, p.135);
>
> "Flaubert, lui aussi, a réglé son esthétique sur celle des Grecs, il a poursuivi à leur image un réalisme plastique, serein, impersonnel, éternel, et il s'est plié, pour y réussir, à la discipline morale d'un paganisme toujours vivant, toujours jeune" (p.137).

It is true that Flaubert is apparently influenced by classical, or at least Greek æsthetics[3]; but in this, at this time, he is not especially unusual.

Flaubert is a man of his time in other respects, too. His translation,

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[3] Arguably Canat overemphasizes Flaubert's reliance on, specifically, Greek, as opposed to Latin artistry; but given his work's premise, this is unsurprising.

together with Du Camp, of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* in 1845-6 (see above, p.37) may be seen as part of an intellectual vogue - Canat refers to a number of translations of Greek authors in the 1840s (*op.cit.*, vol.III, p.31); and, of course, Flaubert's and Du Camp's journey in Greece in 1851 was similarly 'fashionable': writers including Quinet had also taken advantage of Greece's greater accessibility following independence. Broadly, then, Flaubert's attitude towards to the classics and his ideas on them seem to reflect those of other contemporary thinkers.

It remains to be seen in what respects he might be considered to differ from other writers. One distinguishing characteristic of Flaubert's experience of classical antiquity is the sheer breadth and extent of his knowledge. A recurring theme in Flaubert's work seems to be bourgeois ignorance of the classics (see above, pp.228-35, 338-40, 392-4, 403-4); this criticism seems to extend to his fellow intellectuals. It will be recalled that Flaubert criticized Sacy for not even knowing Petronius or Lucretius and that he appreciated Hugo's familiarity with Tacitus as a rarity (for both, see p.72); he was astounded at fellow-scholars' ignorance of Hippocrates (p.67) and considered knowledge even of Latin, let alone Greek, to be "chose rare aujourd'hui" (p.74). His attitude may be encapsulated in a quotation from a relatively early letter[4], to Louise Colet: "l'ignorance des gens de lettres est monstrueuse. *Melænis* a paru une œuvre érudite. Il n'y a pas un bachelier qui ne devrait savoir tout cela!". Such criticisms might be dismissed as typical examples of Flaubertian *mépris*, were it not that other contemporary writers seem to have

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[4] Letter 417, [Croisset, 24th April 1852].

diagnosed a similar ignorance. Canat quotes Sainte-Beuve several times to much the same effect. An article of 1845 concedes that "La littérature des Latins se répand, se divulgue; des entreprises utiles en rendent les accès de plus en plus faciles et patents; la difficulté n'est pas là" (*op.cit.*, vol.III, p.158) but goes on contrastingly to deplore contemporary ignorance of Greek literature, despite its superficial popularity. A wider condemnation is cited later in Canat's work:

> "En France, les personnes même instruites (hors du cercle de l'érudition) sont trop accoutumées à ne juger l'antiquité que sur quelques grands noms qui nous reviennent sans cesse, qu'on cite à tout propos et qu'on croit connaître" (*ibid.*, p.173).

The problem identified - not that the classics are completely unknown, but that knowledge of them extends little beyond a few famous texts - is very much that which exercises Flaubert. Canat himself appears to take it as read that the Greek language was little known, commenting at one point that, "cette musique tant recherchée, on ne la sent pas chez les Grecs puisqu'on ignore leur langue" (*op.cit.*, vol.I, p.273); this would make even Flaubert's shaky grasp of the language something of a rarity. It is interesting too that Canat states that Creuzer's work on mythology, with which Flaubert was very familiar, "n'est guère connu chez nous que de quelques érudits germanisants" (*ibid.*, p.161), at least in the 1820s.

Notwithstanding, it is not difficult to find contemporary writers whose knowledge and exploitation of classical antiquity may well exceed Flaubert's. Canat and Pierre Moreau, in their surveys of different types of 'Romantic classicism', stress Vigny's imitation of various classical writers. Moreau (*op.cit.*, p.275) suggests Sallust and Lucretius as sources used by Vigny;

Canat (*op.cit.*, vol.I, pp.289-93) emphasizes his expertise on Greek sculpture and language, speculates on influence by Æschylus and quotes Brizeux's assessment of him in 1829 as "un homme du Midi", "poète antique" (*ibid.*, p.293). Canat considers Lamartine strongly influenced by Plato, while Moreau is impressed by Hugo's classical erudition:

> "que de souvenirs grecs, latins, que de souvenirs du dix-septième siècle français, chez le Victor Hugo des *Contemplations* et de *la Légende*!... sa voix est celle d'Eschyle, de Juvénal, de Tacite. Virgile demeure le «maître chéri» incessamment cité, et Horace mignarde dans *Les Chansons des rues et des bois*"[5] (*op.cit.*, p.276).

Certainly there is no case for comparing Flaubert's use of classical antiquity to the overt imitation of a learned Parnassian such as Leconte de Lisle.

It may be more instructive to compare Flaubert's position in this respect with that of other nineteenth century novelists[6]. The case of Balzac seems to contrast strongly with that of Flaubert. Geneviève Delattre[7] enumerates all references, however minute, throughout Balzac's *œuvre*. to other writers. Admittedly, several relatively obscure writers of classical antiquity (whom Flaubert knew) are mentioned once - Epictetus, Persius and Plotinus for example - but relatively more accessible writers such as Seneca and

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[5] Interestingly, Canat considers Hugo, at least in his early career, to be more inclined towards Latin. At one point, having cited various classically-influenced comments by Hugo, he states: "Hugo, bien qu'il parle des anciens en général, vise et nomme les Latins, ses chers Latins, qu'il connaît et qu'il aime. D'emprunts aux Grecs, il n'est pas question" (*op.cit.*, vol.I, p.273). However, he does concede that Hugo's knowledge of Greek improved in the course of the 1830s.

[6] It is perhaps worth noting that we have already seen (above, p.425) that Canat devotes a section of his work to Flaubert (vol.III, pp.131-7); he does not do so with Balzac - who, indeed, is scarcely referred to - nor, despite frequent mentions of the writer in other respects, to Stendhal.

[7] *Les Opinions littéraires de Balzac*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1961.

Sophocles are also found once only; and Balzac's work, according to Delattre, fails to mention at all a number of important classical writers: Apuleius, Euripides, Hesiod and Livy for instance. Delattre's comments on the evidence she adduces of Balzac's classical reading are categorical: she considers even those writers to whom he does refer to be so well-known that they are "de simples réminiscences des études classiques faites au collège de Vendôme" (*op.cit.*, p.5) and concludes that, "Notre très nette impression est, quand il s'agit des grandes œuvres de l'Antiquité, que passé le temps des études, Balzac les a peu fréquentées" (*ibid.*). Furthermore, she condemns Balzac's unfavourable judgement of Greek art in his article *La Chine et les Chinois* as based on false premises: "Il est évident que Balzac connaît mal la littérature grecque et qu'il en juge injustement par les œuvres «classiques» françaises" (*ibid.*, p.7). This does not preclude some admiration by Balzac of the classics - Delattre concedes that,

> "Bien que Balzac puise peu dans Homère pour soutenir sa propre création, le poète grec reste en lui comme l'image du créateur qui «partage avec Dieu la fatigue ou le plaisir de coordonner les mondes»" (*ibid.*, p.6 - the quotation is from the preface to the second edition of *Le Père Goriot*).

Broadly, however, Balzac's position diverges markedly from Flaubert's, especially in view of the latter's lifelong interest, extended far beyond his schooldays, in antiquity.

Stendhal, in contrast, is in some ways closer to Flaubert; we have already seen that, unlike Balzac, he does merit some mention in Canat's work, as a theorist of Greek art and literature. However, one should bear in mind the circumstances of Stendhal's education, which differ markedly from Flaubert's.

Geoffrey Strickland[8] emphasizes the importance in Stendhal's early years of revolutionary dogma, especially in his attitude towards the Roman republic and literature associated with it; for instance, Strickland claims that, "His taste for Plutarch and for Roman virtue explains his early enthusiasm for the tragedies of Corneille and Alfieri" (*op.cit.*, p.20). Paradoxically, the education of the older writer has a more 'modern' veneer to it than Flaubert's - his exposure to mathematics in the 1790s contrasts markedly with Flaubert's experience. It should also be remembered that, even for some years after Stendhal's formal education, the intellectual environment strongly favoured familiarity with Latin over knowledge of Greek: Canat dubs the French Empire "à peu près exclusivement latin" (*op.cit.*, vol.I, p.13), later clarifying that: "les programmes d'études, depuis la réforme de l'an X, et malgré les adoucissements de septembre 1814, ont à peu près exilé le grec de notre enseignement" (*ibid.*, pp.77-8). Stendhal's own autobiography, *La Vie de Henry Brulard*[9] seems largely to bear these impressions out[10].

Stendhal's attitude towards classical texts varies according to the tutor who first introduced him to them. One important writer who consequently suffers is Virgil: the first mention of him in *Henry Brulard* occurs during the *tyrannie Raillane*:

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8 *Stendhal - The education of a novelist*, London, C.U.P., 1974.

9 Quotations from this work are from the 1973 Gallimard Folio edition.

10 The caution which one should exercise in approaching an autobiographical work in search of documentary evidence is even more than usually demanded in Stendhal's case, given his notorious lapses of memory and frequent deliberate inaccuracies. The broad picture established of his acquaintance with and attitude towards classical antiquity is, however, relatively consistent.

> "je traduisais Virgile, l'abbé m'exagérait les beautés de ce poète et j'accueillais ses louanges comme les pauvres Polonais d'aujourd'hui doivent accueillir les louanges de la bonhomie russe dans leurs gazettes vendues" (*op.cit.*, p.99).

One may suspect Stendhal of some exaggeration, but his attitude to Virgil is fairly consistent: towards the end of *Henry Brulard*, he comments that,

> "Virgile me faisait horreur au fond, comme protégé par [les] prêtres... Jamais, malgré tous les efforts de ma raison, Virgile ne s'est relevé pour moi des effets de cette mauvaise compagnie" (pp.386-7).

This does not preclude some knowledge of Virgil's works, and in fact Stendhal cites the *Æneid* several times in *Henry Brulard*[11]; nonetheless, his attitude is very different from Flaubert's.

Much the same is true of Stendhal's attitude towards Latin language and literature as a whole. The very fact of being taught Latin by Raillane was, he maintains, enough to instil a dislike for the subject; but the replacement of Raillane by the more amiable Durand brought about a change of heart: "Pour la première fois de ma vie, je compris qu'il pouvait être agréable de savoir le latin qui faisait ma supplice depuis tant d'années" (p.119). It follows that authors studied under Durand find more favour with Stendhal: he refers to readings of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*ibid.*), Sallust's *Jugurthine war* ("je goûtai fort Salluste" [p.226]) and Tacitus ("Je traduisais avec plaisir la *Vie d'Agricola* de Tacite, ce fut presque la première fois que le latin me causa quelque plaisir" [p.250]). Under the new regime, even Virgil is slightly rehabilitated: Stendhal writes that under Durand, "je traduisais avec plaisir Virgile ou les *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide" (pp.172-3). More extensive knowledge is owed to

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11 See, for example, *op.cit.* pp.159, 544; both quotations are brief and from the first two books of the *Æneid*.

Stendhal's grandfather: early in *Henry Brulard* we read,

> "Mon grand-père adorait la correspondance apocryphe d'Hippocrate, qu'il lisait en latin (quoiqu'il sût un peu de grec) et l'Horace de l'édition de Johannès Bond... Il me communiqua ces deux passions" (p.48).

Later, Stendhal writes, "mon excellent grand-père... me communiqua son culte pour Horace, Sophocle, Euripide et la littérature élégante" (p.114).

Despite these enthusiasms, Stendhal is given to denigrating his knowledge of Latin (as Flaubert sometimes does with his proficiency in Greek); he states at one point that, "[Durand] ne savait pas un mot de latin, mais ni moi non plus, et cela n'était pas fait pour nous brouiller" (p.116). Once again we may suspect a degree of exaggeration for effect. Perhaps more significant is the content of Stendhal's occasional enumerations of his favourite authors during his youth. He tells us at one point that,

> "Les auteurs qui me plaisaient alors à la folie furent Cervantès, *Don Quichotte*, et l'Arioste dans des traductions. Immédiatement après venait Rousseau... Je lisais avec délices les *Contes* de La Fontaine et *Félicia*" (p.259).

A few chapters later, Corneille, Shakespeare and Molière are added to the list (p.294). Although Flaubert, especially in his youth, also admired many of these writers, the absence of any classical writers from the list is quite striking and contrasts again with Flaubert. As was suggested above, caution is also appropriate in assessing Stendhal's literary knowledge from his autobiography: despite his claims that his grandfather inspired him with admiration for Sophocles, he later contradicts himself, mentioning that "le cours de M.Dubois" was useful, "me donnant une vue complète du champ littéraire et empêchant d'en exagérer *les parties inconnues* comme Sophocle..." (p.296) (my italics).

Stendhal's later position relative to classical antiquity is also ambivalent. Canat emphasizes several times his interest not only in Greece, but in antiquity as a whole, referring to "Stendhal qui rêve d'écrire une histoire de l'art chez les anciens" (*op.cit.*, vol.I, p.21) and later describing him as "depuis longtemps intéressé par la Grèce et que de récentes «promenades dans Rome» confirment dans cette attirance" (*ibid.*, vol.II, p.74); Stendhal appreciated Greek art, claims Canat, because it revealed to him "le Beau antique tel qu'il l'avait toujours imaginé" (*ibid.*). This does not prevent him from casting doubt on aspects of Stendhal's expertise; quite early in his work, he concedes that,

> "Stendhal helléniste ne nous est pas très familier. Qu'il ait suivi de près cette renaissance [of an interest in Greek art and literature], ses lettres de 1815 à 1825 en témoignent ainsi que les articles publiés dans le *Courrier anglais*. Ce n'est pas toujours un très bon juge"[12] (*ibid.*, vol.I, pp.139-40).

In some respects, Stendhal's views, like Flaubert's, coincide quite closely with the overall assessment of the classics at the time: Canat states that he admired Sophocles and Euripides as being "éminemment romantiques" (*ibid.*, p.267), which recalls Flaubert's view of at least some classical writers. Again like Flaubert, Stendhal not infrequently makes classical allusions in his written work - most especially in his works of literary criticism: *Racine et Shakespeare* contains numerous such allusions, to Aristophanes for instance; and Strickland (*op.cit.*, p.38) mentions an article for the *Paris Monthly Review* where Stendhal quotes Virgil's second *Eclogue*. Strickland, however, like Canat, seems to believe that Stendhal's interest in the classics was limited,

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12 cf. Delattre's opinion of Balzac's judgement (above, p.429).

pointing out that, "Despite his early republicanism and his fondness for Plutarch and Livy, Beyle did not become a classical historian" (*ibid.*, p.107). Overall, perhaps, although Stendhal's willingness to theorize about antiquity and its writers seems equal to Flaubert's, it is hard to detect erudition of the magnitude displayed in Flaubert's letters or such a degree of allusion to the classics in Stendhal's published fiction as we find in Flaubert's writings.

Broadly, Flaubert's conviction of his own comparative knowledgability and of the breadth of his acquaintance with works of classical antiquity seems to be justified, even relative to other well-known writers[13]. It is probably fair to accept that his knowledge of Greek and confidence in reading that language was inferior to his expertise in Latin (but was probably still superior to that of many of his contemporaries)[14]; this seems to have limited the scope for textual imitation of Greek writers, but not Flaubert's admiration for them. If we accept that Flaubert's knowledge of the classics outstripped that of comparable writers, how does this affect our appreciation of his art - does it alter our reading of his works?

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13 It will be recalled that writers such as Maupassant (see above, p.4) considered Flaubert to be exceptionally widely read.

14 It is interesting, although perhaps of doubtful significance, to note that Flaubert seems to have had a blind spot in Greek literature in common with Sainte-Beuve. We have cited (p.67 above) a letter of 1876 where Flaubert admits an inability to get to grips with Pindar's work, as well as that of Milton and Sedaine. Canat writes of Sainte-Beuve, "Pantasidès [a Greek resident in France]... n'a pas pu le faire mordre à Pindare" (*op.cit.*, vol.III, p.153), before quoting from an article on the subject by Sainte-Beuve in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*: "Combien de fois n'a-t-il pas voulu m'entraîner! Je me rendais compte de la beauté et de l'élévation particulière, de l'éclat merveilleux de ce génie, mais je ne me sentais pas la force à recommencer le voyage... Pindare m'a toujours dépassé par la difficulté de le bien entendre et d'en jouir" (*ibid.*).

(ii) Continuing the classical tradition

The degree of Flaubert's documentary debt to classical writers in *TSA*, *Salammbô* and 'Hérodias' is obvious. If we accept Flaubert's and Sainte-Beuve's assessment of the narrowness of most contemporaries' reading, it seems highly improbable that many contemporary novelists knew Philostratus, Procopius, Flavius Josephus, Silius Italicus, Vegetius or Corippus. Comparable research was simply not necessary for writers like Balzac or Stendhal[15]. We may moreover argue that Flaubert's work as a whole is more 'flavoured' by the classics than that of, at least, contemporary novelists. In certain respects, this atmosphere of classical allusion may be less direct than that achieved by some contemporaries: nowhere, for example, does Flaubert parallel Zola's procedure in *Nana*, whose Venus-imagery is consistent and blatant. This does not lessen its impact - Flaubert himself judged that "Nana tourne au mythe sans cesser d'être réelle"[16]; however, Flaubert's use of mythical parallels and allusions is more subtle, but all-pervading.

Notwithstanding, Flaubert does sometimes, almost always in his earlier works, deliberately indicate his debt to classical writers. One thinks of the Ovidian epigraph to *Smarh* (see above, pp.15-16), the first work in which he makes extensive use of a classical intertext, the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, from which the epigraph derives; a similar effect is achieved

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15 We should concede that some contemporary writers certainly would have had a similar depth of knowledge of the classics. An example would be Mérimée, whose status as a professional historian implies extensive knowledge of antiquity, which is doubtless apparent in his work.

16 Letter 3592, [15th February 1880].

by the allusion to the *Æneid* in *ES*I (see p.127), the citation of *quos ego* in *ES*I and, of course, *MB* (see pp.132, 239) and perhaps even the overt reference to Psyche in 'Hérodias', one of his last works (see p.366). There seems almost to be a desire to prove his classical credentials, possibly explicable by the classical knowledge shown by mentors such as Le Poittevin and Bouilhet[17]. More usually, however, Flaubert signals his classical references much more subtly, at numerous levels and rarely through direct allusion, especially in his mature works; he leaves them in his works for those who wish to see them, perhaps even playing on his contemporaries' perceived ignorance, anticipating that only a happy few *will* detect them.

We may briefly enumerate the writers whom Flaubert most commonly uses in this way. Ovid is certainly one, with parts of the *Metamorphoses* of prime importance - most particularly, though not uniquely, the Acteon myth as recounted in book three. Apuleius, and most especially, though again not uniquely the Cupid and Psyche legend, is detectable in a range of works; his influence is perhaps less textually definable than Ovid's, although I believe that evidence for it in *BeP* is fairly unambiguous (see pp.409-13). Most important, however, is Virgil's *Æneid*. This work's influence features throughout Flaubert's career, with *MB* most deeply affected.

In terms of themes and images which Flaubert owes to classical antiquity, we might single out that of Fate in *MB*; the contrasting and related images of sun/moon and man/woman; and, especially, religion. It is noticeable that it is those of Flaubert's works with a classical setting which are

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17 It will be recalled that some of Flaubert's letters to Bouilhet, especially during the *voyage en Orient*, ostentatiously parade Flaubert's classical knowledge (see pp.47-8).

most overtly concerned with religion, which is relatively absent, thematically, from *ES*II and even *MB*. It seems likely that Flaubert's early interest in pantheism caused him to be drawn towards the spirituality of antiquity; it will be remembered that much of Flaubert's speculation on classical matters was concerned with religion (see for example pp.60-1). Perhaps one of his ideals was to write a work which would recall Apuleius' *Golden ass* or Petronius' *Satyricon* in its spirituality, having, as he wrote, "en débordements psychiques tout ce que ceux-là ont eu de débordements sensuels"[18].

We have seen, then, how Flaubert's classical knowledge provided him with sources of factual data, imagery and symbolism, although, in view of the subtlety of Flaubert's procedure, it is highly likely that he incorporated into his works other patterns of classical reference which I have not observed. Is it possible, finally, to go further and to detect the mark of classical antiquity in Flaubert's style, in his literary technique, in the very shape of his work?

It may be significant that Flaubert's first work written in his recognizable 'adult' style, *MB*, is, despite its modern setting, so deeply and systematically influenced by a classical work, Virgil's *Æneid*. Flaubert's letters, especially to Louise Colet, of that time are quite invaluable in demonstrating what he wished to achieve in that novel. Of particular interest for our purposes is the following passage, in a letter of 1853[19], where Flaubert muses:

> "Vouloir donner à la prose le rythme du vers (en la laissant prose, et très prose) et écrire la vie ordinaire comme on écrit l'histoire ou l'épopée (sans dénaturer le sujet) est peut-être une absurdité. Voilà ce que je me demande parfois. Mais c'est peut-être aussi une grande

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[18] Letter 444, [Croisset, 4th September 1852].

[19] Letter 489, [Croisset, 27th March 1853].

tentative et très originale!".

Since we have posited the *Æneid* as an intertext for *MB*, a reference to writing in an epic manner is less surprising than it might be and we have already suggested (see p.270) that *MB* is in some senses a modernization of *Æneid* 4; it would seem logical that Flaubert might apply epic standards to his style and technique as well as to his theme and imagery. Epic elements have been detected in *MB* before; Lowe, for instance, dubs the work "a consciously contrived successor to epic poetry" (*op.cit.*, p.31)[20]. What might Flaubert mean by implying that he is writing "comme on écrit l'histoire ou l'épopée"?

We might associate a range of characteristics with epic besides grandeur of subject. Concomitant with such grandeur, epic works tend to possess a certain stylistic grandiosity, amounting almost to exaggeration. A number of critics have detected such a technique in *MB*; for Geoffrey Wall, in the introduction to his translation of the work[21], the description of Charles Bovary's headgear (in the very passage where Flaubert's allusion to the *quos ego* signals his debt to Virgil's epic) has epic overtones: the cap,

> "may recall, distantly, various descriptions in classical epic writing of the warrior-hero's helmet. Usually such objects are the naïvely superlative emblems of their wearer's valour. This inglorious bourgeois artefact announces an idiot" (p.xi).

One may contest Wall's analysis of Flaubert's intention, but the basis of his argument seems sound. Similarly, Griffin detects in the guest list of the Bovarys' wedding "an ironic set piece version of the Homeric catalog of ships"

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[20] We have also seen arguments advanced by Alan Busst (see ch.5, note 105) that *Salammbô*, in terms of technique as well as theme and setting, has some affinities with epic, despite being also a subversion of the genre.

[21] *Madame Bovary*, London, Penguin Books, 1992.

(*op.cit.*, p.159), to which he too assigns an intention: Flaubert is "deflating a wedding atmosphere with the rumor of war" (*ibid.*). Again, the interpretation is questionable, but the idea is probably correct. Similar points could be applied to the 'guided tour' of Yonville at the start of part 2 and the grandiose description of Rouen Cathedral early in part 3, considered by Michel Crouzet in 'Le style épique dans *Madame Bovary*'[22] to be written in "le grand style des grandes choses" (*op.cit.*, p.157). Crouzet, referring again to the opening scene, emphasizes the schoolmaster's designation of Charles' headgear as a *casque*, and considers the *rire éclatant* of Charles Bovary's classmates sufficiently grandiose to be a *rire homérique* - referring back to *Smarh* (see above, p.104) and forward to the *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*[23]. Finally in this respect, Claudine Gothot-Mersch in her Garnier edition of *MB*[24] several times claims to detect *exagération épique* - specifically in her notes on the chaotic aspects of the aftermath of Emma's wedding and on the cab scene in Rouen (*op.cit*, p.454, n.21; p.461, n.85).

Other elements of an epic style might be ascribed to Flaubert's work, in *MB* and elsewhere. For example, the epic technique of *dénombrement* - a lengthy enumeration or description, such as the catalogue of forces in Homer's *Iliad* 2 or Virgil's *Æneid* 7 - might be compared to Flaubert's finely

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22 *Europe*, 485-486-487 (September - October - November 1969), pp.151-72.

23 "HOMERE. N'a jamais existé. - Célèbre par sa façon de rire: un rire homérique" (*OC*II, p.310).

24 *Madame Bovary*, Paris, Garnier, 1971

detailed descriptions[25]. Moreover, although Sherrington[26] writes of *Salammbô* that, "there are no complex, high-sounding metaphors or similes" (*op.cit.*, p.162), a number of writers have detected similes in Flaubert's work which, in their extension beyond the immediate point of comparison and their borrowing of elements from nature, might be considered to recall techniques of writers such as Homer and Virgil. Brombert (*op.cit.*, p.112) alludes to two such similes from *Salammbô*, although he does not identify them with any specific classical passage (the first refers to Mâtho in battle, the second to Autharite in the *défilé de la hache*):

> "Comme un émondeur qui coupe des branches de saule, et qui tâche d'en abattre le plus possible afin de gagner plus d'argent, il marchait en fauchant autour de lui des Carthaginois" (*OC*I, p.775);
>
> "balançant ses lourdes épaules couvertes de fourrures, il rappelait à ses compagnons un ours qui sort de sa caverne au printemps, pour voir si les neiges sont fondues" (p.784).

The 'epic' element of the similes lies in their detailed nature, and the extent to which they supercede the immediate points of comparison. Similar observations might be applied to other passages in Flaubert's work: most strikingly, the famous simile in chapter 7, part 2 of *MB*, comparing Emma's memory of Léon to a fire in the Russian steppes, is remarkably extended, such that the point of the comparison persists through two substantial paragraphs:

> "Dès lors, ce souvenir de Léon fut comme le centre de son ennui; il y *pétillait* plus fort que, dans une steppe de Russie, *un feu de voyageurs*

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25 Anne Green (*op.cit.*) notes *Salammbô*'s epic *dénombrements* and alludes to his letter to Bouilhet, written during the composition of *MB*, where Flaubert exclaims, "J'éprouve le besoin d'*épopées gigantesques*" (Letter 530, [Trouville], 24th [August 1853]).

26 *Three novels by Flaubert - a study of techniques*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970.

abandonné sur la neige... elle remuait délicatement *ce foyer près de s'éteindre*... elle... faisait servir tout à *réchauffer sa tristesse*.

Cependant *les flammes s'apaisèrent*... L'amour peu à peu *s'éteignit*... elle... prit *les brûlures de la haine* pour *des réchauffements de la tendresse*... la passion *se consuma jusqu'aux cendres*... elle demeura perdue *dans un froid qui la traversait*" (my italics) (p.616).

Although perhaps less striking, similar arguments could be made for Flaubert's occasional use of apostrophe, a device often exploited by classical epic poets: Virgil, for example, intermittently addresses Dido in *Æneid* 4, thus:

> "quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,
> quosve dabas gemitus..."[27] (408-9).

Similarly, enumerating Emma's early reading in *MB*, Flaubert writes,

> "Et vous y étiez aussi, sultans à longues pipes, pâmés sous des tonnelles aux bras des bayadères, djiaours, sabres turcs, bonnets grecs, et vous surtout, paysages blafards des contrées dithyrambiques, qui souvent nous montrez à la fois des palmiers, des sapins, des tigres à droite, un lion à gauche..." (*OC*I, p.587).

Admittedly, apostrophe as a rhetorical trope is by no means limited to writers of epic; but it might be considered to reinforce a perceived epic physiognomy in Flaubert's work.

We have seen (above, p.240) that Thibaudet refers to *MB* as a parody generically - the work he specifies as being the object of this parody is Gœthe's *Faust*, although he mentions the *Æneid* also. Crouzet, in his article already cited, highlights the possibility - indeed, as he sees it, the inevitability - that Flaubert's use of epic techniques in *MB* have an element of parody:

> "Comment... insérer de l'épique, sinon sous forme de burlesque, ou d'héroï-comique... S'il y a donc épopée, c'est seulement sous forme d'allusion à l'épopée... L'épique ne peut donc qu'affleurer, que faire allusion à lui-même, car il ne s'agit pas d'événements épiques, mais d'une conduite des hommes qui de loin fait allusion à une épopée

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27 "Ah, Dido, what did you feel when you saw these things going forward? What moans you gave..." (trans. Day Lewis).

impossible" (*op.cit.*, pp152-3).

Many of the examples we have already quoted do seem to have an element of pastiche, as if Flaubert is indeed consciously parodying aspects of the epic style; and in fact such pastiche is part of the epic tradition. Virgil has been supposed to parody Homer in some respects; the commentator Williams[28] almost implies this in his notes on the description of the storm in *Æneid* 1, referring to its "high rhetorical and hyperbolical style... a grandiose passage" (*op.cit.*, p.169); and as we have seen (above, p.322), the *Æneid* is itself extensively imitated, sometimes to the point of parody, by later writers. However, there is at least one aspect of epic technique, especially characteristic of the 'original' epic writer, Homer, which, I believe, Flaubert prizes greatly and emulates more or less directly throughout his adult works.

It will be recalled from chapter one that Flaubert's admiration for Homer remained an absolute constant throughout his life. In particular, as from about 1850, Homer began to be cited as a model of impersonality (see pp.48, 55), and is associated with many of Flaubert's most characteristic pronouncements on this aspect of style: for example, on 23rd October 1863 (letter 1132), Flaubert writes, "Homère, Shakespeare, Gœthe, tous les fils aînés de Dieu... se sont bien gardés de faire autre chose que *représenter*". It might be assumed that in the letter of 1853 (quoted pp.437-8), impersonality is alluded to in Flaubert's reference to writing in the manner of a historian; however, it seems just as likely that Flaubert sees impersonality as characteristic of epic in

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[28] *The Æneid of Virgil*, books 1-6, Glasgow, Macmillan, 1972.

general and Homer in particular[29]. It is certainly true that, apart from the opening invocation to the Muse[30], the author tends to be absent from epic works as he does not from lyric poetry, love poetry and the like. It may thus be no coincidence that, as stated above (p.437), *MB* is not only the first of Flaubert's works to borrow extensively from classical antiquity, but also the first which unambiguously bears the mark of the impersonality so strongly associated with his adult manner: one of Flaubert's principal models for that manner may well be a major writer of classical antiquity[31].

Another element of the letter quoted on pages 437-8 is the reference to giving prose "le rythme du vers (en la laissant prose, et très prose)". It is rather harder to pin down any poetic technique in Flaubert's writing which might be owed to works of antiquity than it is to point to epic elements of his style; but certain specific details of his style may be attributable to classical texts - it is, of course, true to say that most of those he greatly admired were poetry rather

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[29] Interestingly, despite his great esteem for Virgil, Flaubert never seems to have held him up as a great paragon of impersonality, although he equally never criticizes him for subjectivity. It is perhaps significant that a characteristic Flaubert *does* seem to associate with Virgil is precision - we have seen him state in a letter of 1861 (see p.59) that, while reading Virgil, "je *me pâme* devant le style et la précision des mots"; perhaps Virgil represents for Flaubert another seeker after *le mot juste*.

[30] Indeed, the much-discussed 'disappearing' first-person narrator of the first chapter of *MB* ("*Nous* étions à l'étude..." [*OC*I, p.575]), may be intended to echo stylistically the first person of the opening invocation of classical epic - the *Odyssey*'s "ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα" ("Goddess of song, teach me the story of a hero" [trans. Shewring]) or the *Æneid*'s "arma virumque cano" ("I tell about war and the hero..." [trans. Day Lewis]).

[31] It is worth recalling that various critics have dubbed works other than *MB* epic - Gautier, of course, applied the description to *Salammbô* (see p.319), and Queneau called *BeP* an *Odyssey* (see p.406). One might tentatively suggest that *ES*II also has Odyssean elements, albeit parodied, in its quest-like themes. However, despite echoes of the *Æneid* in all three later novels, it is certainly true that the main technical mark which epic seems to have left upon the whole of Flaubert's adult work is his impersonality.

than prose. There is a very slight possibility that Flaubert's predilection for the 'falling cadence' was connected to his reading of works such as Homer's epics, the *Æneid* or Ovid's *Metamorphoses* written in classical hexameter: the regular line-ending of a dactyl followed by a spondee or a trochee has some similarity to this technique. More broadly (and more vaguely), we may be justified in ascribing the lyrical nature of Flaubert's writing[32] at least in part to an admiration for classical poetry: it is noticeable that Gautier (see p.319) does call *Salammbô* unambiguously a "*poème* épique", and it seems quite plausible that Flaubert may have been trying to create in that work what Baudelaire[33], writing in the early 1860s, called "le miracle d'une prose poétique, musicale sans rythme et sans rime" (*op.cit.*, p.74). It may be significant in this respect that, for example, the last line of chapter one of *Salammbô* is a technical Alexandrine: "Un grand voile, par derrière, flottait au vent" (*OC*I, p.700). Such areas of stylistic influence will tend to remain speculative; other attempts to ascribe specific aspects of Flaubert's style to classical sources have tended to run into difficulties[34].

Critics have, however, often successfully compared Flaubert's works to genres of classical literature. We have seen numerous examples of

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[32] The poetry of Flaubert's style has often been remarked upon, famously for example by Allen Tate: "it has been through Flaubert that the novel has at last caught up with poetry" (*Collected essays*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1957, p.145).

[33] In the *dédicace* to *Le Spleen de Paris* (ed. Scott and Wright), Paris, Garnier Flammarion, 1987.

[34] See, for example, I.H. Walker's article 'Sartre, Flaubert and 'l'imparfait virgilien' (*French Studies Bulletin*, 21 [Winter 1986 - 7], pp.13-16). Walker persuasively argues that Sartre's explanation of an "usage agaçant de l'imparfait" (Sartre's words) by Flaubert in *ES*II in terms of imitation of a Virgilian turn of phrase is actually based on an imperfect understanding of Latin grammar by Sartre.

arguments of this sort with regard to epic; it will also be recalled that Lalonde has likened *BeP* to a "poème bucolique" (see above, pp.405-6). There is also a school of thought in Flaubertian criticism which detects tragic elements in *MB*; this tradition includes writers such as Auerbach[35] and Brombert[36]. Articles such as Robert J. Nelson's '*Madame Bovary* as tragedy'[37] and Dennis Porter's 'Gustave Flaubert's middle-class tragedy'[38] also advance this argument. In many ways, such arguments coincide well with Lanson's thesis that there is a transfer of the elements of tragedy to prose works of art in the course of the nineteenth century in France[39]:

> "Dans les romanciers de l'époque suivante, impressionnistes et naturalistes, le tragique se rencontre en proportion de la puissance poétique et lyrique, mais il est plus ou moins étouffé par la technique réaliste (Etudier à ce point de vue Flaubert, les Goncourt, Zola, Maupassant, Bourget)" (*op.cit.*, p.151).

In view of arguments advanced above (pp.443-4), it is not unreasonable to consider Flaubert a writer of some "puissance poétique et lyrique" and therefore quite likely to incorporate elements of *le tragique* into his work; however, it is unclear whether Lanson would have agreed that *MB* does contain elements of classical tragedy.

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35 *Mimesis*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1974, although Auerbach mentions the idea only to reject it: "the author and the reader can never feel at one with [Emma] as must be the case with the tragic hero" (p.490).

36 Brombert's chapter on *MB* is subtitled 'The tragedy of dreams'.

37 *Modern Language Quarterly*, 18, 4 (December 1957), pp.323-30.

38 *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 13, 1 (January 1977), pp.59-69.

39 *Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1920.

Just as Flaubert's possible parodying of epic is consistent with the practice of his epic sources (see above, p.442), so too would an incorporation of tragic elements into a primarily epic work such as *MB* echo in some respects Virgil's practice in the *Æneid*[40]. In a general sense, as we have seen, the ineluctability of Emma's fate in *MB* may seem tragic; however, the line of argument pursued by most of the writers mentioned above depends upon an assessment of Emma's character: does she have the right qualities to be a tragic heroine - in Aristotelian terms, can she inspire pity and fear? - or should she be seen merely as a silly *bourgeoise*? Brombert more or less leaves the question open: he concludes that *MB* "poses the problem of the very possibility of a tragic work in a contemporary context" (*op.cit.*, p.91). Nelson and Porter seem to conclude that Emma does have tragic stature: Nelson argues that Emma, becoming aware of her situation's hopelessness, deliberately chooses to reject life; he states:

> "The tragedy we call *Madame Bovary* is the deliberate record of a progressive deepening of insight, a progressive ordering of impressions in just the same way that the tragedy we call *Œdipus Rex* is a progressive deepening of insight, a progressive ordering of facts in Œdipus' mind" (*op.cit.*, p.329).

Porter seems more or less to concur:

> "There is in the last analysis something grand about her determination to be deceived no more and have done with a bourgeois destiny from which there was no escape" (*op.cit.*, p.65).

However, as Porter recognizes, our perception of Emma's tragic status is entirely dependent upon our assessment of her character:

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40 Williams certainly sees Dido in *Æneid* 4 in this light: "the word tragic is wholly appropriate for Dido in this book... in many ways she resembles the tragic figures of Greek drama" (*op.cit.*, p.333). See also p.268 for other tragic elements of *Æneid* 4.

> "[Flaubert's] theme, in short, relates to the tragic disproportion between soul and world, and the nature of his heroine is crucial to our understanding of the manner in which this theme is worked out" (pp.61-2).

It goes without saying that Flaubert has left the 'correct' assessment of Emma's character entirely unclear, and that therefore any argument on such grounds that *MB* 'is' tragedy must remain subjective and speculative. However it is still possible that classical tragedy may have generically influenced another of Flaubert's works: 'Hérodias'[41].

'Hérodias' adheres almost completely to the unities of place, time and action: it is set until the very end entirely in Machærous, and, strikingly, it is very close indeed to Aristotle's description of a work which obeys the unity of time: "ἔτι δὲ τῷ μήκει ἡ μὲν ὅτι μάλιστα πειρᾶται ὑπὸ μίαν περίοδον ἡλίου εἶναι ἢ μικρὸν ἐξαλλάτειν" (*Poetics* 5.8-9)[42]. As 'Hérodias' opens, of course, "l'aube... se levait derrière Machærous" (*OC*II, p.188); it closes the next day, "A l'instant où se levait le soleil" (p.199)[43]. Equally, Antipas is a true tragic hero: he is possessed of a clear *hamartia*, a fatal flaw, in his *vacherie* towards Hérodias and Salome, which forces him to kill Iaokanann entirely against his better judgement. Admittedly, unlike in classical tragedy, the

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41 It is worth briefly recalling that Shoshana Felman refers to 'Saint Julien' as an "insolite condensé d'un récit tragique et d'un récit hagiographique" (*op.cit.*, p.39 - see above, p.359); her meaning is principally that it recalls in its plot elements of the Œdipus myth, but it may also have 'technically' tragic elements in the character of Julien.

42 "... tragedy attempting so far as possible to keep to the limits of one revolution of the sun or not much more or less" (trans. D.A. Russell and M. Winterbottom, Oxford, O.U.P., 1989).

43 Aristotle, of course, intended the unities to serve as guidelines only, and would not have recognized the strict adherence to them of much of French classical literature; nevertheless, Flaubert would certainly have been aware of them, and might have felt it necessary to obey them in any work intended to evoke classical tragedy.

superior force which manipulates him is not the divinity but Hérodias herself - who is, of course, compared to the goddess Cybele (see above, pp.367-8) (although she is, like a divinity, hidden from view most of the time but omnipresent for all that); but 'Hérodias' does seem to mirror the techniques of tragedy quite closely. It is not hard to find possible models whom Flaubert might have used: Sophocles and Æschylus both stood high in his esteem (see pp.26, 35, 40, 44, 49-50).

In view of the arguments I have advanced in this thesis, I believe that it is reasonable to argue that Flaubert's works are deeply influenced by classical antiquity, that Flaubert was aware of this and that he took a certain pride in displaying his classical erudtion. None of the works published in his lifetime - with the possible exception of his plays - seems to be free of a certain classical 'atmosphere' and a degree of demonstrable textual influence by one or more classical writers; this is predictable in the case of works such as *Salammbô*, which necessitated research involving historical texts, but is true also of contemporary-setting novels, most strikingly *MB*. In that work at least, it seems that Flaubert must have been aware of what he was doing in imitating Virgil, and that through the *quos ego* quotation he may indeed draw attention to this procedure. The textual reminiscences of classical writers are accompanied by borrowings, presumably also conscious and deliberate, of themes from antiquity - notably but not exclusively that of fate in *MB* - and of patterns of imagery which strongly recall classical myths and religious beliefs. Finally, linked to these modes of influence, it seems that Flaubert's very technique may be classically influenced in many important respects: the impersonality which is so strongly associated with his manner may have classical models,

and the structure and style of several of his works may be shaped by genres particularly associated with classical antiquity. I therefore hope that I have demonstrated that Flaubert's fascination with classical antiquity is of considerable significance at a number of levels for the reading and understanding of his art.

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