INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road. Ann Arbor. MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Order Number 9510671

"What honor for the feminine sex": A cultural study of Joan of Arc and the representation of gender, religion, and nationalism in French nineteenth-century painting, prints, and sculpture. (Volumes I and II)

Heimann, Nora Mary, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1994

Copyright ©1994 by Heimann, Nora Mary. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A

"WHAT HONOR FOR THE FEMININE SEX": A CULTURAL STUDY OF JOAN OF ARC AND THE REPRESENTATION OF GENDER, RELIGION, AND NATIONALISM IN FRENCH NINETEENTH-CENTURY PAINTING, PRINTS, AND SCULPTURE

by

NORA M. HEIMANN

Vol. I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1994

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

© 1994

NORA MARY FRANCIS HEIMANN

All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This manuscript has been read and accepted by the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Sept 23 1994
Date

Chair of Examining Committee

Sept 29, 1994
Date

Executive Officer

Supervisory Committe

The City University of New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To John and Jeanne Heimann
- who made it all possible -

and

to the memory
of my grandparents
Michael and Nora Martin
Jack and Irma Heimann

(Daniel 12:3)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My deepest thanks must go to my advisor, Patricia Mainardi, whose warmth and unfailing advice sustained me through this long project. I would also like to thank Linda Nochlin, for sharing her considerable wisdom and insight, as well as Diane Kelder and Carol Armstrong, for agreeing to read this dissertation.

For the financial assistance that made this dissertation possible, I thank the Department of Art History at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York; the City and State of New York; and above all my parents, John and Jeanne Heimann, to whom I owe (among so many other things) years of vital sustenance and encouragement.

In France, I thank the entire staff of the Centre Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans, especially M. Olivier Bouzy, for his invaluable generosity. In Paris, I would like to thank M. Pierre Laigle and Mme. Nadine Pereire, who gave me the opportunity to visit J.-E. Lenepveu's murals in the Pantheon, which are currently closed to the public.

In the United States, I thank the staff of the Corliss Lamont Rare Book Reading Room at Columbia University, especially Rudolf Ellenbogen and Jane Segal. I also acknowledge my thanks to Nancy Spector, whose term paper on J.-A.-D. Ingres's *Jeanne d'Arc au sacre du roi Charles VII, dans la cathédrale de Reims* (written for a graduate seminar at Williams College in the Spring of 1986) first brought the subject of Joan of Arc in art to my attention.

For the fellowship and insightful advice of Cayo Gamber and Sera Morgan, fellow members of the "Casaubon Key-to-All-Mythologies Dissertation Writing Society," I offer my gratitude. (Thank you, Judy Plotz, for putting us together!)

Finally, I acknowledge the loving support of my friends and family, especially Helen Abrams, Linda Arnold, Caroline and Tim Halpin-Healy, Yvonne Lassalle, Peter Lynch, Robert Gilleece, Joan and Jude, and Chris, Cindy, Alex, and John Hugo Heimann.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"...Hee! quel honneur au femenin Sexe!
Que Dieu l'ayme il appert,
Quant tout ce grant pueple chenin,
Par qui tout le regne ert desert,
Par femme est sours et recouvert,
Ce que C^m hommes [fait] n'eussent,
....A peine devant ne le creussant,

"Une fillete de XVI ans
(N'est-ce pas chose fors nature?),
A qui armes ne sont pesans,
Ains semble que sa norriture
Y soit, tant y est fort et dure!
Et devant elle vont fuyant
Les ennemis, ne nul n'y dure,
Elle fait ce, mains yeulx voiant

"Et d'eulx va France descombrant,
En recouvrant chasteaulx et villes,
Jamais force ne fu si grant,
Soient ou à cens à miles!
Et de noz gens preux et abiles
Elle est principal chevetaine.
Tel force n'ot Hector n'Achilles!
Mais tout ce fait Dieu, qui la menne."

Christine de Pisan
Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc
(31 July 1429)[1]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1. "...Oh! What honour for the feminine sex!
It is perfectly obvious that God has special regard for it when all these wretched people who destroyed the whole Kingdom -- now recovered and made safe by a woman, something that 5000 *men* could not have done... Before the event they would scarcely have believed this possible.

"A little girl of sixteen (isn't this something quite supernatural?) who does not even notice the weight of the arms she bears--indeed her whole upbringing seems to have prepared her for this, so strong and resolute is she! And her enemies go fleeing before her, not one of them can stand up to her. She does all this in full view of everyone.

"And drives her enemies out of France, recapturing castles and towns. Never did anyone see greater strength, even in hundreds or thousands of men! And she is supreme captain of our brave and able men! Neither Hector nor Achilles has such strength! This is God's doing: it is He who leads her."

(Christine de Pisan, *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, trans. and ed. Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty, Medium Ævum Monographs, New Series IX [Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1977]: pp. 34-35, in medieval French; and p. 46, in English).

Unless otherwise specified, all translations are by the author.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Preface
La Pucelle and the Nineteenth Century "*Culte de Jeanne d'Arc*"

> *"La France a trouvé, non pas seulement dans son histoire, mais en elle-même, au fond de son âme, sa suprême raison de glorifier Jeanne d'Arc. Cette raison, c'est que Jeanne est sa meilleure image, la plus vraie et aussi la plus belle, la plus populaire. Jeanne d'Arc est française, avec tout le génie de la race jusqu'à idéal."*
> Auguste Boucher, *"Jeanne d'Arc aux dix-neuvième siècle,"* Le Correspondant (May 10, 1899)[1]

Joan of Arc's spectacular, triumphal and tragic life story has more of the elements of heroic legend than of veritable history.[2] The barest details of the narrative seem almost fantastic: A young peasant girl from the duchy of Lorraine, an illiterate and charismatic mystic who, at the commencement of her mission, was, at most, seventeen

---

[1]"France found, not only in its history, but in itself, at the very depths of its soul, its supreme reason to glorify Joan of Arc. This reason is that Joan is [France's] best image, its most true and also its most beautiful, [and] its most popular. Joan of Arc is French, with all the genius of the race almost to the point of being ideal" (Auguste Boucher, *"Jeanne d'Arc au dix-neuvième siécle,"* Le Correspondant [May 10, 1899]: 438).

[2]As the French Academician Jules Simon wrote in 1887, *"...Elle est à la fois histoire et légende; elle est le peuple dans sa faiblesse et dans sa force, dans sa foi et dans sa clairvoyance; elle part des derniers rangs, elle triomphe au nom de Dieu et de la France, et elle disparaît sur un bûcher, entre le ciel et la terre, éternel objet d'admiration, de pitié et d'amour"* ["She is at once history and legend; she is the people in her weakness and in her strength, in her faith and in her clairvoyance; she came from the lowest ranks of society, she triumphed in the name of God and of France, and she disappeared at the stake, between heaven and earth, the eternal object of admiration, pity and love"] (Quoted in Gérard de Syone, *"Jeanne d'Arc et l'Académie,"* Jeanne d'Arc 6 [May 29-June 4, 1889], p. 86).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

years of age,[3] won the confidence of a Valois prince and his Armagnac courtiers in the early Spring of 1429. Named *Chef de Guerre* with no military experience, she led the Armagnac army from retreat to victory against the Anglo-Burgundians. Banishing the forces of the English and their allies from the countryside, villages, and towns of France, her men recaptured Vaucoulers, Chinon, Poitiers, Orléans, Tours, Jargeau, Meung-sur-Loire, Beaucency, Patay, and Reims. Within six months this unlikely soldier and her followers had turned the tide of the Hundred Years War. In July 1429 she escorted the disinherited *Dauphin* to his coronation at Reims Cathedral as Charles VII, King of France; in August she led her forces to the very gates of Paris.

In early September, however, the fortunes of Jeanne *la Pucelle* (or "Joan the Maid"--as she called herself)[4] began

---

[3]The exact date of Joan of Arc's birth is not known. When asked her age at her trial in 1431, Joan herself responded with uncertainty: "As far as I know, about nineteen years old" (Régine Pernoud, Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witnesses, trans. Edward Hyams [New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1982], p. 15).

[4]In her thorough discussion of 'Joan of Arc's' name, Marina Warner noted the uncertainty and confusion that has surrounded both 'Joan's' given name and surname. "Asked her name at the beginning of her cross-examination," Warner wrote: "...she said that in her own village she had been called Jhanette, but this diminutive had not been used since she had arrived in 'France' to fulfill her mission. Later, under pressure, she insisted that her voices had called her 'fille de Dieu;' later still she gave her father's name as Jacques Dars [sic] and her mother's as Isabelle Romée and added that in her own country it was the custom for a girl to take her mother's name. But the name she always used for herself was Jehanne la Pucelle" (Marina Warner, Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981], p. 22).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to turn. In battle to the north of the city, her army's assault on Paris failed; and the Maid herself was wounded in the thigh by the bolt of a cross-bow. The coming of winter and the fatigue of her soldiers necessitated her first substantial retreat--from Saint Denis to Giens, where, at the King's orders, the Armagnac army was disbanded in late September. Following a difficult winter of frustrating inactivity punctuated by small, unsuccessful skirmishes, *la*

"*Jehanne*," and its diminutive "*Jhanette*," are both medieval antecedents of the proper name "Jeanne" (or "Joan," as it is usually translated in English), by which she is known today. The surname with which she is now commonly associated--"*d'Arc*" (or "of Arc" as it is rendered from the French)--however, has no apparent documentary precedent. In various contemporary documents, rather, her last name was spelled variably "Dars," "Darc," or even "Day;" the "d'Arc" spelling began only sometime later in the 17th century. "The particle *de*," according to Warner, "is an invention. It is a sign of noble birth, and its appearance was made possible by the absence of apostrophes in medieval and Renaissance French names' (Warner: 199). In fact, until Joan and her family were given the grant of the du Lys arms by Charles VII in 1430, no ennobled styling attended her family name. In the transcripts of her first and second inquisitions, her surname was written uniformly as "Darc;" more commonly however, she was referred to there simply as "Jehanne," "Jehanne *la Pucelle*," or merely "*la Pucelle*." The meaning of Joan's chosen appellation, "*la Pucelle*" (usually translated as "the Maid") is significant. As Warner explains: "*Pucelle* means 'virgin,' but in a special way, with distinct shades connoting youth, innocence and, paradoxically, nubility....In Old French, it was the most common word for a young girl; in Middle French, *damoiselle* began taking over. By Joan's day *vierge* was also sometimes added to *pucelle* to clarify the meaning of chastity....The inference of virginity became firmer through the Middle Ages, especially after *despulceler*, meaning 'to deflower,' was introduced in the twelfth century" (Warner, pp. 22-23).

In this dissertation, for the sake of clarity and variety, the common renderings of her name--"Jeanne d'Arc," "Joan of Arc," or simply "Joan"--(as admittedly imprecise as they may be) will be used interchangeably with her own nomenclature "*la Pucelle*," or the "the Maid."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pucelle was captured in the Spring by her Burgundian foes. After the Armagnacs refused to ransom her in 1830, she was sold to the British. Within a year, following a lengthy trial conducted by over one hundred[5] theologians, clerics, and legal scholars from the University of Paris,[6] the Maid was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake in the Old Market Place in Rouen on May 30, 1431.[7]

---

[5]The entire Inquisitorial tribunal, led by the presiding judge Pierre Cauchon, did not meet at every session during the conduct of the trial between January 9 and May 30, 1431; at most, approximately seventy men sat in judgement at any given time (Warner, p. 5).

[6]In the 1430s, the University of Paris was located in the heart of Burgundian France; thus, it has been suggested that the jurors (drawn predominately from the faculty of the University of Paris) were inherently predisposed towards a condemnation of Joan, a leader of the Armagnac forces.

[7]Joan of Arc was not notified of the specific charges levied against her by this tribunal until near the end of her trial. On 27-28 March 1431, a total of sixty-nine preliminary "articles of accusation" were read to her and the judicial assembly by an officer of the court (Thomas de Courcelles). In a preamble to the specific charges, Courcelles summarized the Maid's transgressions as follows: "...Before you, competent judges, to the end that the woman commonly called Jeanne *the Maid*, found, taken, and detained in the limits of your territory,...surrendered, entrusted, delivered and restored to you, her ecclesiastical and ordinary judge by Our Lord Christian King of France and England, to be dealt with by the law and corrected, as one vehemently suspected, denounced, and defamed by honest and sober people; to the end that she should be denounced and declared by you her said judges as a witch, enchantress, false prophet, a caller-up of evil spirits, as superstitious, implicated in and given to magic arts, thinking evil in our Catholic faith, schismatic in the article *Unam Sanctam*, etc., and in many other articles of our faith sceptic and devious, sacrilegious, idolatrous, apostate of the faith, accursed and working evil, blasphemous towards God and His saints, scandalous, seditious, perturbing and obstructing the peace, inciting to war, cruelly thirsting for human blood, encouraging it to be shed, having utterly and shamelessly abandoned the modesty befitting her sex, and indecently put on

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the centuries following her death, the Maid's memory has inspired historians, biographers, clerics, poets, playwrights, painters, sculptors, and politicians alike, in France and abroad. From Verdi to Tchaikovsky, from Shakespeare to Voltaire to Schiller, from Rubens to Ingres to Gauguin, from Napoléon to Lenin to Le Pen,[8] the image of

---

the ill-fitting dress and state of men-at-arms; and for that and other things abominable to God and man, contrary to laws both divine and natural, and to ecclesiastical discipline, misleading princes and people; having to the scorn of God permitted and allowed herself to be adored and venerated, giving her hands to be kissed; heretical or at least vehemently suspected of heresy; that according to the divine and canonical sanctions she should be punished and corrected canonically and lawfully, as befitted these and all other proper ends..." (W.P. Barrett, trans. The Trial of Joan of Arc [London: George Routledge & Sons, 1931], pp. 139-140). It should be noted further, perhaps, that Joan's theological sophistication was rustic, at best. In the first session of her trial (on February 21, 1431), she stated firmly that as a child she had received religious instruction from her mother and no one else. This instruction, according to Jeanne d'Arc's testimony, consisted of only the most essential and simple prayers; as she stated at her inquisition: "It was from my mother that I learnt *Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo.* Nobody taught me my belief, if not my mother" [Quoted by Pernoud, Joan of Arc, pp. 15-16]. Hence Jeanne d'Arc's conviction of heresy may be seen as all the more politicized, for if she was indeed heretical in her actions and beliefs, her transgressions could only have been through ignorance, rather than willful disobedience to ecclesiastic authority.

[8]Giuseppe Verdi, *Giovanna d'Arco*, libretto by Temistocle Solera, 1845 (Warner, p. 322); Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky, The Maid of Orleans, libretto by composer, based largely on Vassily Andreyevich Zhukovsky's version of Schiller's play, 1878-79 [revised 1882] (Eric Blom, Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th edition, Vol. VIII [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1954], p. 343); William Shakespeare, The First Part of Henry the Sixth; F.M.A. de Voltaire, *La Pucelle d'Orléans: poëme en vignt-un-chants* (2 vols, Paris: Libraire-Editeur, 1865); Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, *Johannes die Jungfrau: Eine romantische Tragödie mit einem Kupfer* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1802); Peter Paul Rubens, Joan of Arc (c. 1620), Collection of the North Carolina Museum of Art,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jeanne *La Pucelle* has been resurrected again and again in words, music, paint, marble, and bronze. By 1894, when Pierre Lanéry d'Arc published his exhaustive tome, *Le Livre d'or de Jeanne d'Arc: bibliographie raisonnée*, over 2127 extant fictional and nonfictional books, articles, poems, ballads, plays, sermons, and speeches had been published already on Joan of Arc.[9] Indeed, in the nineteenth century alone, over seventy plays on the Maid were performed and published in Europe and America; and by 1920--the year of her canonization by the Roman Catholic Church--over 12,000 books about her had been published in France alone.[10]

In these many works, which celebrate (or at times denigrate) the memory of this historic persona, the vigorous legacy of one individual may be seen capturing the imagination of each successive generation. Yet throughout

---

Raleigh (Warner: xi); Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Jeanne d'Arc au sacre du roi Charles VII, dans la cathédrale de Reims* (1854), Paris: Musée du Louvre; Paul Gauguin, Joan of Arc (1889), Collection Fred Ziv, Cincinnati, OH; according to Marina Warner, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin received a statue of Joan of Arc (later placed in the Lenin Museum, Moscow) from the worker's of a factory in the Urals (Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 326, footnote 6, Chapter 13); since the early 20th century, *Le Front national*, the party of the extreme right in France led by Jean-Marie Le Pen, has allied itself symbolically with the image of Jeanne d'Arc. Today, the party holds its annual rally in Paris on Labor Day (1 May in France) at the base of Emmanuel Fremiet's sculpture of Joan of Arc in the Place des Pyramides.

[9]In his "*bibliographie raisonnée*," Lanéry d'Arc listed enough literature and dramatic work on the subject to fill 1007 pages (Pierre Lanéry d'Arc, *Le Livre d'or de Jeanne d'Arc: bibliographie raisonnée* [Paris: Techner, 1894]).

[10]Raknem, p. 1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the centuries since her death, Joan's image has been cast and recast, as much according to the varied interests and exigencies of those authors, artists, clerics, and politicians who have recalled her, as to the abundant contemporary documents that recount her actual, remarkable accomplishments. Thus the Maid of Orléans, a woman of historic, "objective reality,"[11] was endowed by later generations with many disparate and often projected virtues--and vices--by those who have told her tale: to the British bard Shakespeare she was a witch and a "strumpet;"[12] to the anticlerical satirist Voltaire she was a dupe (and perhaps even a bestial sodomite);[13] to the romantic poet Schiller she

---

[11]Warner, p. 3.

[12]"Joan la Pucelle," in Shakespeare's Henry VI, Part I, succeeds for a time in battle through trickery and the aid of "fiends," whose magical and evil assistance she gained by promising them her own body, blood, and soul as recompense. (See, for example, Act V, scene III, lines 5-25 in William Shakespeare, The First Part of Henry the Sixth, ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia A. LaMar, The Folger Library General Reader's Shakespeare [New York: Washington, Square Press, Inc., 1966], p. 101). After she is abandoned by these evil spirits, however, Joan is captured by the Duke of York, and sentenced to death by the Anglo-Burgundians (following a stirring denunciation--"Oh, burn her, burn her! hanging is too good"--by her own father)(Act V, scene IV, line 33, p.102). In a plea for mercy, after begging unsuccessfully that she might be spared because of her virtue, she changed tactics, proclaiming herself pregnant (--"I am with child...Murder not then the fruit within my womb"--), and brazenly naming two nobleman (John, Duke of Alençon, and Reignier, Duke of Anjou and King of Naples) as the possible sires of her unborn child. [See Chapter 3 below, for further discussion of Shakespeare's Joan].

[13]In one of the early versions of Voltaire's poem "*La Pucelle*," Joan succumbs to the advances of her donkey in an explicit sexual encounter [fig. XVII]. In later editions of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

she was a virtuous, love-sick maiden;[14] to the jingoistic First Consul Napoléon she was proof of the indomitable "*génie français*";[15] to the nationalistic mid-century historian Lamartine she was an example of "*l'amour de la patrie*,"[16] while to Dupanloup, the prominent Bishop of Orléans, she represented "*le plus pur, le plus fier, le plus dévoué, le plus généreux dans le coeur de la femme chrétienne.*"[17]

---

the poem, Joan, a ridiculous, dull-witted and passive figure, retains her maidenhood only through the continual and direct intervention of St. Denis. [See Chapter 1 below, for further discussion of Voltaire's text and its variants].

[14]See Johann Christophe Friedrich von Schiller, ed. and trans. J.G. Fischer, The Maid of Orleans: A Romantic Tragedy in Schiller's Works, Vol. II (Philadelphia: George Barrie, Publisher, 1883). [Schiller's *Jungfrau* will be discussed further below, see Chapter 2, Part I].

[15]Napoléon Bonaparte authorized the erection of a statue of Joan of Arc in Orléans on "*Le 29 pluviôse an XI*" (18 February 1803) with the following words of praise for the Maid of Orléans: "*...L'illustre Jeanne d'Arc a prouvé qu'il n'est pas de miracle que le génie française ne puisse opérer, lorsque l'indépendance nationale est menacée. Unie, la nation français n'a jamais été vaincue...*" ["The illustrious Joan of Arc has proved that there is no miracle that the French genius cannot work when the conditions are propitious or when our national independence is endangered"] (Charles Aufrère-Duvernay, *Notice Historique et critique sur les monuments érigés a Orléans en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc* [Orléans: Imprimerie de Pagnerre, 1855], p. 21; for further discussion of Napoleon and Jeanne d'Arc, see Chapter 1 below).

[16]Alphonse Marie Louise de Lamartine, *Jeanne d'Arc*, trans. Sarah M. Grimke, under the title Joan of Arc, a biography (Boston: Adams & Co., 1867), p. 1.

[17]"...the most pure, the most proud, the most devoted, the most generous in the heart of the Christian woman" (Félix-Antoine-Philibert Dupanloup, "*Panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc, prononcé dans la cathèdrale de Sainte-Croix, le 8 Mai 1855*" [Orléans: Gatineau, Libraire, 1855]).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the account that follows, the scope and nature of the Maid of Orléans's afterlife will be examined in relation to French culture during the years in which her image rose from relative obscurity to unparalleled cultural prominence, that is, from the French Revolution to the end of the July Monarchy in 1848. In so doing, the political and social implications of Joan's rising popularity, an astoundingly pervasive phenomenon that came to be known as the "*culte de Jeanne d'Arc*," will be examined in relation to the changing political regimes, religious movements, and sexual politics of France during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Drawn from the hundreds of images depicting Jeanne d'Arc that were exhibited in the Salon des Beaux-Arts, commissioned by the French State, and reproduced in popular prints between the late eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century (years during which the Maid's image burgeoned in progressive popularity), this dissertation will focus on the most prominent paintings, sculptures, and prints of *La Pucelle*, as well as numerous concomitant literary, ecclesiastic, dramatic and musical representations of Jeanne d'Arc, that both informed and exemplified the growth and development of her image during the major successive political regimes in France from the end of the French Revolution to the beginning of the Second Republic. These images, by E.-É.-F. Gois *fils* [fig. I], Gabriel de Saint-Aubin [fig. VII], Paul Delaroche [fig. LXIV], Henry

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Scheffer [fig. LXXI], Ary Scheffer [fig. LXXV], Princesse Marie d'Orléans [fig. XXXIX], J.-A.-D. Ingres [fig. XXXIII], and Denis Foyatier [fig. XIV], among others, chart the rise and formation of Jeanne d'Arc's historic persona as a mutable, symbolic political tool of the State, ranging from an allegorical *Amazone* during Napoléon's regime, a prayerful handmaiden of the Lord during the Restoration, and a compassionate and ultimately martyred heroine during the July Monarchy.

Remarkably, these Jeanne d'Arc paintings, sculptures, and prints have received little or no critical attention in modern academic scholarship. As a consequence, *What Honor for the Feminine Sex* will provide the first thorough, ambitious, and scholarly art historical and cultural analysis of the nineteenth century *culte de Jeanne d'Arc*, a phenomenon that was virtually ubiquitous in scope (eclipsing even the following of Marianne) in the arts and popular culture of France at that time. This study will thereby consider how an enduring image of personal courage and national unity proved to be vulnerable to the transformations of political exploitation. For, however stalwart the Maid may once have been in her own convictions as a soldier or as a servant of God, in her historic formation (in, that is, her "*fortune iconographique et critique*"), her visage was reformed again and again--often in an ahistorical, and even contradictory, manner--in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

likeness of others: as an obedient servant of God for the church militant, as a figure of selfless fealty for the monarchists, and a symbol of the power of the peasantry for the republicans. Thus, in studying *Jeanne la Pucelle*'s critical and iconographic "afterlife," this dissertation will examine how art may function to represent the urgent political aspirations of society, and how one woman's body may be called to mirror the desires of a body politic.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CONTENTS

Volume I

Preface — *La Pucelle* and the Nineteenth-Century "*Culte de Jeanne d'Arc*" — viii

List of Illustrations — xx

Introduction — Making History: The Beginning of Jeanne d'Arc's Afterlife — 1

Part I — The Crux of the Legend: Jeanne *la Pucelle* in the Political Field

1 — The Neglected Years: A Reconsideration of Jeanne d'Arc's Modern Rediscovery — 9

2 — The Age of Revolution and Enlightenment — 19

3 — Voltaire and "*La Pucelle d'Orléans*" A Forcing of Signs — 36

4 — "However Sharp the Ridicule": Defending the Memory of Jeanne d'Arc — 70

Part II — The Song of Women: Jeanne d'Arc in French Art and Society

5 — Caught in Amber: The Success and Failure of One Image — 109

6 — Propagating the Maid and the Propaganda Machine: Gois, Napoléon and the Maid of Orléans — 114

7 — The Love of Long Hair and Laying Down the Law — 187

8 — A Tiger's Leap: Jeanne d'Arc and the Restoration of the Monarchy — 228

Volume II

9 — *La Pucelle* on the Barricades: Dying Grandly and Other Heroic Roles for the Maid during the July Monarchy and Beyond — 297

Illustrations — 394

Bibliography — 496

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ILLUSTRATIONS

I. Edme-Étienne-François GOIS fils
Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat
[Alternative title: *Jeanne s'élance au combat d'un pas rapide et résolu*]
1802
(Bronze, place Dauphine, Orléans; formerly place du Martroi, Orléans) [Illustrated by an engraving by C. Normand, 1802, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (Cote N2-Fol. Portraits) *B.N. photo: cliché no. D 076437]

II. Anonymous
[Jeanne d'Arc]
N.D.
(Entrance to the home of Jeanne d'Arc, Domremy)
[From Le Nordez, *Jeanne d'Arc: racontée par l'image* (Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1898), illustrated p. 4]

III. Anonymous
[The First Monument to Jeanne d'Arc on the former *Pont d'Orléans*]
c. 1502
(Formerly the Pont d'Orléans, Orléans)
[Wood engraving, from Wallon, p. 374]

IV (a). Hector LESCOT (also known as JACQUINOT)
[The Second Monument to Jeanne d'Arc on the former Pont d'Orléans]
c. 1560s
(Bronze [illustrated by a wood engraving], formerly the Pont d'Orléans, Orléans)
[Reproduced in Wallon, p. 375]

IV (b). Hector LESCOT (also known as JACQUINOT), with additions by Robert SOYER
Monument élevé en 1771 en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc, à l'angle des rues Royale et de la veille poterie, et détruit en 1792
1771
(Bronze, destroyed; formerly rues Royale and la veille poterie, Orléans) [Illustrated by a lithograph by Charles-François-Joseph PENSÉE (del.) and LEMERCIER]
[Reproduced in Jollis, pl. 4]

V. Paul-Ambroise SLODTZ
Jeanne d'Arc as Bellone

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1756
(Formerly Rouen, destroyed in 1944)
[Reproduced in Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 38, fig. 1]

VI. Jean-Michel MOREAU LE JEUNE, engraved by A.J. DUCLOS
Jeanne d'Arc
1788
(Engraving, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)
[Reproduced in Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 38, fig. 2]

VII. Gabriel de SAINT-AUBIN, wood-engraving by N. RANSONNETTE
Voltaire écrivant "La Pucelle"
N.D.
(245 x 350 mm)
(Wood-engraving, Musée du Louvre, Paris; also in the collection of Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans)
[Lanery d'Arc, p. 764, n°. 1730; Regine Pernoud, Jeanne d'Arc (Paris: Editions du Seul, 1981), illustrated p. 68; also Images de Jeanne d'Arc, cat. 65, p. 63].
Caption: *"G. de Saint-Aubin, Voltaire écrivant La Pucelle. Le graveur a représenté l'écrivain en méditation devant les deux médaillons de «Jeane» d'Arc et de Charles VII, tandis qu'à l'arrière-plan apparaît aussi un autre médaillon, celui d'Agnès Sorel. Il foule aux pieds le poème de Chapelain. Une sorte d'auréole enveloppe sa tête d'où partent des rayons de lumière."*

VIII. Anonymous
Le songe de la raison produit des montres; ou, dors-tu content, Voltaire?
N.D.
(Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)
("Dans la réserve [cote Ae 10a rés]. *Ce tirage est sur papier bleu. Un autre exemplaire, même cote, est sur papier blanc. *B.N. photo: cliché no. 79 C 93240 (noire et banc). L'estampe est inédite.")*
The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Gary Apgar in drawing this image to my attention.

IX. Peter Paul RUBENS
Joan of Arc
c.1620

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, North Carolina)
[Reproduced in Warner, Joan of Arc, pl. 8]

X. Antoine-Louis-François SERGENT (also known as SERGENT-MARCEAU)
Jeanne d'Arc
1787
(Colored aquatint, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote N2 ARC])
[Reproduced in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. 76, p. 66, illust. p. 67, and in Le Nordez, p. 306].

XI. Nicolas-Joseph VOYEZ
JANNE-DARC
N.D. (End of the eighteenth century)
(Engraving, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote N2 ARC], B.N. Photo: cliché no. 9B 8 3332)
[Reproduced in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. 78, p. 68].
Caption: "*Surnomée Pucelle / d'Orléans, native / de Dom-Rémy / en Lorraine / Célébre héroïne / elle fut brulée / à Rouen le 30 mai 1431 dans / la 20^{e} Année / de son âge.*"

XII. Charles-Étienne GAUCHER
Jeanne d'Arc
1795
(171 x 115 mm)
(Engraving [*gravure de ponce*], Centre Jeanne d'Arc [76.62.5], Orléans; and Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote N2 ARC])
[Reproduced in Images de Jeanne d'Arc, cat. 62, p. 61, illust. p. 62]
Caption: "*Jeanne montra sous féminin visage / Sous le corset et sous le cotillon / D'un Vraie Roland le vigoureux courage.*"

XIII. Clément de FAUQUEMBERGUE
[*Jeanne la Pucelle*]
[c. 1429]
(Ink on parchment, in the Register of the Parliament of Paris, 1428-1436, Archives Nationales, Paris [cote X1A 1481, f.12])
[Images de Jeanne d'Arc, cat. 1, p. 17, illust.]

XIV. Denis FOYATIER
Jeanne d'Arc après le combat
1853

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(Bronze, place du Martroi, Orléans)
[Photograph by Patrice Delatouche, Orléans (CJA: 8215-ORL-FOY)]

XV. Anonymous
Le Multier par dessous la tenait: Hermaphrodix de bon coeur ricanait
[Illustration for Canto V of Voltaire's "*La Pucelle*"]
N.D.
(Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote Ae 16 rés. - pet. fol. LA PUCELLE; B.N. (microfilm): cliché no. M 310340]).

XVI. Anonymous
Illustration for Canto XIII of Voltaire's "*La Pucelle*"
N.D.
(Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote Ae 16 rés. - pet. fol. LA PUCELLE; B.N. (microfilm): cliché no. M 310383]).

XVII. Anonymous
Illustration for Canto XXIV of Voltaire's "*La Pucelle*"
N.D.
(Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [B.N. (microfilm): cliché no. M 310416])

XVIII. Anonymous
Eau des Heroïnes
N.D.
(Etching and *pointillé*, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote N2 ARC])

XIX. Anonymous
Heureux cent fois qui trouve un pucelage!
Illustration for Canto II (verse 431) of Voltaire's "*La Pucelle*"
N.D.
(Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [B.N. (microfilm): cliché no. M 310325])

XX. Edme-Étienne-François GOIS fils
Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat
1802
[Illustrated by a photograph from Le Bloc, *Jeanne*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d'Arc: 24 Carte Postales, n.d., Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans. (Cote: Dossier 8.2)]

XXI. LEMERCIER, after E.-É.-F. GOIS
Statue en bronze de J^ne^ d'Arc
1897
(180 x 130 mm)
(CJA Cote 83.4.133; CJA photo: cliche noir no. 83.NB.19)

XXII. Anonymous
Jeanne chasse deux ribaudes
1484
(wood engraving, fol. 60 v° in Martial d'Auvergne's *Les Vigiles de Charles VII*, 1484, Réserve des imprimés [Ye 305], Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote B.N. ms. franc. 5054; B.N. microfilm: N2 - Fol. Portraits, vol. 57])
[Reproduced in Pernoud, Joan of Arc, fig. 16 and Wallon, fig. 62, p.141; cited in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 22, cat. 8].

XXIII. Anonymous
[Jeanne d'Arc chevauchant]
N.D. [end of 15th Century]
(Bronze, Musée National du Moyen Agen - Thermes de Cluny, Paris)
[Reproduced in Pernoud, Joan of Arc, fig. I]

XXIV. Anonymous
[*Jeanne comparée a Judith*]
1440
(Color miniature on manuscript parchment in *Le champion des dames by Martin le Franc*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote ms. fr. 12476])
[Reproduced in Pernoud, *Jeanne d'Arc*, fig. 3a and Wallon, fig. 66, p. 147; cited in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. 4, p. 18]

XXV. Anonymous
[*Jeanne d'Arc vient annoncer a Charles VII, en son chateau de Loches, la libération d'Orléans]*
N.D. [Fifteenth century]
(125 x 145 mm)
(Color miniature on parchment, Centre Jeanne d'Arc [on loan from Gérald Paget], Orléans)
[Reproduced in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. 6, p. 21, illus. p. 20]

XXVI. Anonymous

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jeanne d'Arc: Portrait known as «des Échevins»
(also known as the *"Portrait de l'Hôtel de Ville"*)
[1581]
(1,280 x 800 mm)
(Musée historique et archéologique de l'Orléanais, Orléans)
Caption: *"IN ICONEM IANAE VOCOLAVRIAE VIRAGINIS AVRELIAE. / VIRGIGO REDIT. GALLO MVTA VEL IMAGINE FOELIX. / QVAM NVMEN QVONDAM PATRIAE NON MACHINA MISIT SUBSIDIO. / AVGVRIUM BONE REX HENRICE SALVTA. / DE COELIS EXCITA TVIS VIRGO ALTERA VOTIS. / FORTVNET REGNI AVSPICIVM. LANCEMQZ RETRACTET / VTRAQZ VT ANTIQVVM TVA SAECLA RECVDAT IN AVRUM. / G.V.G PP. 1581."*

XXVII. Charles DAVID
[*Jeanne d'Arc*]
N.D. [Debut of the seventeenth century]
(361 x 242 mm)
(Burin engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Qb 1 1431; BN microfilm: N2 - Fol. Portraits, vol. 57 (D 076425)]
Caption (below): *"Lors que cette jeune Pucelle, / Pour nous remettre en liberté, / Avec tant de facilité / Vous chassoit ainsi devant elle; / Ses armes cachoient ses habits, / Ce n'estoit rien qu'une Bergere: / Anglois, qu'eussiez vous peu moins faire, / Si vous eussiez este brebis: / L'ennemy tous droit violant, / Belle Amazone en vous bruslant, / Temoigna son ame perfide: / Mais le destin n'eut point de tort; / Celle qui viuoit comme Alcide, / Deuoit mourir comme il est mort."*

XXVIII. Léonard GAULTIER
IOHANNA DARC AURELIANENSIS PUELLA VULGO NUNCUPATA
1612
(Burin engraving, illustration in *Heroinae nobilissimae Ioannae Darc lotharingae vulgo Aurelianensis puellae Historia...* by Jean HORDAL, Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans)
[Reproduced in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. 29, pp. 44-45 (illus. p. 44); and Lanéry d'Arc, p. 78, no. 101]. Caption (along the upper margin of the print): *"TALIS IN ARMA RUIT BELLACI SCHEMATE VIRGO"*; (below): *"Pugnate audentes Galli: si tale tenebat / Palladium titubans Trois, perenis erat."*

XXIX. Zacharie HEINCE and François BIGNON (after Simon VOUET)
PUELLA AURELIACA sub Carolo 7^{O}
1690
(Engraving, illustration in *Les Hommes Illustres*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

et Grands Capitaines François / qui sont peints dans la Galerie du Palais Royal / Ensemble un abrégé de leurs vies et actions memorables / Avec leurs portraits, armes et devises, / Dessignés et gravés par les Sieurs Meince et Bignon / Peintres et Graveurs du Roy [Paris: Chez Charles de Sercy, 1690], Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans and Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [B.N. microfilm: N2 - Fol. Portraits, vol. 57 (D 076429)])
[Reproduced in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 46, cat. 32].

XXX. André THEVET
Jeanne la Pucelle
1584
(Frontispiece for *Jeanne d'Arc*, printed extract from Thevet's *Vrais Pourtraits et Vies des Hommes illustres* [Paris: veuve Keruert et Guil. Chaudiere, 1584], Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans)
[Reproduced in Images de Jeanne d'Arc, p. 23, cat. 11].

XXXI. Adrien HARMAND
Essai de reconstitution de l'étendard de Jeanne d'Arc (face)
[From Adrien Harmand, *Jeanne d'Arc: ses costumes, son armure* (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1929), fig. 17, p. 297]

XXXII. Henri CHAPU
Jeanne d'Arc en prière
(Alternatively entitled *Jeanne à Domrémy*, and *Jeanne entend ses voix, qui lui disent de partir au secours de la France*)
1870
(Marble, Musée du Louvre [formerly Musée du Luxembourg], Paris)
[Illustrated in Wallon, fig. 16; *Encyclopédie par l'image*, p.2]

XXXIII. Jean-Auguste-Dominique INGRES
Jeanne d'Arc au sacre du roi Charles VII, dans la cathédrale de Reims
1854
(Oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris)
[Illustrated in The Second Empire, 1852-1870: Art In France under Napoleon III, cat. no. VI-70]

XXXIV. Anonymous
Triomphe du roi Charles VII
[Illustration for Canto XXI of Voltaire's "*La Pucelle*"]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1775
(Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans [CJA: cliché no. 78 NB 57])

XXXV. Johann Heinrich RAMBERG
Jungfrau von Orleans
[Illustration for Act V, scene III of Schiller's *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*]
N.D.
(78 x 118 mm)
(Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans [CJA: cliché no. 83 NB 92 and 87 NB 34])

XXXVI. Anonymous
Jeanne dictant a Voltaire son poème «La pucelle d'Orléans»
[Frontispiece illustration for Voltaire's "*La Pucelle;*" in: Voltaire (François Arouet de), *La Pucelle d'Orléans. / Poëme héroï-comique / en / Dix-huit chants / Non vultus, non color unus. / Nouvelle édition. / sans faute et sans lacune. / Augmentée d'une epitre du Père Gris- / bourdon à Mr. de Voltaire, / et d'un jugement sur le poëme de la Pucelle à Mxxx. avec une Epigramme / sur le même Poëme* (London, 1775)]
1775
(85 x 0 mm)
(Engraving, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote Ae 16 rés. - pet. fol. LA PUCELLE; B.N. (microfilm): cliché no. M 310314])
[Reproduced in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc* , cat. 66, pp. 63-64]

XXXVII. Renaissance French and German felt and silk bérets and hats from the first half of the sixteenth century
[Line drawings by Ruth Turner Wilcox, from her text The Mode in Hats and Headdresses (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946)]

XXXVIII. Charles-Abraham CHASSELAT and Louis-François COUCHÉ fils
La Pucelle en habit de religieuse écoutant sa sentance de mort
1817
(Wood engraving, illustration in Le Brun de Charmettes's *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, surommée la Pucelle d'Orléans... [Paris: Arthur Bertrand, 1817], vol. IV, book XIII, Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans [cliché n. 78 NB 18])*
[Reproduced in Images de Jeanne d'Arc, cat. 98.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pp. 77-78 (illus. p. 77); and Lanéry d'Arc, p. 122, no. 194]
(84 x 126 mm)
Caption: "*La Pucelle en habit de religieuse écoutant sa sentance de mort.*"

XXXIX. Princess Marie d'ORÉANS (Mademoiselle de Valois, and Herzogin von Würtemberg)
Jeanne d'Arc (also entitled *Jeanne d'Arc en prier*)
[1836-1840]
(Plaster after the original in bronze from the Musée de Versailles, Musée Joseph Denais, Beaufort-en-Vallée)
(1,370 x 530 x 480 mm)
[Reproduced in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. 115, p. 91 (illus. p. 90)]

XL. Princess Marie d'ORÉANS (Mademoiselle de Valois, and Herzogin von Würtemberg)
Jeanne d'Arc
1839
(Bronze [illustrated by a German engraving (artists names illegible)], Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [B.N. (microfilm): cliché no. D 076546])
Caption: "*Jeanne d'Arc: Statue zu Versailles von der Herzogin Marie v. Würtemberg.*"

XLI. Gustave JACQUET
Jeanne d'Arc
N.D. [End of XIX Century]
(133 x 226 mm)
[CJA photo: cliché noir no. 87.NB.61]

XLII. A Map of France at the Time of Joan of Arc's Campaigns: 1429-1430
[Reproduced from Marina Warner, Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), pp. xvii-xviii].

XLIII. Augustin LEGRAND
La joie du peuple français à l'annonce du traité de Paix avec l'Empire
Engraving
[1802]
(Collection de Vuick, Département des estampes et de la photographie [cote Qb 1802, Coll. de Vuick, t. 10h], Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)
[B.N. photo: cliché no. 72 B59 722]
Caption: "*La paix Grand-Dieu! La paix quelle nouvelle! / Après six ans de trouble et de douler! / Sous l'Olivier la gloire nous appèle: / Gloire*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

et repos assurent le bohneur. / Nous le devons au zèle infatigable / de nos Guerirs, nuit et jours triomphans; / Nous le devons à ce Héros aimable / Si redoubte, si sage, en son printems [sic]..."

XLIV. Anonymous
La peinture d'Histoire encouragé par le Gouvt.
[1802]
(Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote Qb 1 15 avril 1802 Fol.])
[B.N. photo: cliché no. 66 C27 328]

XLV. "*...L'illustre Jeanne d'Arc a prouvé qu'il n'est pas de miracle que le génie français ne puisse produire dans les circonstances où l'independance nationale est menacée...*"
Extrait du Registre des séances du conseil municipal d'Orléans.--Séance du 30 frimaire an XI
[Handwritten comments by Napoléon Bonaparte, First Consul of France, inscribed on January 30, 1803, in the margins of the official minutes of the Municipal Council of Orléans's meeting of December 21, 1802]
1803
(Orléans: Centre Jeanne d'Arc)
[Reproduction, Edition du Centre Jeanne d'Arc d'Orléans]

XLVI. François BONNEVILLE
La Liberté: Patrone des Républicains français indivisible et invincible
N.D. [Late eighteenth century]
(Engraving, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. *B.N. photo: cliché no. 93 A 67580 [noire et blanc])
Inscribed: "*F. Bonneville Delin. et scuplsit., A Paris rue du Théatre Français.*"

XLVII. Anonymous
Dieu et le chef de l'Eglise protège Napoléon
1804
(Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Cote Qb1 mai-nov 1804; cliché no.s 69 B 47730 and 85 C 169509])

XLVIII. Anonymous
St. Napoleon, Officier Romain, Martyr
1804
(Etching, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Cote Qb 19-2-1806; cliché no. 64 C 24445])

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Caption: "*St. Napoleon ou Napoleone, nommé auparavant Neopolis ou Neopole célèbre par sa naissance et ses emplois...plus encore par le constance inébranlable avec quelle il confessa la foi dans Alexandrie en Egypt et par le courage qu'il montra dans les tourments sur la fin de la persécution de Diocletian et de Maximien...mort dans une prision après d'horribles tortures y perit des suites de ses blessures et s'endormit en paix pour J.C.*"

IL. *"Décret impérial concernant la fête de Saint Napoléon et celle du rétablissement de la religion catholique en France."*
February 19, 1806
(Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Cote Qb 1806; cliché no. 69 C 38146])

L. Coin struck to commemorate the re-erection of the Statue of Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans in 1803.
Recto: Bust of Napoléon facing right, "*NAPOLEON BONAPARTE PREMR. CONSUL DE LA REP.*"
Verso: Gois's Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat, "*A JEANNE D'ARC. MONUMENT RÉTABLI A ORLEANS L'AN XI L'INTR. J.P. MARET PREFET. A.E. CRIGNON DESORMEAU MAIRE. E. GOIS FILS INV. DUPRE SCULP.*"
1803
(55 mm.)
(Bronze, Collection of the American Numismatic Society)
[Illustrated New York, American Nusmatic Society, Joan of Arc, exhib. cat., 1913, pp. 94, 113].

LI. Charles-François-Joseph PENSÉE
Statue érigée sous le Consulat de Bonaprate, à la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc sur la place du Martroy
1835
(Lithograph)
[Reproduced in Jollis, *Monuments anciens et modernes érigés en France à la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc* (Orléans, 1834), plate 5]

LII. Anonymous
Le serment des amazones françaises au pied de la statue de Jeanne d'Arc
N.D. [After June 1815]
(Engraving, hand-colored)
[Reproduced in Le Nordez, p. 295]

LIII. Anonymous
Le serment des amazones françaises au pied de la

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

statue de Jeanne d'Arc
April 22, 1815
(Engraving, hand-colored, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Cote Qb 1815; cliché no. 751369562])
[Reproduced (dated "June 1815") in Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," fig. 9, p. 44]

LIV. Alexandre-Louis-Robert-Millin DUPERREUX
Vue de l'entrée de la ville de Vaucouleurs
[Salon of 1819]
(Formerly Musée d'Orléans, now lost)
[Reproduced in Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," fig. 4, p. 40 and Le Nordez, p. 81]

LV. Alexandre-Louis-Robert-Millin DUPERREUX
Vue du Château de Loches
Salon of 1819
(Oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours)
[Reproduced in Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," fig. 5, p. 41]

LVI. Pierre RÉVOIL
Jeanne d'Arc prisonnière à Rouen
1819
(Oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen)
(139 x 175 mm)
[Reproduced in Françôis Bergot, The Museum of Fine Arts, Rouen, collections catalogue, p. 71]

LVII. Fleury-François RICHARD
L'Ermitage de Vaucoulers
1819
(Oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 7479)
[Reproduced in Cavanna, p. 108]

LVIII. Auguste Jacques REGNIER
Paysage (also called *Jeanne d'Arc*)
Salon of 1819
(Oil on canvas, Château de Fontainebleau, Fontainebleau)
[Reproduced in Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," fig. 7, p. 42]

LIX. Mlle. VALLET
Jeanne au fort des Tourelles
N.D. [Lanéry d'Arc has proposed 1815 for the date of this publication. Note: Evidence that this image was produced during the Restoration may be found in the battle flag being waved by Jeanne d'Arc in the illustration, which is embellished with the royal *fleurs de lys*]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(Aquatint, signed M^lle^ Vallet, frontispiece illustration in the anonymous study *Jeanne d'Arc ou la Pucelle d'Orléans, fait historique du règne de Charles VII* [Paris: Montaudon, n.d.], Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans)
[Reproduced in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. 107. pp. 81-82 (illus. p. 81); and Lanéry d'Arc, p. 154, no. 227]
(93 x 66 mm)
Caption: "*La Pucelle, après un demi quart d'heure d'absence revint, elle courut au pied du fort, y planta son étendart.*"

LX. Jean-François LEGENDRE-HÉRAL
Jeanne d'Arc
1820
(Bust sculpture/fountain, Domremy) [Illustrated by an engraving by Charles PENSÉE]
[Reproduced in M. Jollois, *Monuments anciens et modernes érigés en France à la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc, recueil composé de neuf feuilles de dessins lithographies par Ch. Pensée, avec un texte historique et desciptif par Mr. Jollois* (Orléans: Garnier, 1834), pl. 2]

LXI. Charles-Joseph-Alexis GÉRARDIN
"*La maison de Jeanne d'Arc et ses abords aprés la destruction du logis de Gérardin et des maisons voisines, et la construction du bâtiment de l'école (1820)*"
(Drawing made by GÉRARDIN in a letter of correspondance with Jollois)
[Reproduced by Marot, *Jeanne la bonne Lorraine à Domremy*, p. 93]

Note: Jeanne d'Arc's home is located on the far left. (The building may be recognized by its rustic roofline, which steeply pitches to the right). The house is partially obscured by the new girls' school that faces directly onto a large sand-covered esplanade. In the center distance (to the right behind the school) may be seen the church tower of Domremy; and in the right foreground--facing the school--is Legendre-Héral's monument to Jeanne d'Arc shown in profile. On the far right, behind this memorial fountain, a line of poplars and a wooden balustrade mark the edge of the esplanade that overlooks the banks of the Meuse river in Domremy.

LXII. Louis DUCIS
Captivité de Jeanne d'Arc

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Salon of 1824
[Reproduced in Le Nordez, p. 328; cited in Arthes, p. 8]

LXIII. Paul DELAROCHE
Jeanne d'Arc interrogée par le cardinal de Winchester
1824
(Oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen)
(2,77 x 2,175)
[Reproduced in *La Jeanne d'Arc de Paul Delaroche*, cat. 1, p. 116]

LXIV. Paul DELAROCHE
Jeanne d'Arc interrogée par le cardinal de Winchester
1824
(Oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen)
(2,77 x 2,175)
[Illustrated by engraving by REVEIL (after DELAROCHE) in Landon, *Annales du musée* (1824), pl. 32]

LXV. *Jeanne sur le lieu du supplice*
[Illustrated by engraving after a miniature from the sixteenth century, reproduced in Wallon, fig. 142, p. 345]

LXVI. Godefroy ENGLEMANN, after Alexandre-Évariste FRAGONARD
Jeanne sur le bûcher
1822
(Lithograph by ENGLEMANN, after a drawing by FRAGONARD, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote N2 Arc])
(275 x 245)
[Also reproduced at the Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans [cliché no. 83 NB 117])

LXVII. *Le peuple au 27 Juillet*
1830
(Lithograph, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote Qb1 1830])
[Subtitled: "*Pourriez vous me dire, citoyen, ce qu'est devenue la liberté.*"]

LXVIII. KAEPPELIN and [du GEISSLER]
La Liberté
August 9, 1830
(Lithograph, Département des estampes et de la

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote Qb1 82c113212)
[Subtitled: *"La France portant le deuil de ses enfants, mort pour elle, foule aux pieds les insignes de la royauté parjure et protege de son glaire la demeure du Roi quelle a chose."*]

LXIX. Jean-Ignace-Isodore GRANDVILLE
La France livrée aux corbeaux de toute espérance
(Lithograph, published in *La Caricature*, 15 October 1831, no. 50, pl. 100; Musée Carnavalet, Paris [inv. G 8673])
[Reproduced in The Art of the July Monarchy, p. 7, pl. 16, (see also cat. 94, p. 259)].

LXX. Princess Marie d'ORLÉANS (Mademoiselle de Valois, and Herzogin von Würtemberg)
Statue équestre de Jeanne d'Arc
(Alternately entitled: *"...Et considérant la grande destruction d'Angloys... Se prist a plourer la Pucelle"*; and *Jeanne pleurant à la vue des blessés*)
[1834 or 1835]
(Bronze [cast by CHARNOUD], Hôtel de Ville, Orléans)
(H: 520, Base: 490 x 380)
[Illustrated by a lithograph, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote N2 - Fol. 0123]; see also *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. 118, pp. 91-92 (dated "c. 1839")]

LXXI. Henry SCHEFFER
L'Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans
(Alternately entitled: *Jeanne d'Arc faisant son entré dans la ville d'Orléans, le soir du 8 mai 1429*)
Salon of 1843
(Oil on canvas, Galerie des Batailles, Musée Historique de Versailles)
[Reproduced in Gaehtgens, *Versailles: De la résidence royale au musée historique*, pp. 164-165]

LXXII. Léon-Louis FLEURET
Nouvelle armée française, pour imiter les Polonaise
1830
(Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote Qb - 1830 / Coll. Hennin / t. 165 / 14528; cliché no. 57 A 8185])

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LXXIII. Jean-Auguste-Dominique INGRES
Jeanne d'Arc
1846
(Buring engraving after Ingres by POLLET, for Mennechet's *La Plutarque français*, Musée Ingres, Montaubon)
(35.3 x 27.1)
[Reproduced in "*Vierges folles et vierges sages: Jeanne d'Arc,*" *Papiers d'Ingres*, Collections Graphiques du Musée Ingres, no. 8 (Montaubon: Musée Ingres, 1992), p. 7]

LXXIV. Cesi Juno
(also known as: Amazon)
(Marble, Musei Capitolini, Rome)
H: 2.28 m
[Reproduced in Francis Haskell and Nicolas Penny, Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), cat. 51, p.242]

LXXV. Ary SCHEFFER
Le Supplice de Jeanne d'Arc
N.D. (possibly 1827)
(Formerly Collection Marjolin-Scheffer)
[Illustrated by a print after Scheffer by Jean-Joseph Pélissier, Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliché no. 87 NB 27; also illustrated in Wallon, fig. 353, fig. 148; cited in P.J. Mariette, "*Iconographie de Jeanne d'Arc d'après des publications illustrées,*" *Jehanne la Pucelle* 13-14 (July 10-25, 1911), p. 219]

LXXVI. Hiram POWERS
The Greek Slave
1843
(Marble, after original plaster, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven)
(H: 65 1/2")
[Reproduced in Rosenblum and Janson, 19th-Century Art, fig. 156, p. 198]

LXXVII. Jean-Léon GÉRÔME
The Slave Market
early 1860s
(Oil on canvas, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA)

LXXVIII. Eugène DEVERIA
La mort de Jeanne d'Arc
1831
[Reproduced in Wallon, fig. 143; listed as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Collection of Musée d'Angers]

LXXIX. Jean-Jacques FEUCHÈRE
Jeanne d'Arc sur le bûcher
Salon of 1845
(Marble, formerly Hôtel-de-Ville, Rouen)
(Plaster version was also exhibited at Salon of 1835)
[Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliché 87 NB 57]

LXXX. VAYRON
Adieux de Janne d'Arc, chant national
1847
(Lithograph, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote N2 - Fol. Portraits, Vol. 57 bis], cliché no. D 076484])

LXXXI. Anonymous
"C'est de la gloire et non sang qui coule de ma blessure..."
(Copper-plate engraving, illustration for H. Lemaire, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc, surnommée la Pucelle d'Orléans* [Paris: chez Belin Le Prieur, 1833], pl. III, p.108, Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans)
[See also "*Jeanne blessé*," Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliché no. 83 NB 86]

LXXXII. Anonymous
"Jeanne d'Arc plantant son drapeau au siège d'Orléans"
(Copper-plate engraving, illustration for H. Lemaire, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc, surnommée la Pucelle d'Orléans* [Paris: chez Belin Le Prieur, 1833], pl. III, p.108, Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans)
[See also "*Jeanne blessé*," Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliché no. 83 NB 86]

LXXXIII. Jean-Victor SCHNETZ
Jeanne d'Arc revêtant ses armes
1834
[Illustrated by an engraving by Ferdinand DELANNOY in Charles Gavard, *Galeries historiques de Versailles*, vol. 8 (Paris, 1866?), n.p.; see also *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. no. 88, pp. 73-74 (illus. p. 74)]

LXXXIV. Jean-François-Théodore GECHTER
Jeanne d'Arc
1838
(Plaster sculpture, illustrated by an illustration from the *Journal des artistes* [1838, no. 12, vol.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1] by Nicolas RENIÉ and [Louis-François] CHARON, Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliché no. 87 NB 21, no. 83-04-0194)

LXXXV. Marie d'ORLÉANS
Statue équestre de Jeanne d'Arc
(Alternately entitled: *"...Et considérant la grande destruction d'Angloys... Se prist a plourer la Pucelle"*; and *Jeanne pleurant à la vue des blessés*)
1835
(Bronze [cast by CHARNOUD], Hôtel de Ville, Orléans)
(H: 520, Base: 490 x 380)
[Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliché no. 79 NC 74]

LXXXVI. FISCBACH, after Marie d'ORLÉANS
[*Jeanne d'Arc en armes*]
(Porcelain bisque, Manufacture nationale de Sèvres, archives, Sèvres)
(560 x 350)
[Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliché no. 79 NC 72; also reproduced *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. 120, p. 92]

LXXXVII. Marie d'ORLÉANS
Jeanne d'Arc
[1837, cast in 1840]
(Bronze, Maison de Jeanne d'Arc, Domremy)
[Photo: Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliché no. 92 CP 515]

LXXXVIII. Marie d'ORLÉANS
[*Fontaine Jeanne d'Arc*]
[1837, cast N.D.]
(Bronze, Noisey-le-Sec)
[Photo: Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliché no. 92 CP 886]

LXXXIX. [Hippolyte-Louis-Emile or Polydore-Jean-Charles] PAUQUET, after Marie d'ORLÉANS
Jeanne devant ses juges à Poitiers
1844
(Lithograph, illustration for Alexandre Guillemin, *Jeanne d'Arc, poème en douze chants* [Paris: L. Churmer, 1844], p. 232)
[Subtitle: "*«Je n'ai rien, ne suis rien de moi-même, / Mais des ordres d'en haut j'entends la voix suprême»*"]
[See also Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliche no. 78 NB 16; Images de Jeanne d'Arc, cat. no. 122, p.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

93; and Lanéry d'Arc, p. 787, no. 1754]

XC. Anonymous
Départ de Jeanne d'Arc de Vaucouleurs
[Illustration for Duland, *Les Duc de Lorraine* (*Noisy and Rouen:* Megnard & Cie, 1858)
[Subtitle: *"Va lui, dit-il, et advienne qui pourrez"*]
[Photo: Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliche no. 83 NB 22]

XCI. HAGUENTAL and FAGONDE
Jeanne d'Arc
[1847]
(Lithograph, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [cote N2 - Vol. 57 bis], cliché no. D 076455])

XCII. Prosper d'EPIGNY
Jeanne d'Arc au sacre
1902
(Ivory, lapis lazuli, and polychromed marble, Cathedrale de Reims, Reims)
[Other versions of this sculpture exist, including (painted plaster, 1900, Dijon, Église Saint-Michel), and (marble, ivory, wood, [1902?], Église Saint-Pierre-le-Moûtier, Saint-Pierre-le-Moûtier) (*Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 272)
[Photo: Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliché no. 92 CP 819; see also *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 222, cat. no.s 129-130]

XCIII(a). Anonymous, after Marie d'ORLÉANS
Handbell with handle representing a statue of Joan of Arc
(Formerly Musée Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans)
[Reproduced in Le Nordez, p. 228]

XCIII(b). Anonymous, after Marie d'ORLÉANS
[Jeanne d'Arc]
(Chateaugay)
[photo: Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans]

XCIV. [Achille-Jacques-Jean-Marie] DEVERIA
Jeanne et Marie d'Orléans
N.D.
(Sépia and white gouache, Musée historique, Orléans)
[Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliché no. 79 NC 73; reproduced in Images de Jeanne d'Arc (where it is mistitled "*Jeanne et Marie d'Anjou*"), cat. 119, p. 92]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

XCV. Adolphe MOUILLERON
La princesse Marie dans son atelier devant la statue de Jeanne d'Arc
N.D.
(Lithograph)
[Reproduced in Pierre Marot, *Le culte de Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy: son origine et son développement* (Nancy: Palais Ducal, Éditions du Pays lorrain, 1956), p. 36]

XCVI. Sébastien DELARUE
Marie d'Orléans avec la statue de Jeanne d'Arc
N.D.
(Private collection; reproduced in Gaehtgens, *Versailles: De la résidence royale au musée historique*, p. 162)

XCVII. Auguste VINCHON
Louis-Philippe et la famille royale contemplent la statue de Jeanne d'Arc dans le Galeries de Versailles [also known as, "*Inauguration de la statue de Jeanne d'Arc de Marie d'Orléans*"]
1848
(Oil on canvas, Musée de Versailles, Versailles)
(1,900 x 1,500)
[Photo: Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans, cliché no. 79 NC 52; reproduced in Images de Jeanne d'Arc, cat. no. 117, p. 91]

XCVIII. Franx-Xavier WINTERHALTER
Louis-Philippe dans la Galerie des Batailles, Versailles
1841
(Oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris)
[Reproduced Gaehtgens, p. 168]

IC. François RUDE
Jeanne d'Arc écoutant ses voix
1852
(Marble, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon [on deposit from the Musée du Louvre, Paris; originally Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris])
[Reproduced Images de Jeanne d'Arc, p. 196, cat. 2, see also pp. 198, 289-290]

C. [Photograph of Ingres installation at the 1855 *Exposition Universelle*]
1855
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)
[Reproduced in Mainardi, fig. 33, p. 50]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Introduction

MAKING HISTORY:
The Beginning of Jeanne d'Arc's Afterlife

"Jeanne d'Arc, ce nom si magnifique au triple aspect de la Religion, de l'Histoire de l'Art."[1]

The Anglo-French struggle for sovereignty in France did not end until more than twenty years after the death of Jeanne d'Arc. Then, in 1453, the fierce and bloody conflict that had been waged between the peoples of two nations finally drew to a close, ending the war that had begun in 1337 when Edward III claimed the crown of France for himself and England. It took more than two decades for the Maid's visionary aspirations of a unified, autonomous France to be realized fully; it took even longer for her conviction as a heretic in 1431 to be overturned officially.

Serious reconsideration of the Maid's trial verdict began in 1450, after the Armagnacs finally expelled the English from Normandy, the region of France where Rouen was located. This long-sought Anglo-Burgundian expulsion afforded the Maid's former allies their first access to the records of her trial in that city. Shortly after his victorious entry into Rouen, Charles VII ordered an inquiry into Jeanne d'Arc's demise there almost twenty years earlier. This inquiry (led by the royal counselor M. Guillaume Bouillé) determined that the "*procès de*

---

[1]"Joan of Arc, this name so magnificent in the triple aspect of religion, of history, of art" (Aufrère-Duvernay, p. 9).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

condamnation" against *La Pucelle* had been political in nature, motivated by the Anglo-Burgundian desire to destroy "the instrument of Charles VII's victories and coronation."[2] However, because her trial had been conducted by an ecclesiastic court, not by a secular tribunal, the Maid's condemnation--however politically impelled--could only be overturned by the Church. Only another Inquisition could annul the verdict of the original trial proceedings; thus a second ecclesiastic inquiry was begun in 1452, under the direction of the prelate Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville. Cardinal d'Estouville, like the royal counselor Bouillé before him, found the Maid innocent and her condemnation unjust. It was only in 1455, however, at the insistence of Isabelle Romée, the surviving aged mother of Jeanne *la Pucelle*, that an official "*rehabilitation*" (a juridical, ecclesiastic reconsideration of the Maid's conviction) was finally authorized by the Pope. In 1456, after one hundred and fifteen witnesses were called to give evidence, this "*procés en nullité*" was concluded, and the verdict of heresy against Jeanne d'Arc was rescinded.[3]

The "*rehabilitation*" of the Maid's good standing among French Catholics is relevant to a study of the Maid's ensuing popular representation in France because, from the fifteenth century onward, *l'Eglise Catholique* played a

---

[2]Pernoud, p. 259.

[3]Pernoud, p. 271.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

consistent and vital role in promoting the public veneration of the Maid of Orléans. Her well-documented ecclesiastic exoneration in the fifteenth century is also significant because the voluminous surviving transcripts of both her first and second trials have offered later generations of historians, authors, and artists extensive insight into the life of Joan of Arc as understood and recorded by her contemporaries.

Among the extant official documents that detail the events of her conviction and "rehabilition" are three complete notarized copies of the transcripts of Joan of Arc's first trial, which were drawn up and translated into Latin around 1435; portions of the original, contemporary court transcriptions by the trial's notary in Old French from 1431; and the complete records and transcripts of the official *procés en nullité* of 1455-56.[4] In the pages of

---

[4]These three notarized transcripts were translated and transcribed for the King of England, for the Grand Inquisitor of France, and for the Bishop of Beauvais (Pierre Cauchon, who led the trial proceedings in 1431). According to W.P. Barrett: "The official text of the trial was drawn up some time after Jeanne's death, not earlier, it is certain, than 1435, by Thomas de Courcelles, who, with the aid of Guillaume Manchon, translated into Latin the original French examinations, and completed the Proceedings by the insertion of the necessary letters. Considerable publicity was given to their work, five copies were made, of which the Inquisitor, the King of England, and Cauchon, each received one. Evidently the French minutes of Jeanne's answers, written down each day as the trial proceeded, would have a unique value. A small fragment of it only is preserved, in the MS. d'Urfé, but, although this record does not begin until the twelfth session, it is especially interesting as it preserves the flavour of Jeanne's crisp country speech, which is almost entirely evaporated in the Latin" (Barrett, pp. 17-18).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

these extensive manuscripts one may read not only the specific nature of the charges made against Jeanne d'Arc in 1431 by the Burgundian clerics, the exact transgressions for which she was condemned, and the later grounds for her "*rehabilitation*" in the 1450s, but also the way she dressed, the way she wore her hair, and even the very words of the Maid herself and of her most intimate associates, including her mother, her brothers, and her squire. Together, these original texts make Joan of Arc one of the most thoroughly documented figures of the Middle Ages.[5]

It was not until 1841, however, that the French public was afforded uniform, practicable access to the documents related to Joan of Arc's inquisition and rehabilitation, for only then were they published in their first modern French translation by Jules Quicherat.[6] Thus ignorance, perhaps

---

[5]As Régine Pernoud wrote: "The text of the two trials and the public and private papers which confirm the conclusions from those texts, make Joan one of the best-documented people in history, one of those about whom we are really informed" (Pernoud, p. 276).

[6]Jules Quicherat, trans., *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La Pucelle*, 5 vols. (1841). However, it must be noted that numerous accounts of the Maid's life--and cross-dressed appearance--were widely published and distributed before that time, including Clément de L'Averdy's *Notice et extraits des mansuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi* 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1970), which remained an important source for subsequent Johannique scholars throughout the nineteenth century; Nicolas Lenglet-Dufresnoy's *Histoire de Jeanne Darc, vierge, héroïne et martyre d'état* 3 vols. (Paris: Coutellier, Pissot & Chardon, 1753-4); and Philippe-Alexandre Le Brun de Charmettes's *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc surnommé la Pucelle d'Orléans* 4 vols. (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1817), which postdated Gois's canvas, but which probably influenced the production of many images of the Maid during the Restoration and July Monarchy;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(as well as poetic license), may account for such historic misrepresentations of Jeanne d'Arc as E.-É.-F. Gois's sculpted portrayal of the Maid leading a call to arms garbed in a long flowing gown (from circa 1801)[fig. I], and her earlier endowment with abundant and unbound long hair in a painting by Peter Paul Rubens (from circa 1620)[fig. IX].

Both of these images contradict the direct evidence of contemporary witnesses at the Maid's trials, whose testimony indicates clearly that once she left her home at Domremy, Joan wore only masculine attire, and cut her hair "round above her ears" like a man.[7] Nevertheless, even after the broad dissemination of her trial transcripts, feminizing and patently ahistoric liberties continued to be taken with the Maid's image by artists throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. For example, even J.-A.-D. Ingres, an

---

indeed, Le Brun de Charmette's study remained influential throughout the 1800s as a source of information on the life of Jeanne d'Arc.

[7]In battle, in fact, Joan wore the full armored suit of a "man-at-arms." Numerous passages in the transcripts of Jeanne d'Arc's trial (as published after her death around 1435) detail her cross-dressing and masculine haircut. For example, in late March, it was alleged at her inquisition that: "...the said Jeanne required the said Captain [Robert de Baudricourt] to have a male costume made for her, with arms to match; which he did, reluctantly, and with great repugnance, finally consenting to her demand. When these garments and these arms were made, fitted and completed, the said Jeanne put off and entirely abandoned woman's clothes; with her hair cropped short and round like a young fop's, she wore shirt, breeches, doublet, with hose joined together and fastened to said doublet by 20 points, long leggings laced on the outside, a short mantle reaching to the knees, or thereabouts, a close-cut cap, tight-fitting boots and buskins, long spurs, sword, dagger, breast plate, lance and other arms in the style of man-at-arms..." (Barrett, p. 152).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

artist who was almost pedantic in his inclusion of documented, historicizing detail, depicted the Maid with long hair in his otherwise painstakingly accurate canvas of 1854 [fig. XXXIII]. Indeed, again and again throughout the 1800s (well after Quicherat's translation was published), artists continued to depict Jeanne d'Arc with the signal, inaccurate attribute of long hair; and often they persisted in dressing her in at least some modified version of female attire (typically a long or short skirt), even when they included incongruous portions of a suit of armor (such as a plumed helmet or a breast-plate) in their varied portrayals of her as a warrior in battle, for example, a defendant before her inquisition, or a martyr at the stake.

In the ensuing analysis of the formation and transformation of Joan of Arc's image throughout the nineteenth century, this issue of Joan of Arc's "transvestitism"--the representational depiction *and* elision of both her cross-dressing and her transgressive coiffure--will be addressed in relation to the economy of sexual politics, as well as the very language of gender representation and differentiation in French art and society during the nineteenth century. This critique of the Maid's "engenderment" (the gendered, feminizing sexualization of her representation) will not be treated as a concern distinct from the political impetuses that served to impel and determine the reformation of her image in the 1800s, but

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rather as an implicitly conjoined function of those exigencies. That is to say, the Maid's sexualized representation will be regarded as a political act, as much as will be her latter-day reincarnation as a loyal monarchist, a xenophobic nationalist, a fervent *croyant*, and an obedient and humble peasant girl by the varied agencies of ecclesiatic and political power in France.

Shaped as much by politics as aesthetics, the representation of Joan of Arc's image in French nineteenth century painting and sculpture will be shown to offer a brilliant, if perhaps distorted, mirror of those forces in French society that called Joan forth to do their bidding. In taking account of these shifting and compelling characterizations of the Maid, Christine de Pisan's jubilant exclamation, "Oh! What honor for the feminine sex!,"[8] will be posed as a question, as well as a declarative statement. What honor indeed, it will be asked, was Joan of Arc for the feminine sex?

---

[8]Pisan's poem "*Dítié de Jehanne d'Arc*" (from which this line was drawn) was the first written celebration of the Maid's accomplishments. Completed on July 31, 1429, the poem was inspired apparently by the recent raising of the seige of Orléans by Joan of Arc's forces, and by the coronation of the *Dauphin* as Charles VII, fourteen days before at Rheims (Raknem, p. 35).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Part I

THE CRUX OF THE LEGEND:
Jeanne la Pucelle in the Political Field

> Historians long ago began to write the history of the body. They have studied the body in the field of historical demography or pathology; they have considered it as the seat of needs and appetites, as the locus of physiological processes and metabolisms,...they have shown to what extent historical processes were involved in what might seem to be the purely biological base of existence.... But the body is also directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs.
>
> Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish (1979)[9]

---

[9]Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1979), p. 25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 1

The Neglected Years: A Reconsideration of Jeanne d'Arc's Modern Rediscovery

> "...While traveling in China in 1971, a French diplomat one day showed President Kuo Mo-Jo the silver medal of the French Assembly with its effigy of the Republic as a woman. Kuo Mo-Jo...thought the woman must be Joan of Arc and was astonished when Monsieur Peyrefitte explained it was 'Marianne.' But why, he asked, is Joan of Arc not the symbol of your Republic? It would have taken an exposé of the entire recent history of France to explain to him why it was impossible that this role should be assumed even by a friend of the king and daughter of God, however much of a patriot she may have been and however popular."
>
> Maurice Agulhon, Marianne into Battle (1981)[10]

Despite the many studies that have been published on the afterlife of Joan of Arc in French culture during the last two hundred years, the subject of the Maid of Orléans in the visual arts has been suprisingly overlooked. As Norman D. Ziff wrote, although "the Jeanne d'Arc revival in history and literature [is] a well-covered field, Jeanne d'Arc in art [is] a surprisingly neglected subject."[11] Of the many historiographies on the afterlife of Joan of Arc in France that have been published in the twentieth century, the following are notable examples, Gustave Rudler's *Michelet, historien de Jeanne d'Arc* (1929), Egide Jeanne's

---

[10]Maurice Agulhon, Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 182.

[11]Norman D. Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc and French Restoration Art." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* XCIII (January 1979), p. 46.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

L'Image de la Pucelle d'Orléans dans la littérature historique française depuis Voltaire (1953), Charles Maurras's *La Politique de Jeanne d'Arc* (1955), Régine Pernoud's many books on the subject (especially her study *Jeanne d'Arc* of 1959), Charles Wayland Lightbody's The Judgements of Joan: Joan of Arc; a Study in Cultural History (1961), Frances Gies's Joan of Arc: The Legend and the Reality (1981), Marina Warner's Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism (1981), Michel Lamy's *Jeanne d'Arc* (1987), and Susan Dunn's article: "Michelet and Lamartine: Making and Unmaking the Nationalist Myth of Joan of Arc" (Romanic Review, May 1989).

Remarkably, however, no critical and analytic research has been published on the image of Joan of Arc in the visual arts. A survey of the field reveals only a few limited studies. Three texts have made an attempt at enumerating, without a thorough contextual analysis, some of the many examples of the image of the Maid in French painting and sculpture: These are, in the late nineteenth century, F.E. Desnoyer's *L'Iconographie de Jeanne d'Arc* (1876) and Albert Le Nordez's *Jeanne d'Arc racontée par l'image* (1898), and, more recently, A. Pingeot and Régine Pernoud's ambitious catalogue, *Images de Jeanne d'Arc* (for an exhibition at the Hôtel de la Monnaie in Paris in 1979). Of these texts, none treats the subject of Jeanne d'Arc in France during the Napoléonic years in a comprehensive manner. Indeed, one of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the most neglected aspects of nineteenth century Jeanne d'Arc iconography is that of *Jeanne d'Arc*'s image during Napoléon's rule in France during the Consulate (1799-1805) and First Empire (1805-1814), for no author has closely considered the expansive development of her modern image during that time.

One of the first and only scholarly considerations of the Maid's image in French art--Norman Ziff's article "Jeanne d'Arc and French Restoration Art" (1979)--for example, wholly overlooked the events of the Napoléonic regime in accounting for the rise of the Maid's image in the 1800s. Ziff, rather, credited the efforts of Restoration painters, poets, and playwrights for Jeanne d'Arc's transformation from "a shadowy medieval maiden" into "a major phenomenon early in the [nineteenth] century", and her eventual rise as "France's best known and most cherished national heroine" in the years after the last Bourbon monarchs, Louis XVIII (1814-1824) and Charles X (1824-1830), ruled in France.[12]

Following Ziff's conclusions, subsequent scholarly attention to the subject of Joan of Arc in the visual arts has continued to ignore those images of Joan produced between the Revolution and the return of the Bourbon monarchy. In the exhibition catalogue *Images de Jeanne d'Arc* (a comprehensive study of the Maid's iconography from

---

[12]Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc and French Restoration Art," p. 37.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

her own day to 1979), for example, discussion of the Maid's image in French art leapt from her representation during the late sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries (with Jacqueline Melet-Sanson's essay "*Le Temps des panaches*," Chapter 3),[13] to Joan of Arc's image from 1814 onward (with an abbreviated translation of Ziff's study "*Jeanne d'Arc et l'art de la Restauration française*," Chapter 4).[14] Thus one and a half decades of Joan representation--that is, the vital years between 1800 and 1814--were neglected in the *Images de Jeanne d'Arc* catalogue. Furthermore, in his abridged article in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, Ziff strengthened his contention that "*some* of the credit...should go to French Restoration artists [emphasis added]" for "their contribution" to "Jeanne d'Arc's revival" by asserting even more forcefully that it was *only* through the efforts of the Restoration artists that Joan of Arc ever became recognized as "an eminent person" at all in France. As he wrote:

> *Bien que la redécouverte moderne de Jeanne d'Arc date de la première moitié du XVIII^{e} siècle, ce n'est qu'à la Restauration des Bourbons qu'elle se trouve glorifiée comme une véritable et célèbre héroïne. En effet, si celle qui n'était jusque-là qu'une obscure pucelle médievale devient un personnage éminent du*

---

[13]Jacqueline Melet-Sanson, "*Le temps des panaches*," Chapter 3 in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc: Hommage pour le 550^{e} anniversaire de la libération d'Orléans et du sacre*, exhibition catalogue (Paris: *Hôtel de la Monnaie*, 1979), pp. 35-39.

[14]Norman D. Ziff, "*Jeanne d'Arc et l'art de la Restauration française*," trans. M. V. Clin, Chapter 4 in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 69-70.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *patrimoine de la conscience et de la connaissance françaises, c'est aux artistes de la Restauration que devrait en revenir tout le mérite, eux pour qui Jeanne fut un sujet privilégié.*[15]

What Ziff and other recent scholars critically overlooked, however, was a series of vital, earlier developments in Jeanne d'Arc's iconography during the Napoléonic era. These developments included the erection of a popularly celebrated and nationally funded sculpture by Edme-Étienne-François Gois fils, *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* (1802)[16][fig. I]; although obscure today, Gois's image of the Maid dominated Jeanne d'Arc iconography throughout the Napoléonic era and into the early years of the Restoration. They also included a significant body of literature and theatrical works about Jeanne d'Arc that were published and performed during the first decades of the

---

[15]"Although the modern rediscovery of Joan of Arc dates to the first half of the eighteenth century, it was only during the Restoration of the Bourbons that she found herself glorified as a veritable and celebrated heroine. Indeed if she, who until then had been only an obscure medieval maiden, became an eminent person in the patrimony of the French consciousness, it is to the artists of the Restoration that all the merit should be due, for it was through them that she became a privileged subject" (Norman D. Ziff, "*Jeanne d'Arc et l'art de la restauration française*," in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 69).

[16]Exhibited (as a plaster *maquette*) at the Salon des Beaux-Arts in 1802, Gois's sculpture of the Maid was singled out for praise there by Napoléon; it was also suggested then that Gois be commissioned to cast a bronze edition of his sculpture to replace the Jeanne d'Arc monument in Orléans which had been destroyed in 1792 (see below). Dedicated in Orléans in 1803, Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* was the first major art work of the Maid to be erected after the revolution of 1789. (For a further discussion of Gois's Jeanne d'Arc, see Chapter 6 below).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nineteenth century in France, including Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller's widely influential, international theatrical success *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (1801).

Contemporary scholars of Jeanne d'Arc have also overlooked certain significant developments in her iconography that occurred during the eighteenth century. One of the most important such events, that had a powerful impact on the representation of Jeanne d'Arc throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was the expansive dissemination of Voltaire's epic-length poem "*La Pucelle d'Orléans*" beginning in the mid-1700s. Circulated throughout Europe in both manuscript and published form, Voltaire's "Pucelle" remained for over a century one of the most widely read and controversial texts on this subject in France.[17]

In a similarly odd omission, no contemporary Jeanne scholars have sought to consider the actual impact of the French Revolution on the image of Jeanne d'Arc in France. (The idea that the French Revolution brought change to the popular following of such an iconic figure from the ancien régieme as Jeanne d'Arc has seemed, perhaps, too obvious to warrant observation, hence the relative critical silence surrounding this subject). Of course, Jeanne d'Arc's

---

[17]Completed in the 1730s, Voltaire's famous (or perhaps, infamous) mock epic *La Pucelle d'Orléans: poëme en vignt-un-chants* was published in its definitive form in Geneva in 1762 under the pseudonym Dom Apuleius Risorius, after several pirated editions had already appeared in London and Paris.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

traditional image as a pious and brave peasant girl, who saved the throne and nation of France through the divine intervention of God, was transformed during the social upheaval in the last years of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the common notion (which prevailed during the nineteenth century and continues today) that Jeanne d'Arc was "a victim of the Revolution of 1789 sharing the misfortune of the Bourbons themselves"[18] is belied by some cogent evidence to the contrary, including such officially sanctioned honors as the dedication of a bronze cannon to the Maid in Orleans in 1792 (during a time, it might be noted, of rising anti-clericism and anti-royalism in the French Revolution).[19]

Despite their breadth, scope, and complexity, these developments in the eighteenth century nevertheless have been all but ignored in the recent scholarship of Jeanne d'Arc iconography in France. In Ziff's and Melet-Sanson's writings on Jeanne d'Arc, for example, neither author makes more than a passing reference to Voltaire's text, or the effects of the French revolution on the subsequent development of her image during the last two centuries. These critical ommissions are made all the more noticeable by both authors inclusion of illustrations directly inspired

---

[18]Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc and French Restoration Art," p. 37.

[19]For further discussion of this incident, see below.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

by Voltaire's text.[20]

For the first time in recent scholarship, these significant, albeit academically neglected subjects will be addressed in detail. The vital roles played by the French revolution and Voltaire's poem in developing and transforming the modern image of Jeanne d'Arc will be the subject of the next two chapters (Chapters 2 and 3) of this dissertation. (Chapter 3 will also address the sexualized--even, at times, pornographic treatment--of Jeanne d'Arc's image in the eighteenth century). Chapter 4 will be devoted to exploring the influence of Schiller's play (a dramatic--and equally sexualized--response to Voltaire's satire) on Jeanne d'Arc's iconography in the nineteenth century. Chapters 5 to 7 will demonstrate further that it was during the Consulate (1799-1805) and First Empire (1805-1814), rather than during the Restoration of the Monarchy (1814-1830) [which will be the topic of Chapter 8], that the rising *"culte de Jeanne d'Arc"* began to be celebrated nationally in France, following an ostensible (and, as shall be shown, debatable) decline of the Maid's image during the

---

[20]See, for example, the illustrations *Mr de Voltaire* (cat. 65, p.63) [fig. VII, also entitled *Voltaire écrivant "La Pucelle"*] and *Jeanne dictant à Voltaire son poème «La Pucelle d'Orléans»* (cat. 66, p. 63) in Chapter 3 of Images de Jeanne d'Arc by Melet-Sanson; and Jeanne d'Arc (fig.2, p. 39) [fig. VI] in Ziff's "Jeanne d'Arc and French Restoration Art."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

last decades of the eighteenth century.[21] The success (and later neglect) of one single sculpture, E.-É.-F. Gois *fils* *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* will be the focus of an entire chapter (Chapter 6), because this work not only dominated the iconography of Jeanne d'Arc for over one and half decades in France, but also because the remarkable, mercurial rise and fall of this sculpture demonstrates clearly the vital link between art and politics. The dissertation will conclude in Chapter 9 with a study of the Maid's image under the July Monarchy, and a discussion of the continued tradition of sexualizing and feminizing Joan of Arc's image in the mid-1800s.

Although the focal subject of this dissertation is the representation of Jeanne d'Arc during the first half of the nineteenth century, issues attendant to her image in the eighteenth century will be studied closely, with the belief that one may better discern the subsequent contribution made by the artists of the Napoléonic era and after in the "revival" of this subject by also understanding clearly what

---

[21]Throughout the nineteenth century, it was widely held that the popularity of *la Pucelle d'Orléans* suffered a profound decline in the later 1700s, during the time of the French Revolution. The nature (or very existence) of this supposed decline will be discussed below. Contrary to this notion, however, it has been suggested by Ziff that Joan of Arc's popularity actually began its first rise in the eighteenth century; as he wrote, "The Jeanne d'Arc revival, as it might well be called, first got under way toward the middle of the eighteenth century, becoming a major phenomenon early in the following century" (Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc and French Restoration Art," p.37).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

happened to the portrayal of Jeanne d'Arc during the preceding "Age of the Enlightenment" and the French Revolution. Indeed, the distinctive incarnation of Jeanne d'Arc's image in the early nineteenth century may be seen as not only a response to the political, social, and aesthetic exigencies of those years, but also as an articulate response to the provocative treatment of her image in the 1700s. Our study of Jeanne d'Arc's image in the nineteenth century begins, then, with a consideration of what happened to Joan of Arc's image before the turn of the last century.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 2

The Age of Revolution and Enlightenment

> "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness...."
> Charles Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities (1859)[22]

In simple terms, perhaps, it might be correct to say that Joan of Arc's image suffered a marked decline in France during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Identified with the monarchy and its ally, the Catholic Church, she became almost inevitably a suspect figure during and after the events leading up to the revolution of 1789. Even by mid-century, Jeanne d'Arc's visionary mysticism made her vulnerable to ridicule by such prominent rationalists of the Enlightenment as Voltaire. And, indeed, a substantive list of incidents supports the supposition that her popularity deteriorated during the 1700s, especially during the time of the French Revolution. In 1789, for example, revolutionary vandals damaged a statue of Joan then set over the doorway of her birthplace in Domremy, dating (it was believed) from the late sixteenth century.[23][fig. II] In

---

[22]Charles Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities, ed. George Woodcock. 1859. Reprint. (London: Penguin Classics, 1985), p. 35.

[23]Ziff, p. 47. According to Pierre Marot, however, this sculpture, "probably from the ruined chapel of *Bois Chenu*," was saved by "a former member of *l'Assemblée législative*, François-Joseph Henrys" (Pierre Marot, "*De la réhabilitation à la*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1792, Jeanne's grey felt hat, similarly preserved through three centuries as a precious relic, was burned by *the sans-culottes* in Orléans.[24] In September of the same year, the bronze *calvaire* dedicated to Charles VII and Jeanne d'Arc, dating in part to 1502,[25] was destroyed by order of *le*

---

glorification de Jeanne d'Arc: essai sur l'historiographie et le culte de l'héroine en France pendant cinq siècles," in Mémorial de Jeanne d'Arc, 1456-1956, ed. Joseph Foret [Paris: J. Foret and *Comité national de Jeanne d'Arc*, 1959], p. 115).

[24]Adrien Harmand, *Jeanne d'Arc: ses costumes, son armure, essai de reconstitution* (Paris: Librairie Ernst Leroux, 1929), pp. 361-363.

[25]The precise dating of this calvary scene is not easy to advance, for by 1792, when the monument was finally destroyed beyond repair, the bronze sculpture had already been damaged (both by iconoclastic vandals and by rust), and "restored" twice over, in an altered form each time. As a consequence, widely varied and seemingly conflicting dates are often given this sculpture. In its initial incarnation, the Orléanais monument dedicated to Jeanne d'Arc took the form of a crucifixion scene with Charles VII and the Maid kneeling on either side of a cross, upon which Christ was shown crucified, with his mother standing in prayer below him [fig. III]. Erected by the city of Orléans on the former pont d'Orléans around 1502, the monument was mutilated by the Calvinists in the 1560s, during the first War of Religion in France. This account of the sculpture's origins, which is well-documented by Pierre-Marie Brun, contradicts the popular tradition that "the oldest statue of Joan of Arc" was built in 1458 "with the funding of the ladies and young girls of Orléans" (Pierre-Marie Brun, *"Le premier monument à Jeanne d'Arc sur l'ancien pont d'Orléans,"* in Images de Jeanne d'Arc, p. 27). The dates for the sculpture's defacement are also disputed. According to Brun, this sculpture's mutilation took place in 1562; according to Marot, however, the sculpture was defaced by the Protestants in 1567. (Brun, p. 27; Marot, p. 38). In any case, after the sculpture's destruction in the 1560s, the sculpture was reconstructed--and transformed--in 1570 by the bronze founder Hector Lescot, who was also known as "Jacquinot" [fig. IV (a)] (Brun, p. 27). In his restoration, Lescot partially refounded the statue of Jeanne; he also removed the figure of Christ on the cross and the Virgin Mary standing in prayer, and replaced these two figures with a pietà (Marot, p. 88). By 1745, the pier which supported the monument had become seriously eroded and threatened to give way. The sculpture

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Conseil général de la commune in Orléans to make cannons for the war effort against "*les ennemis de la France.*"[26] In 1793, the town of Orléans was ordered to discontinue its annual Jeanne d'Arc festival, a joint municipal and ecclesiatical celebration which had been held there every 8th of May since 1492;[27] and the town of Rouen debated destroying its own sculpture of the Maid, *Jeanne en Bellone*, from 1756 by Paul-Ambroise Slodtz.[fig. V][28] Finally, the

---

consequently was removed, disassembled, and put into storage at *l'hôtel des Créneaux,* then the *Maison de ville* of Orléans. In 1771, the sculpture was again reconstructed, not on its former site on the city's old medieval bridge, but rather at the side of the new, grand *rue Royale* built then to connect with the new *pont d'Orléans* [fig. IV (b)]. In its third (and last) state, the monument's pedestal was redesigned by Robert Soyer. Soyer's new pedestal supported the main sculptural grouping of Jeanne d'Arc and Charles VII kneeling before a pietà, which remained essentially unaltered.

[26]Aufrère-Duvernay, p. 21.

[27]From 1790 to 1793, Jeanne d'Arc's festival was merged with that of "*la Fédération;*" and, beginning in 1791, this joint celebration became wholly military [Marot: 115]. Such long-standing traditions as a religious ceremony in the Maid's honor; a costumed "*Pucelle*" (known colloquially as a "*Puceau*" after 1750, when the role began to be played by a young man); and a "*rosière*" (a maiden awarded a wreath of roses in recognition of her virtuous reputation) were all abandoned that year (C.F. Vergnaud-Romagnési, "*Fêtes de la délivrance d'Orléans dites de Jeanne d'Arc,*" in *Notes curieuse, dont plusiers inédites, sur les fêtes de la ville d'Orléans, dites Fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc, le 8 mai sur les monuments, a Orléans* [Orléans: H. Herluison, 1862], p. 6).

[28]Slodtz's *Jeanne d'Arc en Bellone* was rescued from anti-monarchical and anti-clerical revolutionaries, who wanted to destroy the sculpture in Rouen, by the mayor of the city, M. de Fontenay, who saved the monument by arguing that the Maid was "*une héroïne du Tiers-État*" (François Souchal, *Les Slodtz: sculpteurs et décorateurs du roi [1685-1765]* [Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1967], p. 651).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

unique privilege of taxation exemption in Domrémy, which had been granted in perpetuity to the inhabitants of Joan's birthplace in 1429 by Charles VII, was revoked after the Revolution.[29]

An equally compelling argument, however, could be made that Joan of Arc's popularity was not appreciably eclipsed during the second half of the Eighteenth Century. Indeed, a formidable list of concommitant phenomena, supporting an essentially benign (if, at times, ambiguous) prevailing late-eighteenth-century attitude towards the Maid, may also be enumerated. On June 21, 1790, for example, a Secretary of *l'Assemblée communale de Paris* proposed "*une fête nationale en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc.*"[30] Praising her as a latter-day biblical leader, a "*Judith française,*" the speaker called for "*un hommage public à l'heroïne française*" with the prominent display of her image at the forthcoming July 14th celebrations.[31] This motion, rather than being rejected, was raised again on June 29, when it was suggested that "*les dames françaises*" be honored with *la Pucelle d'Orléans* "*à la cérémonie du pacte fédératif*" by having "*nos dames précédées de la bannière de leur sexe, et par le*

---

[29]Warner, p. 168.

[30]"...a national festival in honor of Joan of Arc" (Ferréol, "*Jeanne d'Arc et la Commune de Paris en 1790,*" Jehanne la Pucelle 4 [25 February 1910], p. 54).

[31]"...a public homage to the French heroine" (Ferréol, p. 55).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

portrait de la Pucelle d'Orléans, qu'on prendrait au Trésor de Saint-Denys, où les Bénédictins le conservent."[32]

Although Joan was not honored by a national festival of her own for many years to come (indeed, the debate over the establishment of a national *fête de Jeanne d'Arc* was to continue, with increasing political fervor, into the 1890s), it is significant that a portrait of the Maid was considered suitable to lead a cortege of revolutionary *Parisiennes* at a July 14th "*fête de la Fédération*" in 1790. Indeed, it is remarkable that Joan was able to offer an image of inspirational French pride then (in spite of her acknowledged role as "a supporter of the French throne," and her personal beliefs as a devoutly "*croyante*" mystic), for 1790 saw the rise of anti-clerical, anti-monarchic, anti-aristocratic sentiment, and--to a lesser, but ever increasing degree--anti-Christian iconoclasm. It was, for example, in 1790 that ecclesiastical property was nationalized; the Civil Constitution was imposed on the Church (dissolving religious orders and imposing a governmentally regulated reorganization of the church hierarchy in France); and left-wing, virulently anti-royalist revolutionary clubs, such as the Breton Club (later known as the Jacobins), rose to increasingly formidable

---

[32]It was suggested that "the French ladies" be honored with *la Pucelle d'Orléans* "at the ceremony of the Federative pact" by having "our ladies preceded by the banner of their sex, and by the portrait of the *Pucelle d'Orléans* that was taken from the Treasury of Saint-Denys." (Ferréol, p. 55).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

numbers and strength.[33] Yet, however anomolous the display of a portrait of *la Pucelle* from the royal Treasury of Saint-Denys may seem at a national revolutionary festival in 1790, it should be recalled, nevertheless, that French society was still in the chaotic process then of reformation (or as French contemporaries would have expressed it, of "federation"). Thus, the line distinguishing between those traditional allegorical, mythical, or historic figures who were obviously appropriate role models for the citizens of a new revolutionary government (such as Hercules[34] or Liberty) and those who were politically suspect (especially those seemingly tainted by an association with the monarchy or the Church, such as Joan of Arc) was not yet unambiguous.

Under such tumultuous and protean circumstances, the 1790 "*fête de la Fédération*" not only served as a celebration of that astounding "revolution without precedent,"[35] it also bore the burden of helping to forge and determine a cohesive, national cultural identity out of

---

[33]Alfred Cobban, A History of Modern France, Vol. 1: Old Régime and Revolution: 1715-1799 3d ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), pp. 173-174, 177-178.

[34]For a thorough discussion of the Hercules figure as an image of force and unity during the revolution, see Lynn Hunt, Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 94-116.

[35]Charles Villette used these words in July 1789 to describe the revolution, when calling for the first national festival to celebrate the fall of the *ancien régime* (Quoted in Mona Ozouf, Festivals and the French Revolution, trans. Alan Sheridan [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988]: p. 33).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

an uncertain cultural flux. Such social-cum-political pageants worked to "complete the edifice of [French] liberty"--as one speaker put it at a federative *fête* in Chercy on July 14, 1790--,[36] by serving to help redetermine French society's image of itself, and its national history.

During this time, France's historical past was redefined to legitimize and reinforce the Revolution by tying it back to a mythic past, the supposed ancestral origins, antique virtues, and ancient, inherent rights of French society. In this process, tradition and historic precedent were not so much abandoned as they were transformed.[37] For example, French heros and heroines, that is noble and prominent figures (actual as well as mythic, biblical, or allegorical) from France's cultural and religious heritage such as Jeanne d'Arc, Saint Michel, or Sainte Geneviève, were not dispensed with by the revolutionary society, even when their historic associations might conceivably have compromised them beyond reclamation. Rather, expediently, their images were recycled to suit the

---

[36]Quoted by Ozouf, pp. 33-34.

[37]Witness, for example, the civic oath of the Federation taken by the townspeople of Bourges on June 25, 1790: Assembled on that day to light the annual bonfire, or *"feu de la Saint-Jean"*, that marks the feast day of John the Baptiste, the citizens of Bourges "decided to solemnize the gathering by taking the civic oath. Thus," as Ozouf wrote, "an impromptu Federation was formed" (Ozouf, pp.41-42).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

needs of the new cultural order.[38]

This seeming lack of orthodoxy in the selection of appropriate images to be celebrated in July 1790--as well as the persistent lack of innovation where gender relations were concerned--is illustrated in the offical response in 1790 to a proposal by the author Mme Mouret that women and young ladies should take part in the festival of the "Great Federation" that year.[39] The Committee on the Constitution decided, in reply to Mouret's request, that such a representative "female federation" was unacceptable at the official festival; and as an alternative, the Committee officially invited a delegation of 500 young women to organize a tableau dedicated to Sainte Geneviève on Tuesday, July 20, after the conclusion of the offical fête.[40] Thus, the men of the Committee on the Consistution found it more suitable to encourage the women of Paris to honor a

---

[38]As Marx aptly wrote, regarding such borrowings from the past: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honored disguise and this borrowed language" (Karl Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte [New York: International Publishers, 1987]: p. 15).

[39]Ozouf, p.44.

[40]Ozouf, p. 44.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Christian saint (the virginal patroness of Paris, whose prayers, according to tradition, saved Paris in the fifth century B.C. from the armies of Attila the Hun), rather than allow the women to participate in the public, political celebration of a revolutionary event.

Therein, perhaps, lies a possible key to understanding the seemingly anomalous proposal that Jeanne d'Arc's image lead a cortege of revolutionary *Parisiennes* at the "*fête de la Fédération*" in 1790: Jeanne d'Arc, like Sainte Geneviève, offered a role model for women that may have been politically problematic (because of her ties with *l'Église catholique*, an institution prominently associated with the counter-revolution), but that had in its favor, nonetheless, the compelling attribute of predictability. Keeping women reassuringly in their old place--out of politics, even if it meant encouraging them to rally behind icons of the Catholic Church, such as Jeanne and Geneviève--took precedence over revolutionary "political correctness" for the men in power in Paris at a time when dangerous social turmoil seemed to threaten the spread of revolutionary change beyond the realm of national governance and into the domestic sphere.

In any case, in the arts, as in politics, Jeanne d'Arc's image did not disappear during the last years of the eighteenth century, despite the damage and destruction done to her sculptures in Domremy and Orléans in 1787 and 1792 respectively. As Otto Karmin wrote in 1912, "Contrary to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

current opinion, the Revolution did not in any way forget or disdain Jeanne d'Arc."[41] As proof of his assertion, Karmin noted, for example, that the "*Nostradamus moderne* (Liège, 1790) devoted a month to Joan of Arc in its new calender; the *Théâtre-Italien* played, in May 1790, a piece entitled *Jeanne d'Arc*, that was advertised as «*patriotique*»; [and] Aude gave her an important role in his *Momus aux Champs-Elysées* (July 14, 1790)."[42]

Similarly, according to Pierre Marot, "abundant proof of [Jeanne d'Arc's] undisputed popularity" in "the second half of the XVIIIth century" includes numerous prints of the Maid's image from the later 1780s and 1790s. Among the copper-engraved representations of scenes of the heroine's life that Marot cited were Charles VII and the Pucelle by Prevost, after C.N. Cochin [N.D.]; The Siege of Orléans by Marchand, after Borel (1789); Jeanne before Reims by Moret, after Desfontaines [N.D.]; and Jeanne Sending her Letter to the English (colored engraving by Roger, in the Collection of Great Men by Sergent [1788-1792]).[43] Marot also noted that a popular image of the Maid dressed in armor as a

---

[41]"*Contrairement à l'opinion courante, la Révolution n'a nullement oublié ou dédaigné Jeanne d'Arc*" (O[tto] K[armin], "*Jeanne d'Arc et la Révolution,*" *Revue historique de la révolution française et de l'Empire* 11 [July-September 1912]: 488).

[42]K[armin], p. 488.

[43]Pierre Marot, "*De la réhabilitation à la glorification de Jeanne d'Arc,*" pp. 110-111.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

warrior, Jeanne à l'assaut d'Orléans, was even used during the later eighteenth century as an illustration for a perfume by Dissey and Piver, called «*l'eau des héroïnes*» [fig. XVIII].[44]

In the exhibition catalogue *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, numerous intaglio illustrations of the Maid from the end of the eighteenth century were also listed, including a bust portrait in colored aquatint of *Jeanne d'Arc*, designed and engraved by Sergent in 1787[fig. X];[45] an undated bust portrait of the Pucelle (dressed in neo-classical drapery, with a plumed hat), entitled JANNE-DARC [sic], engraved by N. J. Voyez from c. 1787[fig. XI][46]; Charles-Étienne Gaucher's undated etching *Jeanne d'Arc*, a three-quarter length portrait of the Maid, designed and engraved by the artist (probably from the 1790s);[47] and a related image, also a three-quarter length portrait, designed by Gaucher and engraved by C. Ponce, Jeanne d'Arc (1795) captioned "«*Jeanne montra sous féminin visage / Sous le corset et sous le cotillon / D'un Vraie Roland le vigoureux [courage]*»")[fig.

---

[44]Marot, "*De la réhabiliation,*" p. 111.

[45]Images de Jeanne d'Arc, cat. 76, p. 67, illustrated p.66.

[46]Images de Jeanne d'Arc, cat. 78, p. 68, illustrated. See below, for further discussion of Voyez's Janne-Darc, and its iconographic origin in the image of "Liberty."

[47]This print, in the collection of the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris is inscribed «*c.s. Gaucher del. et inc.*» (Images de Jeanne d'Arc, cat. 61, p. 62).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

XII],[48] among others. While this list is not systematically exhaustive, it does indicate that Jeanne d'Arc's popularity in the plastic arts did not dissipate at the end of the eighteenth century, despite the social changes wrought by the revolution of 1789 and by the Enlightenment that preceded it.

Similarly, books, sermons, plays, and songs continued to be published about Joan of Arc during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Among the most significant texts devoted to her from this time was Clément de L'Averdy's extensive study (numbering over 600 pages) of her two trials. Published in 1790 as the third volume of the *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi*, L'Averdy's research was later praised by Jules Quicherat as being "«*...le premier répertoire exact, le premier ouvrage digne de la science moderne*»."[49] In addition to the liturgical chants that were performed yearly in Orléans during the annual commemoration of the city's deliverance from the English, at least three musical/theatrical works dedicated to Joan of Arc were

---

[48]"Jeanne shows beneath a feminine visage / Beneath the corset and the petticoat / the vigorous [courage] of a true Roland" (Images de Jeanne d'Arc, cat. 62, p. 21, illustrated p. 62). See below for further discussion of this image.

[49]"...the first exact repertoire, the first work worthy of modern science" on this subject (Marot, *"De la réhabilitation,"* p. 114). L'Averdy, it may be noted, died on the scaffold in 1793.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performed and published during the 1780s and '90s.[50] These musical works include *Jeanne d'Arc ou La Pucelle d'Orléans: Pantomime dialoguée en trois actes, en vers et en vaudevilles*, which premiered on June 24, 1784 in Orléans;"[51] *Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans: comédie en trois actes et en vers, mêlée d'ariettes*, produced in Paris in 1790 by Desforges and Rodolphe Kreutzer;[52] and "*L'Histoire admirable de Jeanne d'Arcque* [sic]...," a popular "*complainte*" (or ballad) by Poirer that was published around 1789-90, with 120 verses set to the tune of *"Lille en Flandre,"* and dedicated to the «*braves citoyens*» of Rouen.[53] Throughout the latter half of the 1700s as well, according to Marot, the annual eulogies for Jeanne did not cease to be pronounced in Sainte-Croix, in Orléans.[54] The municipality of Orléans remunerated the preachers who delivered these «*éloges de Jeanne d'Arc*», and

---

[50]Emile Huet, *Jeanne d'Arc et la musique, bibliographie musicale*, 2d ed (Orléans: Herluison, 1909), pp. 51, 75, 202.

[51]Huet, p. 51.

[52]According to Huet, Desforges and Kreutzer's production met with "great success" in Paris in 1790, "*et la célèbre Dugazon, qui chantait le rôle de Jeanne, y remporta un éclatant triomphe" (Huet, p. 6; see also Raknem, p. 257).*

[53]The full title of Poirier's song is as follows: "*L'Histoire admirable de Jeanne d'Arcque [sic], native de Lorraine, dite Pucelle d'Orléans, avec le siège et la prise de Rouen, sous son règne, par les Anglais, ensuite la réduction de la ville par Charles VII, roi de France*" (Huet, p. 74).

[54]Marot, *"De la réhabilitation,"* p. 111.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

occasionally printed their eulogies,[55] although apparently the last published *panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc* from the eighteenth century was printed in 1779.[56] By that time, however, public sentiment towards religious mysticism had begun to change such that the author of this eulogistic sermon, "P. de Géry", decided in 1779 not to insist upon Joan's spiritual revelations, in order (as he put it) to "*«ménager la délicatesse du siècle»*."[57]

While these latter events may signal a change in the Maid's image during the 1780s and '90s, evidence of her enduring popularity at the same time may be found not only in the abundance and variety of works invoking her memory as noted above, but also, perhaps, ironically, in a hotly contested resolution to destroy her sculpture in Orléans in 1792. The illuminating circumstances surrounding the destruction of this monument dedicated to Jeanne d'Arc and Charles VII are as follows:[58] In 1792, on August 23, the members of the local *section de Saint-Victor* addressed a

---

[55]As Marot wrote, "*...les «éloges» de Jeanne n'avaient pas cessé d'être prononcés à Sainte-Croix; la municipalité d'Orléans, rétribuait les prédicateurs et imprimait parfois l'éloge qu'ils prononçaient*" (Marot, "*De la réhabilitation,*" p. 111).

[56]"Le Bibliophile Orléanais, recuil littéraire et bibliographique, consacré a l'histoire de la province," in *Livres anciens et modernes relatifs a Jeanne d'Arc et au siége d'Orléans* ([Orléans]: H. Herluison, 1875), p. 152 (no. 2330).

[57]"...to handle gently the delicacy of the century" (Marot, "*De la réhabilitation,*" p. 111).

[58]For a discussion of this monument, see above; for an illustration, see also [fig.s III-IV].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

petition to "*MM. les Administrateurs*" of the regional *Conseil permanent du Loiret,* calling for the destruction of Orléans's bronze "*calvaire*" monument.[59] Decrying the sculpture as "insulting to the liberty of the French people," and vexing to "those men who have groaned for too long under the servitude of kings," the *section* members proposed that the calvary be melted down to make cannons for the city's defensive artillery:

> *...la section de Saint-Victor vous propose de faire démolir le monument de Charles VII, monument qui insulte à la liberté du peuple Français, et qui n'est propre qu'à irriter des hommes qui ont trop longtemps gémi sous la servitude des rois.*[60]

Surprisingly, the muncipal *Conseil permanent* of the *département du Loiret* refused to authorize the sculpture's destruction. According to Aufrère-Duvernay:

> *L'autorité municipale prit une courageuse résolution. Considérant que le monument de la Pucelle, loin de pouvoir être regardé comme un signe de féodalité insultant à la liberté du peuple français, n'annonce au contraire qu'un acte de reconnaissance envers l'Être suprême, et un témoignage glorieux de la valeur de nos ancêtres, qui ont délivré la nation française du joug que les Anglais voulaient lui imposer, il fut d'avis que le monument ne devait pas être détruit.*[61]

---

[59]Aufrère-Duvernay, p. 20.

[60]"...the Department of Saint-Victor proposes the demolition of the monument to Charles VII, a monument that is an insult to the liberty of the French people, and that is only capable of irritating those men who have groaned for too long under the servitude of kings" (Aufrère-Duvernay, footnote 22, p. 34).

[61]"The municipal authority made a courageous resolution. Believing that the monument of the Maid was, far from being regarded as a sign of feudality insulting to the liberty of the French people, [rather] *au contraire* an act of recognition towards the Supreme Being, and a glorious testimony to the valour

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

On September 27, however, their decision to spare the Orléanais monument was overthrown by the national *Conseil général de la commune*. Unanimously, the *Conseil général* declared that the monument's bronze figures would be employed in the fabrication of three much-needed cannons for Orléans, on the condition that one of the cannons be inscribed with the name "Jeanne d'Arc" in her memory.[62]

Although the 1790s were not, admittedly, wholly ascendant for Jeanne d'Arc's "*culte*,"[63] the vigorously debated resolutions regarding the destruction or salvation of Jeanne d'Arc's sculpted image in Orléans, fought on both the local and national level, reflect the enduring concern

---

of our ancestors, who delivered the French nation from the yoke that the English wanted to impose on them, they decided that the monument should not be destroyed" (Charles Aufrère-Duvernay, *Notice Historique et critique sur les monuments érigés a Orléans en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc* [Orléans: *Imprimerie de Pagnerre*, 1855], p. 20).

[62]Aufrère-Duvernay, p. 20. Chaussard, in his revisionist, anti-revolutionary account of the sculpture's destruction, wrote (with almost ironic inaccuracy) in 1806: "...*Ce Monument fut détruit en 1793, par le fanatisme de parti, et vraisemblablement à l'instigation des agents de l'Angleterre*" (Chaussard, [Pierre Jean Baptiste] *Jeanne d'Arc: Recueil historique et complet*, 2 vols. in 1 [Orléans: Chez Darnault-Maurant, Imprimeur-Libraire, Éditeur, 1806]: p. 456). Chaussard's suggestion that agents of Britain enouraged the destruction of Jeanne d'Arc's sculpture in Orleans seems especially fanciful when one recalls that the monument was melted to provide cannons for the French war effort.

[63]As Pierre Marot wrote, "*Sans doute, les débuts de l'époque révolutionnaire ne lui furent point favorables*" (Marot, "*De la réhabilitation,*" p. 115). It may be noted similarly, that although Joan of Arc's historic memorial in Orléans was melted down with apparent reluctance, for reasons of martial expediency not emphatic Revolutionary eschewal, the fact remains that ultimately it was deemed expendable in 1792.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of French society for this anomalous figure from its national past. Controversial, even ultimately disposable at times, her image remained contentiously compelling and undeniably significant during the last years of the eighteenth century.

Charles Dickens, in the opening lines to his novel A Tale of Two Cities, noted the pervasiveness of such social, and intellectual ambiguity in France, during a time of increasing social and political flux. As Dickens (a prominent critic of the Revolution) wrote in 1859, the end of *l'Ancien Régime* and the commencement of the Revolution constituted not only "the best" and "worst of times," they were also times of muddled "belief" and "incredulity," of clericism and anticlericism. In this season of light and darkness, of profane iconoclasm intertwined with aggrandizing hero worship, the images held forth for scrutiny by French society cast scattered, sometimes contradictory, patterns. Thus the image of a medieval heroine--and heretic--came to be viewed by her nation as both an insult to liberty and as a glorious testimony to French valor.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 3

Voltaire and "*La Pucelle d'Orléans*": A Forcing of Signs

> "...*Et voyez le progès accompli depuis un siècle! Voltaire a pu écrire* la Pucelle *aux applaudissements de toute la société de son temps. Qu'un de ses fils essaie aujourd'hui de renouveler ce vilain jeu, et c'est Gambetta qui lui crie: «Halte là, monsieur; on ne touche pas ici à Jeanne d'Arc.»*"
> Henri Blaze de Bury (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 June 1885)[64]

Be it ambiguous or not, what the French thought about Joan of Arc during the eighteenth century was not, of course, the same as what many in the nineteenth century believed to have been her treatment during those earlier years. The writings of innumerable nineteenth century authors demonstrate the widespread belief that Jeanne d'Arc's memory needed to be defended against the aspersions cast against her during the 1700s. For many (often conservative, pro-monarchist and pro-clerical) authors in the nineteenth century, this eighteenth century "corruption" of *la Pucelle d'Orléans*'s good name was due not only to the "pernicious" effects of the French Revolution, but also to the work of one man, François-Marie Arouet, better known by his *nom de plume* "Voltaire." As Auguste Boucher wrote, in

---

[64]"...And see the progress achieved in one century! Voltaire was able to write *la Pucelle* to the applause of the whole society of his time. When one of his sons tried today to revive this nasty play [however], it was Gambetta who yelled at him: 'Stop right there, monsieur; no one here touches Joan of Arc!'" (Henri Blaze de Bury, "*Jeanne d'Arc dans la litterature, poésie et vérité.*" *Revue des Deux Mondes* 69 [1 June 1885], p. 605).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1899:

> *Le dix-huitième siècle, lui, n'a illustré Jeanne d'Arc qu'en la souillant par la main de Voltaire: la Pucelle de Voltaire est aussi indigne d'un Français, par son odieux badinage, que d'un honnête homme, par son libertinage. Les contemporains sont eux-mêmes impardonnables de s'être complu à ce poème ignominieux.... Quant à la Révolution, elle complète par la fureur de ses actes l'attentat de Voltaire; elle interdit la procession de Jeanne d'Arc, elle démolit son monument, elle brûle sa dernière relique à Orléans. La Libératrice était déjà, pour les Jacobins de 1793, trop royaliste et trop catholique!*[65]

Voltaire became the preeminent target of Jeanne d'Arc's supporters because of a lengthy and controversial poem that he wrote on the subject of "*La Pucelle d'Orléans,*" which was widely read in Europe throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Completed in the 1730s,[66] Voltaire's

---

[65]"The eighteenth century only illustrated Joan of Arc by soiling her through the hand of Voltaire: the Pucelle of Voltaire is, by his odious banter, as unworthy of a Frenchman, as profligacy is of a honest man. Contemporaries [of Voltaire's Pucelle] are unpardonable for having taken pleasure in this ignominious poem.... As for the Revolution, it completes the attempts of Voltaire with the fury of its acts; it forbids the procession of Joan of Arc, it demolishes her monument, it burns her last relic in Orléans. The Liberator [of Orléans] was already, for the Jacobins in 1793, too royalist and too Catholic" (Auguste Boucher, "*Jeanne d'Arc au dix-neuvième siècle,*" *Le Correspondant* [10 May 1899]: pp. 410-411).

[66]Raknem, p. 71. Voltaire, in the preface of this 1762 edition claimed that "*ce poème héroïque fut composé vers 1730.*" According to Siméon Luce, however, "*le témoignage du correspondant de Formont et de Cideville consigné dans des lettres datées de 1734, en d'autres termes, de l'année même où furent composés les premiers chants de la Pucelle*" (Siméon Luce, "*Les origines de «La Pucelle» de Voltaire,*" *Le Correspondant* 153 [Nov. 10, 1888]: p. 449). Luce noted, in support of the later date 1734 for the commencement of this poem, "*il n'est fait allusion au poème de la Pucelle dans aucun lettre de l'auteur ou de ses correspondants antérieure à 1734*" (*Luce,* p. 480). Luce further suggested that the subject of Joan of Arc's involvement in the Hundred Years War would probably have been fresh in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

famous (or perhaps, infamous) mock epic *La Pucelle d'Orléans: poëme en vingt-et-un-chants* was published in its definitive form in Geneva in 1762 under the facetious pseudonym Dom Apuleius Risorius, after several pirated editions had already appeared in London and Paris. Although condemned by the Court of Rome on January 20, 1775 (and later, largely forgotten in the twentieth century), Voltaire's irreverent text was avidly read in its day.[67]

Voltaire's mind in 1734 (rather than earlier), for he had recently completed his unsuccessful tragedy *Adélaïde du Guesclin*, which was set during the time of the battle of Agincourt-- "*pendant ces terribles années où la démence de Charles VI, la trahison du duc de Bourgogne, la complicité de la reine Isabeau, livrèrent la couronne de France et la plus grande partie du territoire du royaume à l'ambition conquérante de Henri V, roi d'Angleterre*" (Luce, pp. 476-77). In addition, according to Luce, Voltaire stayed in 1734 at the château de Cirey, "*situé au coeur du Bassigny champenois, c'est-à-dire dans la même région que Domremy, n'est séparé du village natal de Jeanne d'Arc ...que par une distance de 7 ou 8 lieues*", after Voltaire was forced to leave Paris "*précipitamment*" because of opposition to his controversial *Lettres philosophiques* (*Ibid.*) It should also, perhaps, be noted that Luce, an avowed conservative, disavowed any tacit affirmation of Voltaire's "*la Pucelle*" (which he denounced as "*la plus abominable et la plus antifrançaise de infamies*") despite his interest in studying the origins of the text. As Luce wrote in conclusion: "*Nous espérons que personne ne se méprendra sur la pensée qui a inspiré l'étude que nous venons de faire. Si nous avons essayé de découvrir les origines de l'oeuvre de Voltaire, ce n'est ni pour excuser cette oeuvre, ni même pour en atténuer la honte...*" (Luce, p. 491).

[67]In September 1775, the offical suppression of Voltaire's "*Pucelle*" led to its being burned in Geneva, and to the sentencing of eight printers and bookbinders to pillorying and three years of banishment for having sold or received exemplares of this work in France. Nevertheless, according to Melet-Sanson, "No work on Jeanne has been as published as much as *La Pucelle* by Voltaire." (*Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. 66, p. 64).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A parody of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso[68] and Jean Chapelain's now obscure epic "*La Pucelle, ou la France delivrée, poëme héroïque*" (Paris, 1656),[69] an adulatory and "interminable" poem in twenty-five cantos, Voltaire's own long "Maid of Orléans" (consisting of twenty-one cantos, and over 8,000 lines) is neither eulogistic nor truly epochal, for it offers neither praise for the Maid's virtues nor an accurate account of her historic deeds. Unlike Chapelain before him, who portrayed Joan of Arc as a divinely inspired, miraculous figure, Voltaire rejected the Maid's contention that "she was God's missionary, that she had had visions, and that God had spoken to her through saints and angels."[70] In his irreverent, fictionalized text, rather, Voltaire's Joan of Arc is described as a coarse and rather stupid stable maid, the bastard daughter of a parish priest and a chambermaid, whose greatest accomplishment is maintaining her virginity for one year.[71] As Voltaire

---

[68]I am grateful to M. Olivier Bouzy for calling this to my attention (Orléans, May 1993).

[69]According to Raknem, "[Voltaire's] poem originated in the suggestion of a friend that Voltaire could write a better epic on the Maid than Chapelain had done" (Raknem, p. 71).

[70]Raknem, p. 73.

[71]Voltaire's satiric assertions concerning Jeanne d'Arc's biography are contrary to evidence given at her *procès de rehabilitation* (her "rehabilitory" trial, which overturned her earlier conviction of heresy) concerning her virginity, parentage, and occupation before the start of her mission. As one of her godparents, Jean Moreau, testified in the 1450s, for example: "Jeannette, whom this concerns, was born at Domremy and baptized in the Church of Saint-Remy, a parish of that place.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

writes in the opening lines of his *"La Pucelle"*:

> The praise of Saints my lyre shall not rehearse,
> Feeble my voice, and too profane my verse,
> Yet shall my muse to laud our Joan incline,
> Who wrought, 'tis said, such prodigies divine...
> Rescued its monarch from the impending fate
> So dreaded from victorious England's hate;
> Sent him to Rheims, where King before the Lord
> The sacring [sic] oil upon his head was poured...
> But you shall see, if you peruse my page
> That Joan of Arc had all a lion's rage;
> You'll tremble at the feats whereof you hear,
> And more than all the wars she used to wage
> At how she kept her maidenhead -- a year![72]

In this rendition of the Maid's life story, Jeanne d'Arc is not inspired by God through the voices of Saint Michel, Saint Catherine de Fierbois, and Saint Margaret to "raise the siege laid to the city of Orléans..., and...to come to the help of the King of France;"[73] rather, it is Saint Denis who singles out the Maid for her role as the savior of their nation. As Voltaire would have it, the patron saint of France sees his "lands in flames," and his "Godson Charles" preferring "to dally with a girl's white breast...rather than seek to comfort the distressed;" thus

---

Her father was called Jacques d'Arc and her mother Isabelette, farmers during their lifetime, at Domremy. From what I saw and knew, they were faithful Catholics and hard workers, of good repute and decent conversation...In her youth and until the time when she left her father's house, she went to the fields to plough and sometimes guarded the animals in the fields, and did women's work, spinning and the rest" (Pernoud, p. 16).

[72][François Marie] Arouet de Voltaire, La Pucelle, The Maid of Orleans: An Heroic-Comical Poem in Twenty-One Cantos by Arouet de Voltaire; a New and Complete Translation..., trans. Ernest Dowson (London: The Lutetian Society, 1899), I, pp. 1-2.

[73]Pernoud, pp. 30-31.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Saint Denis decides to intervene by sending in a virgin "to save the King and land."[74] The Saint's only problem, the author noted dryly, is the scarcity of true maidens in France. Saint Denis selects Joan the Maid (presumably because she is one of the few remaining virgins available in France); and, at a propitious moment (just before she is about to be raped by a "British monk" and a "doughty muleteer," who have already rendered the Maid unconscious by drugging her with poppies), the Saint carries Joan off on "a loudly braying ass" to meet the Dauphin.[75] In this account, Joan of Arc's rescue by Saint Denis, his protection of her chastity, is vital to the salvation of France.[76] As Voltaire wrote, "...if the saint had come one moment late, poor France indeed [would have] had a sorry fate."[77]

In the remainder of his sardonic poem, Voltaire offers no historic details of Jeanne d'Arc's actual military record in the victorious Armagnac struggle against the Anglo-Burgundians. Instead, in a parody of Chapelain's grandiloquent praise of the Maid's divine inspiration and empowered virtue, he focuses on Saint Denis's fictitious,

---

[74]Voltaire, I, pp. 14-15.

[75]Voltaire, I, pp. 21-22, 27.

[76]The necessary link between Joan's carefully guarded sexual purity and the salvation of France is not explained by Voltaire; rather, it is presented as a miraculous circumstance, paralleling (and parodying) the Judeo-Christian tradition that salvation may only come through the progeny of a virgin.

[77]Voltaire, I, p. 20.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

heroic--and ultimately failed--efforts to preserve the Maid's chastity. Voltaire's parody not only focuses on the sexual life of Joan of Arc, but also on the intimate affairs of Charles VII, his mistress Agnes Sorel, and other historic and imaginary court figures. The indolent and licentious behavior of Charles's royal court, especially the jealous passions of his mistress, is contrasted facetiously with the Maid's miraculously--and inexplicably--therapeutic chastity. Just as Sorel's sexual life is posed as an endangerment to the throne of France, serving only to distract the king from his royal duties,[78] maintenance of the Maid's virtue is posited by Voltaire as a prophylactic guarantee of the Lord's salvation for France. Weak in her vow of virginity, however, Joan's tenuous constancy is maintained only by the vigilant intervention of her chaperon.

Although Saint Denis protects her against a string of

---

[78]In the first canto of the poem, for example, Charles is shown in bed with Sorel, renouncing in favor of his lover's affections all concern about his parliament or his enemy, "the English Prince"--"with whom war was the word, in camp well armed, well-booted too and spurred"--:

> When Charles enraptured sank within her arms,
> Kissed her ripe lips and revelled in her charms:
> "Dear Idol of my soul, Agnes! he'd cry,
> How fully, how supremely blest am I,
> Whilst in thy snowy arms thus fondly pressed,
> I reign sole monarch of thy tender breast.
> To conquering England's haughty tyranny;
> Well! let them reign, but let them envy me,
> Kingship enough is to be king of thee!"
> This speech was not heroic, may be said,
> But when a hero lies in bed,
> With a fair mistress, even a hero may
> Speak as love guides and reck not what her say (Voltaire, I, pp. 8-9).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sexual advances by, among others, Grisbourdon, a monk [fig. XV], Chandos, an enemy warrior [fig. XVI], and Dunois, a companion at arms, Joan's sworn virginity is compromised by the last Canto of Voltaire's verses. The Maid's lapse of virtue is to be expected, according to Voltaire, for women--like men--are morally weak. As he wrote:

> Woman, like man, is but a vessel weak;
> To put your trust in virtue never seek:
> Fair is the vessel but it's made of clay,
> A nothing breaks it; mend it though you may.[79]

In an earlier version of *"La Pucelle,"* which circulated for decades in manuscript form before it was published in 1789,[80] the struggle to preserve Joan's maidenhood is

---

[79]Voltaire, II, p. 354.

[80]Before Voltaire officially authorized the publication of his poem "*la Pucelle*" in 1762 (much of which he had already completed almost thirty years before), he allowed the work to circulate in manuscript form. During these years, the poem's manuscript was read in literary circles throughout Europe, and was (without apparent permission of the author) published in numerous--allegedly pirated--editions in French, as well as other languages. According to Melet-Sanson, "for a long time, Voltaire denied having written La Pucelle and the first editions of this work did *not* bare the author's name" (Images de Jeanne d'Arc, cat. 66, p. 66). In the preface of his 1762 edition of "*la Pucelle,*" Voltaire himself noted the international circulation and unauthorized reproduction of his "*Pucelle*" manuscript throughout Europe, as he wrote: "*«Nous voyons dans une lettre de 1740 qu'une princess d'Allemagne à laquelle on avait prête le manuscrit seulement pour le lire, passa un jour et une nuit à le faire copier.»*" (Quoted in Luce, p. 478). It is, consequently, difficult to know whether or not variances in the poem's text between its official 1762 edition and earlier, often more pornographic, unoffical publications (such as are evident in the variant of the poem's final canto cited above) are due to final revisions made by the author himself, or are, in fact, adulterations to the text made by those who illicitly reproduced the work without the author's permission during the 1730s, 40s, and 50s. (See Margaret Chenais, "New Light on the publication of the *Pucelle*," for a discussion of the "unscrupulously

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

finally lost in a detailed sexual encounter between the Maid and her donkey, a gray ass endowed with wings and the gift of speech [fig. XVII]:

> The cunning boy who rules all things with rods,
> The human race, donkeys as well as gods,
> With bow in hand, in heights of Heaven stayed,
> And with a smile of pleasure watched the Maid,
> Twisting her rump and twining close her thighs,
> Catching the fire with which her lover sighs,
> Hasting the moment when her maid-hood dies.
> Nor is her satin crupper loath to press
> The bare sword of her ass with fond caress.
> Three times the Maid, of maiden-hood relieved
> Within her buring manor had received
> The precious unction of the heavenly spring... [81]

This scene, a last outrageous debunking of the Maid's virginity, is promptly (and strategically) disavowed by the author in his Postscript:

> My broken lyre drops from my hands in rage.
> No fresh exploits await--'tis understood.
> Reader! my Joan shall keep her maidenhood,

---

pirat[ing]," and unauthorized publication of "corrupt and scurrilous editions" of Voltaire's more controversial works, including his "La Pucelle," in Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, ed. Theodore Besterman, vol. 12, Geneva: Institut et Musee Voltaire, 1960, pp. 9-20). This particular unofficial version of "*la Pucelle*"'s last canto (cited above), which was translated and republished in 1899 by Ernest Dowson as a "Variant of Canto XXI" (the last canto in the definitive 1762 version of the poem), includes the following proviso: "This Canto having been entirely changed, we give it as it exists in [an earlier] edition of twenty-four cantos, in which it forms the last Canto" (Voltaire, La Pucelle, The Maid of Orleans, II, p. 396). Numerous other, often erotic, variants of the poem's last canto are also extant. An early manuscript edition of the poem from 1744 (now in the collection of the Centre Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans, France), for example, contains a variant of the poem's last canto (--"*chant Quinzième*" in this shorter, 15 canto version--) portraying la Pucelle propositioning her ass (François Marie Arouet de Voltaire, "*La Pucelle d'Orléans, poem heroi-comique par M. de Voltaire,*" 1744, [CJA: 9.12 Vol. 1744]).

[81]Voltaire, II, p. 403.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Until those virgins vowed to God alone,
For all their vows, know how to keep their own.[82]

In the later, definitive edition of Voltaire's *"La Pucelle,"* the Maid also forsakes her vow of chastity in the poem's last canto, albeit in a less explicit manner. In this version, Joan successfully resists the seduction of her ass ("Too broad the differences that us divide;" she explained to the beast, "I never could your tenderness abide...")[fig.VI],[83] but she soon proves vulnerable to the charms of her compatriot, "the Bastard" Dunois. Inspired by overhearing the ass's luckless importunity, Dunois declares his own passion for Joan, and she, in turn, is warmed by his advances. She would have surrendered herself to Dunois on the spot, if not for the timely intervention of her guardian saint. Saint Denis prevents their "flagrant folly" from sacrificing the French state for love, and Joan settles for promising Dunois her maidenhead after they have succeeded in driving the British forces from France:

...Joan still wrapped in shame
That thus an ass had dared confess his flame,
Resisted ill her hero's ardent speech;
Love in her soul was fain to make a breach.
All had been done, when lo! her patron bright,
...impelled by pressing call,
A virgin flower to rescue Orléans' wall;
This heavenly ray that pierced Joan's better sense,
All sentiment profane removed from thence.
"Dear Bastard stop": she cried, "O! shun the crime,
Our Loves are reckoned, 'tis not yet the time;
Let us naught mar, nothing of our destiny,

---

[82]Voltaire, I, p. 406.

[83]Voltaire, II, p. 363.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

My solemn faith is plighted but to thee.
Thine I protest the virgin bud shall be:
Let us await until your vengeful arm,
Your virtues, which in Britons strike alarm,
Have driven the usurper from the land:
Then over laurels our soft bed may stand."[84]

In the twentieth century, Voltaire's poem has been largely dismissed by scholars of Voltaire and of Joan of Arc alike. As the preeminent Johannique scholar, Régine Pernoud, wrote of both Chapelain's "*la Pucelle*" and the poem it inspired by Voltaire, "Today both works benefit equally from oblivion."[85] Similarly in his extensive study Joan of Arc in History, Legend and Literature, Ingvald Raknem asserted that Voltaire's *work* was "not meant to be taken seriously".[86] "Being a mock epic," Raknem asserted, the poem was intended to be humorous rather than earnestly satirical; "yet," as he wrote, "many readers in the Age of Reason did [take it seriously], and they read it with enthusiasm and regarded it as a great poem."[87]

Raknem was correct in noting the enduring literary success of Volatire's "*poème en vingt-un-chants,*" which indeed, continued from the mid-eighteenth century well into the 1800s. In the first decade of the new century alone, it was republished in France in 1801 (Paris: Firmin Didot),

---

[84]Voltaire, II, pp. 379-380.

[85]Quoted by Raknem, p. 71.

[86]Raknem, p. 75.

[87]Raknem, p. 75.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1802 (Paris: J.B. Fournier, *an XI*), 1803 (Paris, 2 vol.), and twice in 1808 (Paris: Gide et Nicolle; and Paris: Nicolle et Belin).[88] Raknem's assertion of its jocularity notwithstanding, however, Voltaire's lengthy (and admittedly often quite humorous) text clearly was written not solely as a facetious literary contrivance intended simply to mock the pomposity of a poem that predated it by over seventy years. Rather, Voltaire's comic and provocative account of the Maid's life was also intended, arguably, to served as a serious, trenchant political critique of both the French Monarchy and the Catholic Church.[89] The ignoble role of the rapist monk in the opening scene of Voltaire's "*La Pucelle*," the fallacious illegitimacy of the Maid's parentage (fathered--as Voltaire would have it--by a parish priest), and the implied unchastity of nuns ("those virgins vowed to God alone"), for example, all demonstrate the author's anticlerical sentiments. Similarly Voltaire's sardonic characterization of the Dauphin-*cum*-King as a foolish, self-

---

[88]Lanéry d'Arc, p. 772.

[89]Raknem himself admitted that, "Although Voltaire's primary purpose may have been to parody Chapelain's portrait of Joan, there can be no doubt that from the onset he aimed at much more important targets. For we see him striking at the *Pucelle* cult and making the immoral royal house of France an object of derision; his chief objective, however, may have been the Catholic Church, and he seems to have seized this opportunity to give vent to his anticlericalism" (Raknem, p. 72).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

indulgent, weak, and 'womanish'[90] figure clearly illustrate the author's anti-monarchical convictions by attacking the fundamental royalist tenet of a sovereign's divine and hereditary qualification to rule.

Finally, in the conclusion to his critique of Voltaire's poem, Raknem asserted that the celebrity of this work "certainly helped diminish the *Pucelle* cult for a while, even though Voltaire's Maid [was] not a representation of, indeed not even a distorted image of, the real Joan of Arc."[91] Raknem's summary point that Voltaire's work "diminished the Pucelle cult for a while" is, perhaps, especially debatable, for it might be argued to the contrary that, although Voltaire's caricature of Jeanne *la Pucelle* certainly did not enhance the Maid's pious reputation in the latter half of the eighteenth century, ultimately the sustained, though critical, attention bestowed upon her by such a renowned author as Voltaire served to augment the public visibility of her image in France.

Two undated prints from the eighteenth century, depicting Voltaire in relation to Jeanne d'Arc, illustrate both sides of the argument that either Voltaire's treatment

---

[90]Voltaire's disparaging (and arguably sexist) "feminization" of the Dauphin was implied, for example, in the gendered role reversal employed by St. Denis, in his initial command to Joan, urging her to leave her job as a stable maid, and assist in the task of making the feeble prince a king: "Follow and leave thine humble trade alone, Joan is a hero, Charles is but a Joan" (Voltaire, I, p. 25).

[91]Raknem, p. 75.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of Joan vulgarized and diminished her memory, or that it eventually fostered further (serious as well as facetious) consideration of her.[92] In the first print [fig.VII], an engraving on wood by N. Ransonnette after a sketch of the same subject by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780),[93] an ironically smiling Voltaire is shown seated at his desk cluttered with books and papers upon which three medallions of "*JEANE* [sic] *D'ARC,*" "*CHARLES SEPT. ROI DE FRANCE,*" and "*AGNES SOREL*" are being held erect by a cherub. Gazing upon the most prominent medallion before him (which portrays a bust portrait of the Maid brandishing her sword and dressed in full armor), Voltaire seems transfixed, frozen pen-in-hand, with his right foot resting on the title page of an open book inscribed "*LA PUCELLE D'ORLÉANS PAR CHAPELAIN.*" Although Voltaire's bemused expression and gestural denigration of Chapelain's pro-"*la Pucelle*" poem seem gently but clearly satiric, this graphic representation of Voltaire's engagement with the Maid does not seem wholly hilarious or

---

[92]The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of the Voltaire scholar Gary Apgar, who first drew these images to her attention.

[93]Now in the Département des Peintures of the Musée du Louvre, this painting was included in the 1979 exhibition "*Voltaire: Un homme, un siècle*" at the Bibliothèque Nationale. In the catalogue for the exhibition, this work was described as follows: "*[Saint-Aubin] avait fait un dessin sur le même sujet et il semble que cette peinture ait été exécuté par dessus la gravure de N. Ransonnette d'après ce dessin. Elle doit dater de la fin de la vie de l'artiste*" (Annie Angremy, Madeline Barbin, Michel Brunet and Marie-Laure Chastange, Voltaire: Un homme, un siècle [Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1979]: p. 120, cat. 338).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

scornful. Numerous details in the image lend an air of dignity and seriousness to the subject. For example, the setting, an elegant, book-filled study, and the three attentive putti who support and inspire the poet (to the right an infant satyr holds his inkwell;[94] in the center a cherub is supporting three medallions for his contemplation; and to the left a laurel-wreathed cherub bears a torch that illuminates Voltaire's hand upon the page and envelopes his head in a brilliant halo of light) all serve to aggrandize the relationship between Voltaire and his "*Pucelle*." The relative deference with which Saint-Aubin treated this subject is especially evident when his engraving is contrasted with an unpublished, anonymous print [fig. VIII], entitled *Le songe de la raison produit des monstres; ou, dors-tu content, Voltaire?*, now in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Although the title of this image evokes Goya's haunting aquatint *El sueño de la razon produce monstruos* (*Caprichos*, plate 43; first edition, 1799), this unabashedly pornographic image is much more jocular and vulgar in tone than its Spanish precedent. Here, Voltaire and *la Pucelle* are depicted as the central participants in an orgy of erotically *en déshabillés* men and women. Amidst the tangle of bodies can be discerned in the

---

[94]Melet-Sanson describes this scene as "*Le Génie de la Satire, un serpent dans la main droite, présente de l'autre main un cornet (ou encrier) à l'auteur*" (*Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. 65, p. 63).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

right foreground, for example, an excited voyeur in fur-collared clerical robes (through which an exposed erection is protruding) clutching a book entitled "*la pucelle D'orleans*" [sic]. Peering through his raised monocle, this priest is shown watching, with open-mouthed curiosity and delight, a woman receiving an enema above him in the upper-right corner. Voltaire himself is shown masturbating in the central foreground. In a parodically studious gesture, the poet rests his face in one hand, as if deep in thought, with his elbow supported by the exposed buttocks of a crouching woman beside him. Joan stands above Voltaire, breasts exposed and dress drawn up to her waist, clutching a palm frond in one hand, and employing the tail of the satirist's nightcap as a dildo with the other. Vulgar and outrageous, this image captures--and exaggerates--the irreverent spirit of Voltaire's "*la Pucelle d'Orléans*," especially, perhaps, the climatic, final scene of the Maid's deflowering in the poem's earlier versions.

As this latter, pornographic print illustrates, Voltaire's bawdy rendition of Jeanne d'Arc's story did propagate an aheroic, vulgar, and sexually licentious image of the Maid. As has been noted, it may be argued that Voltaire himself sought deliberately to trivialize Joan's accomplishments by reducing her historic military successes to a ludicrous, sexual escapade. Similarly, by ascribing sexual obsession and misconduct to the Church and monarchy,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Voltaire also may have sought to ridicule those preeminent bastions of French power with which Joan of Arc's biography had become so closely intertwined in history. (As Voltaire himself derisively commented in a narrative interjection in his poem: "Such a discourse is not too heroic.")[95] In the same manner, the anonymous print maker who devised "*Dors-tu content, Voltaire?,*" sought to belittle both the subject and the author of "*La Pucelle d'Orléans, poème en vingt-et-un chants,*" by turning them into charged symbols of spectacular and absurd sexual display and self-gratification.

For all the impropriety and inaccuracy of Voltaire's text and the pornographic print it inspired, this exaggerated engagement with Joan of Arc's sexual life (her virginity, her chastity, even at times her very sexual identity) was not, perhaps, as ridiculous as these images-makers may have intended it to be. As Baudrillard has postulated about such extravagant and explicit sexual displays, "Perhaps pornography is only an allegory, that is to say, a forcing of signs, a baroque enterprise of over-signification touching on the 'grotesque.'"[96] In fact, Joan of Arc's sexuality, specifically her virginity (a central ironic concern in both Voltaire's "*la Pucelle*" [fig. XIX] and the print *Dors-tu content, Voltaire?*), was a serious, even hotly debated, issue in Joan's own lifetime, as well as

---

[95]Quoted by Raknem, p. 75.

[96]Baudrillard, Seduction, p. 28.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in the afterlife of her story. She herself professed it in the name she chose for herself, "*la Pucelle*"--the virginal maiden.[97] When Jeanne first met with Charles the *Dauphin* at Chinon in the winter of 1429, for example, it was deemed necessary to physically verify her claim of having "vowed her virginity to God." According to the rehabilitory testimony of Jean Pasquerel (an Augustinian friar, who joined Joan's retinue and became her confessor), Joan's interrogation by the royal court then included a physical examination:

> I have heard it said that Joan, when she came to the King, was examined by women to know how it was with her, whether she was a man or a woman and whether she was corrupt or a virgin. She was found to be woman and virgin and maid. Those who visited her (person) were...the lady de Gaucourt (Jeanne de Preuilly) and the lady de Treves (Jeanne de Mortemer) [ladies in the suite of Yolande of Aragon, Queen of Sicily and the King's mother-in-law]."[98]

Jean d'Aulon, a Knight and Counsellor to the King, similarly testified that the affirmation of Joan's chastity by the Queen of Sicily specifically prompted Charles to accept Joan's offer of martial assistance:

> The Master's report having been made to the King, this Maid was put into the hands of the Queen of Sicily, mother of the Queen our sovereign lady, and to [sic] certain ladies being with her, by whom this maid was seen, visited and secretly regarded and examined in the secret parts of her body. But after they had seen and looked at all there was to look at in this case, the lady said and related to the King that she and her

---

[97]For a discussion of the Maid's name, "*la Pucelle*," see above.

[98]Quoted by Pernoud, p. 58.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ladies found certainly that she was a true and entire maid in whom appeared no corruption or violence. I was present when the lady made her report. After having heard these things, the King, considering the great goodness which was in this maid and what she had said to him, that by God was she sent to him, concluded...that, henceforth, he would use her aid for the war."[99]

In her own day, Jeanne d'Arc's enemies also concerned themselves with her maidenhood. According to Pernoud, after her capture by the Burgundians, Joan was "forced to undergo an examination into her virginity which was carried out probably during the first days of January [in 1431]", by order of the Duke and Duchess of Bedford. The Duchess of Bedford, with the assistance of "some matrons and midwives," similarly found Joan to be "a virgin and intact".[100]

In the ensuing centuries since her death, both ridicule and support of Jeanne *la Pucelle* has again and again been cast in terms of a denial or affirmation of her sexual inexperience. Shakespeare's pro-Anglo-Burgundian Henry VI, Part I, for example, portrayed Joan as a witch, and as a promiscuous liar who only feigned virtue opportunistically. When faced with death by fire, in the final act, "Joan *la Pucelle*" vehemently proclaims her virginity initially, insisting that she is too virtuous to be burned. "Joan of Arc," she says of herself:

> ...hath been
> A virgin from her tender infancy,

---

[99]Quoted by Pernoud, pp. 58-59.

[100]Pernoud, pp. 168-69.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Chaste and immaculate in very thought;
> Whose maiden blood, thus rigorously effused,
> Will cry for vengeance at the gates of Heaven.[101]

When that appeal fails, however, Shakespeare's Maid then defiantly proclaims herself pregnant in an unsuccessful ploy for mercy, naming one after another of the French nobles as the sire of her child-to-be.

For the mid-nineteenth century critic Léonce Dupont, by contrast, Jeanne d'Arc's vibrancy and force lay in her "holy beliefs" and absolute "purity," which together inspired her patriotism and her "holy enthusiasm." As he wrote in 1855, praising the Maid's pious (and, in Dupont's opinion, uniquely accurate) representation by the Princess Marie d'Orléans:

> *C'était une belle âme que remplissait une foi vive et tendre, penétrée de naïves et saintes croyances, aimant sa patrie autant que sa mère; c'était une femme dont le coeur vibrant des plus saintes enthousiasmes et qui se trouvait initiée par la pureté de son coeur aux mystérieuses harmonies de la virginité.*[102]

In Dupont's words, the Maid's virtue is equated with an almost magical power--"the mysterious harmonies of virginity"--, to which she was "initiated by the purity of [her] heart."

---

[101]Shakespeare, Henry VI, p. 102.

[102]"[Hers] was a beautiful soul, that, filled with a living and tender faith, [and] imbued with naive and holy beliefs, loved her fatherland as much as her mother; [she] was a woman whose heart vibrated with the most holy enthusiasms and who was initiated by the purity of her heart to the mysterious harmonies of virginity" (Léonce Dupont, *Les Trois statues de Jeanne d'Arc* [Paris: Pesty, 1855]: p. 21).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"For all his trifling," as Marina Warner wrote, "Voltaire seized on the crux of the legend: that Joan's virginity was essential to her role of savior."[103] The miraculous claims of Joan of Arc's empowerment through her virginity, however (such as were made facetiously by Voltaire, as well as seriously by many, including the critic Dupont and the nineteenth century poet Schiller [see below]), were not, of course, unique to the Maid of Orléans.[104] In her study of the cult of the Virgin Mary, Alone of All Her Sex, Warner explored the vital role played by the Catholic Church not only in cultivating chastity as a virtuous and ascetic renunciation of the flesh, but also in attributing a divine, even at times miraculous, force to virginity.[105] Warner cited, for example, Jerome, one of the early scholars of the Church, who proclaimed the remarkable transformative power of virginity. As he wrote in the third

---

[103]Warner, p. 239.

[104]As John Bugge has observed, "virginity [was] until comparatively recent times, the single most essential prerequisite for a life of perfection in Christianity" (John Bugge, "Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Ideal," vol. 17 International Archives of the History of Ideas [The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975], p. 1).

[105]Marina Warner, Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (New York: Vintage Books, 1983. (See especially Chapter 5: "Virgins and Martyrs," pp. 68-78). As Warner wrote: "The idea that virginity confers power operates on two different planes: First, the Fathers of the Church taught that the virginal life reduced the special penalites of the Fall in women and was therefore holy. Second, the image of the virgin body was the supreme image of wholeness, and wholeness was equated with holiness" (Warner, Alone of All Her Sex, p. 72).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

century:

> As long as a woman is for birth and children, she is different from man as body is from soul. But when she wishes to serve Christ more than the world, then she will cease to be a woman, and will be called man.[106]

Jerome differentiated between women who procreate and women who dedicate themselves to Christ and are, hence, chaste. In early Christian teachings, the human corpus was regarded as a weak and transient vessel, while the human spirit was regarded as immortal and transcendent. By likening women who "are for birth" (i.e. who bear children) to the "body" as opposed to the "soul", Jerome established a relative hierarchy honoring those women who abstain from sexual reproduction. At the apex of his hierarchy, above chaste and unchaste women alike, were men. However, through the grace of Christian chastity, Jerome promised, all women could aspire to become more spiritual, more autonomous, and thereby more like a man. Jerome's assertions regarding the re-gendering force of virginity and chastity are especially noteworthy in relation to Joan of Arc's own later transgendering adoption of masculine dress and behavior. In both instances, the model for transcendence--spiritual transcendence and transcendant social and political power for women--was masculine.

In the thirteenth century, theological conceptions of the human body, especially in its sexual incarnation, began

---

[106]Quoted in Warner, Alone of All Her Sex, p. 73.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to change from the early teachings of the Church. As the physical efficacy of the sacraments began to be emphasized (culminating in the cult of transsubstantiation), the relationship between physical nature and the spiritual realm began to be regarded as conjoined, rather than separable manifestations of the human existence. During this time, the body, according to Ann Barstow, began to be seen not only as a form containing "a creative spirit..., but could itself be a magical vessel".[107] Women's bodies, even more than men's, were "believed to contain this power"; and it was "the virginal female body," above all, that was said to have "an enormous magical potential."[108]

As early as the twelfth century, this understanding of virginity as a transcendent, supernatural force was evidenced, for example, in such homilies as the famous "*Hali Meidenhad*", a sermon which likened the curative ability of virginity (or "holy maidenhead") to a "balm [that] protects the dead body that it is rubbed therewith from rotting."[109] While this privileging of the chaste female body as a source of power and magic may seem like an inversion of the Church's earlier subordination of the gendered and engendering female body, it may also be understood as a

---

[107]Ann Llewellyn Barstow, Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman, vol. 17 of Studies in Women and Religion (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1986), p.17.

[108]Barstow, p. 17.

[109]Quoted by Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 24.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

subtle and contrived advancement of a similar theological (and social) policy of "colonializing" alterity and female sexual control.[110] By stressing the special benefits of virginity and chastity for women, a double standard could be imposed, allowing men relative impunity for their greater sexual license, while simultaneously insisting on the moral and physical otherness of women and on the need to guard that particularly prized virtue--female sexual "innocence" (a synonym for ignorance, as well as inexperience and incorruption).

Traditionally, virginity has been associated with asexuality, an absence of sexual intercourse signifying an absence of all sexuality, both physical and emotional. Thus, for example, in the fourth century Ambrose wrote in On Virginity, "she who believes progresses to complete manhood...she then does without worldly name, gender of body, youthful seductiveness...."[111] In this study however, the marked emphasis on female virginity in Western society will be posited, instead, as a very particular kind of sexual discourse. Rather than treating the subject of Jeanne d'Arc's virginity as a denial of her fundamental

---

[110]By contrast, however, it should also be noted, this celebration of female chastity may also be seen as a justification for female celibacy, offering women in medieval society a sanctioned alternative (in the cloister or in chaste widowhood) to the primary conventional demands of women in Western society to marry and reproduce.

[111]Quoted by Joyce E. Salisbury, Church Fathers, Independent Virgins (New York: Verso, 1991), pp. 26-27.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sexuality, the focal concern for her sexual *in*experience will be regarded as a manifestation of what may be called her "sexualization", as evidence, that is, of a focal (almost fetishized) concern for her erotic persona, her sexual life, and her gendered body.

This central concern for Joan's virginity as a sign of her special merit and power was also not unique to the formation of her legend. Throughout history, sexual "virtue" (i.e. virginity and chastity) has been prized as a supreme merit among women of the Western world. Thus it is not unexpected, perhaps, that Joan of Arc's detractors called her sexual virtue into question, as a sure means of challenging the agency of the political, social, and military change that they found so profoundly threatening. Similarly (if not reflexively) her defenders almost perforce had to support and uphold her sexual virtue, in order to defend the virtue of her actions.

In a case that runs parallel to the history of Jeanne d'Arc's "sexualization" in the 1700s, Lynn Hunt, in her article "The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution", has explored the relationship between political opposition and the sexualized portrayal of prominent women in the public sphere during the late eighteenth century.[112]

---

[112]Lynn Hunt, "The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution," in Eroticism and the Body Politic, ed. Lynn Hunt,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hunt points out that Marie-Antoinette's "sexual body" and sexual behavior were widely attacked by her revolutionary opponents in contemporary pornographic literature.[113] In pamphlets that "took various forms, ranging from songs and fables to presumed biographies, confessions and plays," the queen was accused of such sexual "offenses" as lesbianism, promiscuity, and adultery with the king's brother, the Comte d'Artois.[114] Similarly, in her trial, the queen was accused of "immorality," "perversion," "indecencies whose idea and name make us shudder," and even incest with her son Louis-Charles, who was also forced to sign a confession that his mother and aunt had taught him to masturbate.[115] Such provocative charges of sexual vice provided the queen's revolutionary opponents with a cogent means of attack. By challenging her virtue, they sought to oppose both the "feared disintegration of gender boundaries that accompanied

---

108-130 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University press, 1991).

[113]For further discussion of the phenomena of pornographic literature in eighteenth century France, and its dissemination (and censorial interdiction) in manuscript form, see also Robert L. Dawson, "The *Mélange de poésies diverses* (1781) and the Diffusion of Manuscript Pornography in Eighteenth-Century France," in 'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment, ed. Robert Purks Maccubbin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 229-243; and Robert J. Ellrich, "Modes of Discourse and Language of Sexual Reference in Eighteenth-Century French Fiction," in 'Tis Nature's Fault, pp. 217-228.

[114]Hunt, pp. 116-119.

[115]Simon Schama, Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), pp. 798-799.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the revolution,"[116] and to strike at the threat of corruption they feared the queen posed for the new republic.[117] Ultimately, as Hunt concluded, "The trial of the Queen...[made] manifest, more, perhaps, than any other single event of the Revolution, the underlying interconnections between pornography and politics."[118]

The sexualization of Joan of Arc's image and life story, like that of Marie-Antoinette's, reveals the ties that bind politics and sexual politics together. Male virtue in the late eighteenth century (as ever) was read in the public sphere--as responsibility, probity, courage, and valour--[119], while female virtue was cast in the private

---

[116]Hunt, p. 123.

[117]As Hunt wrote: "Marie-Antoinette had, in a manner of speaking, many bodies. These many bodies, hydralike, to use one of the favorite revolutionary metaphors for the counter-revolution, were each in turn attacked and destroyed because they represented the threats, conscious and unconscious, that could be posed to the new republic. These were not threats of just the ordinary sort, for the queen represented, not only the ultimate in counterrevolutionary conspiracy, but also the menace of the feminine and effeminizing to republican notions of manhood and virility" (Hunt, p. 110). The queen's body was also attacked by revolutionaries because of its prior special status as a royal corpus, a physical (and by association with the king, almost sacred) embodiment of the public realm under the monarchical system. As Schama noted, for example, "Court ritual at Versailles fetishized the royal body so that hierarchies were established according to who might pass the King's slipper or hand the Queen her chemise" (Schama, p. 211).

[118]Hunt, p. 108.

[119]The etymology of the words virtue (in English) and *vertu* (in French), which are both derived from the Latin *virtūs*--meaning "manliness, strength, capacity" (from *vir*, man)--, reinforces the inherent gendered nature of "virtue" in these languages.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sphere of sexual chastity or reproductive duty. By definition, virtuous women did not belong in public life, and the rise of their presence there was viewed increasingly as a transgression and a threat. The response of Chaumette, a spokesman for the *sans-culottes,* to the recent appearance of a delegation of women wearing the red hat of liberty before the Paris city council in 1793, illustrates the fear and anxiety provoked by the rise of women in public--especially political--life at that time.[120] As Chaumette thundered in the city council:

> It is contrary to all the laws of nature for a woman to want to make herself a man. The council must recall that sometime ago, these denatured women, these *viragos*, wandered through the markets with the red cap to sully that badge of liberty...Since when is it permitted to give up one's sex? Since when is it decent to see women abandoning the pious cares of their households, the cribs of their children, to come to public places, to harangues in the galleries, at the bar of the Senate?[121]

In objecting to the adoption of the politically symbolic "*bonnet rouge*" by a group of Parisian women, Chaumette linked political activism and cross-dressing as equally unnatural and impermissible for women. Decent

---

[120]Adopted by revolutionaries in France as an emblem of liberty (derived from ancient Roman coins depicting freed slaves receiving a Phrygian cap at the time of their emancipation) the "*bonnet rouge*" or "Phrygian bonnet" was worn with increasing popularity around 1792. As Schama wrote, "it began showing up in the Jacobins among both members and spectators, and in the more self-consciously popular societies and *section* assemblies it virtually became *de rigueur*. Even some army officers demanded the right to wear it instead of their military tricorn" (Schama, p. 604).

[121]Hunt, p. 125.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

women, Chaumette implied, remain true to "their sex" by avoiding the public sphere (i.e. by staying out of politics, and devoting themselves to childrearing and "the pious cares of the household"), and by wearing only gender-appropriate attire. Evidently, the *parisienne révolutionnaire*'s appropriation of the Phrygian cap, denounced by Chaumette as a transgressive act "contrary to all the laws of nature", was regarded as a dangerous usurpation of man's power (the adoption of this article of political [read: masculine] apparel by women being seen as a corollary to their threatened co-option of masculine political perogatives as well). As Joan Landes similarly noted of the radical male reaction against politically symbolic clothing worn by Revolutionary Republican women in the early 1790s:

> By wearing the male bonnet rouge--the Phrygian cap, ancient symbol of the freed slave--they asked to be treated as (equally) virtuous and vigilant republicans. But they failed to see that their dress signified to men a mere performance of citizenship--ultimately, a terrifying spectacle in which cross-dressing and masquerade could become routine occurrences. Women's dress and conduct signaled to their adversaries an irreversible process in which women would demand and concentrate power at men's expense. So deeply inflected by gender was republicanism that, when women attempted to enact openly its program of political virtue, they were accused of violating nature, propriety, and decency....So what ought to have been a symbol of patriotism--women dressed in the tricolor cockade, trousers, red bonnets, and donning swords--became instead a public statement of women's collective interest against the harmonious familial symbolism and masculinist practice of the virtuous republic.[122]

---

[122]Joan B. Landes, Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988): pp. 164-165.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In this light, the marked anxiety produced by Joan of Arc's cross-dressing, in her own day and after,[123] may be understood similarly as an indication of the grave challenge that such a transgression of sartorial norms and sumptuary laws was believed to pose to the essential division of the sexes--not only in dress and social mores, but in the very foundation of a gender-bound division of powers in a male-

---

[123]Recall that the principle sign of Jeanne d'Arc's heresy, for which she was ultimately burned at the stake, was her re-adoption of men's clothing, after having herself acknowledged that her cross-dressing was "against natural decency" in the sworn confession of her "crimes and errors" that she signed in cemetery of St. Ouen on May 24 (and recanted four days later) in 1431 (Pernoud, p. 214). As Pernoud wrote: "The importance given to the matter of her male attire for the conclusion of Joan's trial and condemnation was felt and understood by an observer as impartial as he was well-informed, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II. He summed up the business in his Memoirs, as follows: 'It is known that, taken in the war, the Maid was sold to the English for ten thousand gold crowns and conveyed to Rouen. In that place she was diligently examined to discover whether she used sortileges (spells) or diabolical aid or whether she erred in any way in her religion. Nothing worthy to be censured was found in her, excepting the male attire which she wore. And that was not judged deserving of the extreme penalty. Taken back to her prison she was threatened with death if she resumed the wearing of men's clothes.' And he added that her gaolers brought none but male attire" (Pernoud, pp. 218-219). At the fourth public session of her trial, Joan herself minimized the importance of her transvestitism; when asked then if God had commanded her to wear men's clothes, she replied: "The clothes are a trifle, the very least of things. I did not put on men's clothes by the counsel of any man in the world and I do not put on the clothes and I did not do anything excepting by the commandment of God and his angels" (Quoted by Pernoud, pp. 184-185). Nevertheless, however, Joan was tenacious in retaining her masculine costume, in spite of repeated demands that she adopt female dress by the authorities conducting her trial in 1431. (In return for her renunciation of this "abominable dress", they offered her, for example, Mass and communion as bribes, both of which she had pleaded for repeatedly--and otherwise unsuccessfully--during her captivity). So it would seem that to Joan, as well, dress was not a mere trifle after all.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dominated society.

A defiantly anomalous figure, a cross-dresser, whose accomplishments in the political and martial realm were of an emphatically public [read: masculine] nature, Joan of Arc was deliberately *mis*represented by her supporters and opponents alike in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in terms of her "essential" female nature. In literary and dramatic works, such as Voltaire's poem "*La Pucelle*", this essentializing misrepresentation was manifested especially by the author's biographically unwarranted attention to Joan of Arc's sexual and romantic affairs, despite all evidence that she remained resolutely celibate. In the visual arts, it was evidenced overtly by the representation of her active sexual life in images such as Moreau le Jeune's *Jeanne d'Arc* [fig. VI] and the anonymous print *Le songe de la raison produit des montres; ou, dors-tu content, Voltaire?* [fig. VIII], as well as more subtly by her representation with an unmistakably flirtatious demeanor (further enhanced sometimes by a sexy subtitle), such as Gaucher's come-hither Jeanne d'Arc [fig. XII], which portrays the Maid gazing coyly downward in a décolleté dress, with a legend that urges the viewer to take a mental peep up her skirts: «*Jeanne montra sous féminin visage / Sous le corset et sous le cotillon / D'un Vraie Roland le vigoureux courage*».[124]

---

[124]"Jeanne shows beneath a feminine visage, Beneath the corset and the petticoat, The vigorous courage of a true Roland."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Above all, perhaps, visual artists essentialized and feminized Jeanne d'Arc by almost universally attributing to her such conventional--and, in her case, patently inaccurate--signs of womanhood as long hair, and/or long skirts. [See, for example, figs I, III, IV, V, VI, IX, XI]

Stripped of her chosen masculine raiment (apparel that she refused, on pain of death, to renounce at her trial in 1430-31), dressed in women's clothing, given long hair by artists throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and endowed by authors with a focal sexuality (as either a promiscuous reprobate or as an alluring but incontrovertible virgin), Joan of Arc was feminized by those who represented her in an effort to normalize her defiant aberrancies, and to cast her virtues or vices within the gendered strictures of society.

Seldom errant in his satiric writings, Voltaire was not wholly frivilous in his facetious injunction to his readers at the beginning of "*La Pucelle*": "You'll tremble at the feats whereof you hear, And more than all the wars she used to wage, At how she kept her maidenhead -- a year!". While patently ridiculous in its over estimation, his exaggeration of Jeanne d'Arc's sexuality, focusing solely on her erotic being rather than on her remarkable heroic accomplishments, also constitutes a serious and incisive "allegory" for the standard operation of gender differentiation in society, with its potent political ramifications for women in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Voltaire's day and after.

In an interview in 1977 on the relationship between sex and power, Michel Foucault noted incisively the long tradition of women's essentialization, as both a means of "colonializing" repression, and as a defiant, self-identifying response for feminists in the twentieth century:

> For a long time [society] tried to pin women down to their sex. For centuries they were told: "You are nothing but your sex." ...But the feminist movements responded defiantly. Are we sex by nature? Well then, let us be so in its singularity, in its irreducible specificity. Let us draw the consequences and reinvent our own type of existence, political, economic and cultural...Always the same movement: to use this sexuality as the starting point to colonialize them and to cross beyond it toward other affirmations.[125]

Through hyperbole, it may be argued, Voltaire's "*Pucelle*" mocks this enduring process of essentialization, a tradition that marks the representation of Joan of Arc throughout the ages, just as it has continued to define and determine the image and role of women in Western society from antiquity to the present.

Scrutinized, manipulated, engendered, and elected for destruction and reformation across the matrix of political power, the body of Jeanne d'Arc can be seen in its "epistemic" (historic, literary, and artistic) formations from the fourteenth century onward, as being "directly

---

[125]Michel Foucault and Bernard-Henri Lévy, "Power and Sex," trans. David J. Parent, in Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture; Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, 110-124 (New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 115-116.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

involved in a political field."[126] Caught in the grip of social forces, like the universal body described by Foucault in Discipline and Punish:

> power relations have an immediate hold on it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs.[127]

A player and a pawn alike in this field of politics, the body of Joan of Arc was held fast by the strictures of those power relations that in her own day both lionized and then tortured her, and that, in the ensuing centuries after her untimely death, made her carry out the task of symbolic, political representation, performing ceremonies, and emitting signs as an ever re-invented and re-invested image.

---

[126]For a discussion of Foucault (who wrote of the relationship between "the body" and "the political field" in his seminal text Discipline and Punish, p. 25) in relation to "the body" during the French Revolution, see also Bernadette Fort, "The Revolution and the Making of Fictions," in Fictions of the French Revolution, ed. Bernadette Fort, 3-33 (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1991), p.20.

[127]Foucault, Discipline and Punish, p. 25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 4

"However Sharp the Ridicule": Defending the Memory of Jeanne d'Arc

> *"Quelque piquant que soit le ridicule dont Voltaire a voulu couvrir la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc (dite la Pucelle d'Orléans), il n'est pas moins vrai que les exploits merveilleux de cette fille vertueuse ennoblissent un des passages le plus intéressant de l'histoire de France."*
>
> Maurin, Preface to *Jeanne d'Arc ou le siège d'Orléans, comédié héroïque à grand spectacle* (1803)[128]

In the nineteenth century, it was widely held that Voltaire's "La *Pucelle*" caused a decline in Joan of Arc's popular esteem in France. This opinion is evidenced, for example, by the Arouet scholar (and staunch royalist) La Harpe's scathing critique of the poem in 1815. Exemplary of the repudiative rhetoric that Voltaire's work received at the hands of conservative, royalist and pro-Catholic critics in the 1800s, La Harpe's criticisms also demonstrate the virulent--"poisonous," as La Harpe wrote with outrage--effect that Voltaire's poem was believed to have had upon Jeanne d'Arc's subsequent reputation:

> *Jamais l'impudence du vice et du blasphème n'avait été portée à ce point...Il n'y a point de livres qui ait*

---

[128]"However sharp the ridicule may be by which Voltaire wanted to obscure the memory of Jeanne d'Arc (called the Maid of Orleans), it is nonetheless true that the marvelous exploits of this virtuous girl ennobled one of the most interesting passages in the history of France" (Maurin, *Jeanne d'Arc ou le siège d'Orléans, comédié héroïque à grand spectacle en trois actes et en vers* [Metz: Lamort imprimeur, rue derriére le Palais, 1809], p. 3).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *été plus répandu, plus généralement lu, plus souvent cité. Toute la jeunesse le sut par coeur, et en fit sa* philosophie*; les vers de* la Pucelle *devinrent le cathéchisme de cet âge...; et si l'on réfléchit à tout le mal qu'a fait et dû faire ce poème, on avouera qu'un Gouvernement tombe dans la plus étrange inconséquence lorsqu'il interdit la vente des poisons, et qu'il autorise ou tolère le débit de pareils livres.*[129]

Similarly, in 1888 the conservative critic Siméon Luce described this "*crime de Voltaire*" as "*la plus abominable et la plus antifrançaise des infamies*";[130] and in his 1889 article "*L'insulteur de notre Jeanne*," Léo Taxil (a prominent spokeman for the Catholic right during the Third Republic and a fervent monarchist) described Voltaire's work as "*l'infâme poème par lequel l'immonde écrivain a tenté de salir la sainte fille que Dieu suscita pour déivrer la France...Cette ouvrage [est] aussi obscène qu'anti-patriotique.*"[131]

---

[129]"Never was the impudence of vice and blasphemy taken to this point...No book has been more circulated, more generally read, more often cited. Every child knows it by heart, and in having done his *philosophy*; the verse of *la Pucelle* became the catechism of this age...; and if one reflected on all the bad which has been done and will be owed to this poem, one would acknowledge that a Government falls into the most strange inconsistency when it forbids the sale of poisons, [but] authorizes or tolerates the sale of such books" (La Harpe, "*Pages Retrospectives. -- Rétractation de l'auteur «Du Cours de littérature» au sujet de* la Pucelle *de Voltaire*," Jehanne la Pucelle 3-4 [10-25 February 1911], p. 53). (La Harpe's critique of Voltaire's poem "*La Pucelle*" was first published as vol. VIII in his 16 volume series Lycée ou Cours de littérature, ancienne et moderne, Paris, 1815).

[130]Luce, "*Les origines de «la Pucelle» de Voltaire*", p. 192.

[131]"...the infamous poem by which the foul writer attempted to sully the holy daughter of God called forth to deliver France...This work [is] as obscene as it is antipatriotic" (Léo Taxil, "*L'insulteur de notre Jeanne,*" Jeanne d'Arc 1, no. 5 [22-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As early as 1808, attacking Voltaire's "*La Pucelle*" had already become, for the right wing in France, synonymous with expressing French patriotism. As the ultra-royalist Baron de Frénilly wrote in his diary that year (with more restraint than Taxil later showed), "A good patriot and still hostile to Voltaire, I decided to compose an epic poem on the subject of Joan of Arc...."[132] In an illustrative and humorous anecdote, Frénilly described the ensuing trip that he made to Orléans in order to get the right local color for his poem:

> ...I took care to make [my] departure fit in with the time at which her *fête* was to be celebrated at Orléans. I wished to study that town in its fifteenth-century setting, and to consult some manuscripts there... [I] arrived there on the evening of May 6, and I spent three days over my investigations.
>
> What struck me most at this Joan of Arc *fête* was the indifference or rather the mocking cynicism of the public. A long procession, escorted by all the counterjumpers of the town, Bonaparte's guards of honor, in red gallooned coats, was followed in the Cathedral by a panegyric--very wearisome, I admit, but which these amiable youths enlivened by quotations from Voltaire's *Pucelle*, whispered from one to the other.[133]

As the writings of Frénilly, Luce, Taxil, and La Harpe make clear, whether repeated in a mocking and jocular whisper, or cited with thundering, condemnatory wrath, Voltaire's poem "*La Pucelle d'Orléans*" remained a prominent

---

28 May 1889], p. 65).

[132]Arthur Chuquet, ed, The Recollections of Baron de Frénilly, trans. Frederic Lees (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), p. 225.

[133]Chuquet, p. 225.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

feature in the discourse surrounding the Maid of Orléans in France for decades after its first publication in the mid-eighteenth century. Despite the pervasive conservative opinion that Voltaire's poem had a pernicious effect on the Maid's historic reputation, however, it is clear that the work ultimately drew attention to the Maid, while at the same time galvanizing her supporters at home and abroad to restore nobility to her memory.[134] Like the Maid herself,

---

[134]Jeanne d'Arc and François Marie Arouet de Voltaire died on the same day, 30 May, three hundred and forty seven years apart. This mortal coincidence parallels the odd posthumous association of these two disparate figures, Medieval Monarchist-cum-Militant Mystic and Enlightenment Satirist-Sceptic-and-Poet-Philosopher alike, for their historic celebrity was remarkably intertwined in nineteenth century French society. The vicissitudes of the Maid's reputation from the mid-1700s through the 1880s paralled the reception of Voltaire's poem *"La Pucelle d'Orléans, poème en vingt-un-chants."* According to La Harpe, at least one monument was erected to the Maid during the nineteenth century in response to Voltaire's verses. As he wrote, *"Le monument de Jeanne d'Arc, à Rouen,...a été une première protestation contre le poème de Voltaire"* (La Harpe, *"Rétraction de l'auteur «Du cours de littérature» au sujet de La Pucelle de Voltaire,"* p. 50, footnote 1). Similarly when Louis Havin proposed in 1867, that a monument be erected to Voltaire's memory in Paris, a storm of political and religious controversy was unleashed. Foremost among the anti-Voltairians in the debate was the virulent supporter of Jeanne d'Arc, Bishop Félix-Antoine-Philippe Dupanloup of Orléans, whose ceaseless defense of the Maid earned him the appellation "*l'Évêque d'Jeanne d'Arc*" (George Louis Playe, The Reputation of Voltaire in Nineteenth-Century France (1840-1870 [Thesis Abstract, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill, 1949]). After Voltaire's monument was finally erected three years later in the Monge square, through a public subscription, it became an enduring locus of royalist, Catholic,--and pro-Joan--opposition. In 1889, for example, the editor Léo Taxil decried Voltaire's monument as a statue of "*l'abominable philosophe*" on the front page of his illustrated weekly Jeanne d'Arc (Taxil, *"L'insulteur de notre Jeanne,"* p. 65). At times, this pro-Joan versus pro-Voltaire opposition even took an explosive turn, as Marina Warner noted: "In 1878, the French government considered that feelings were rising so high it was necessary to ban all demonstrations, processions or other public commemorations for the day, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the poem attracted unwaivering attention and controversy, remaining an enduring focal point that bedeviled her strongest conservative supporters, engaged both the amused and disapproving attention of readers throughout the nineteenth century, and inspired generations of historians, poets, playwrights, and ordinary devotees of the Maid to pen their own responses to Voltaire's Maid of Orléans.

In the visitor's book "*le Livre d'Or*" at the D'Arc family home in Domremy, for example, one guest wrote a tribute to Jeanne d'Arc in 1839 that was as vehement in its commendation of Joan as it was in its denunciation of "the famous writer" Voltaire:

> *Homage à la chaste Pucelle!*
> *Honte éternelle au célèbre écrivain*
> *Qui trempant dans la fange un pinceau tout divin*
> *Profana sans pudeur une gloire si belle!*[135]

Similarly, the first dramatization of Jeanne d'Arc's life story in the nineteenth century, Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller's *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*[136] (1801), was

---

centenary of Voltaire's death and the 447th anniversary of Joan's execution. Violence in the streets had already marked the rivalry between the enthusiasts of Voltaire, identified with anticlericalism and revolutionary fervor, and the adepts of Joan of Arc, monarchists, patriots, Catholics" (Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 237).

[135]"Praise to the chaste Maid!
Undying shame to the famous writer
Who, steeping in mire a divine pen,
Shamelessly profaned such a beauteous fame!" (Warner, p. 238; footnote 7 [in French], p. 321).

[136]The most direct translation from German into English of "Die Jungfrau von Orleans" is "The Virgin of Orleans," for "*Jungfrau*" in German (like the word "*Pucelle*" in French) has the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

written in part as a response to the satiric image of *la Pucelle* promulgated by Voltaire's verses. In an ancillary poem entitled "*Die Pucelle von Voltaire und die Jungfrau von Orleans*"[137] written around 1801, Schiller attacked Voltaire in no uncertain terms for his degrading portrayal of "that fair form of humanity", Jeanne d'Arc:

> *Das edle Bild der Menschheit zu verhöhnen,*
> *Im tiefen Staube wälzte dich der Spott.*
> *Krieg führt der Witz auf ewig mit dem Schönen,*
> *Er glaubt nicht an den Engel und den Gott:*
> *Dem herzen will er seine Schätze rauben,*
> *Den Wahn bekriegt er und verleßt den Glauben...*[138]

According to William Hervey, Schiller waited to release his play *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* until after his poem "*Die Pucelle von Voltaire*" was published in 1801, in order to combat the pervasive satiric image of his heroine that Voltaire's text had engendered in Germany, as in France. Schiller sought thereby to make the public more receptive to

---

distinct connotation of maidenly chastity. "*Jungfräulichkeit*", for example, is the German word for virginity, and the Virgin Mary is called "*die Heilige Jungfrau*" in German. "Maid" or "maiden" are both acceptable, subsidiary translations of this word in English, however, and convention dictates that her name be rendered "The Maid of Orleans."

[137]Also entitled, alternately, "*Das Mädchen von Orleans*"; in English, these titles are "The Maid of Voltaire and the Maid of Orleans", and "The Maiden from Orleans."

[138]"To mock the noble image of humanity, / In deep dust derision rolled thee. / Wit wages war eternally with the beautiful, / Believing not in angel or in God, / Seeking to rob the heart of its treasures, / He wars with error, but offends belief..." (Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, Schiller's Jungfrau von Orleans, with introduction and notes, ed. and trans. Willard Humphreys [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898]: n.p.). [Hereafter, this citation will be refered to simply as "Humphreys" in all relevant, ensuing footnotes].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

his latest drama, able to accept its protagonist as a figure appropriate to serious tragedy, rather than merely farcical humor.[139]

Presented for the first time in Leipzig on September 18, 1801, and in Berlin on November 23 of the same year, Schiller's play *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* enjoyed immediate success.[140] Translated into French by Charles Frédéric Cramer within a year after its debut, this eulogistic and melodramatic play inspired a vast number of French theatrical productions on the same subject.[141] The subtitle

---

[139]Johann Christophe Friedrich von Schiller, Schiller's DIE JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS, ed. William Addison Hervey (New York: Hinds & Noble, 1900): p. xli. Willard Humphreys wrote similarly that Schiller was unable to open his play in Weimar, the home of his patron, the Duke of Weimar, in part because "everyone there had been reading Voltaire's travesty, *La Pucelle*, so that the very mention of Joan of Arc brought to mind ridiculous associations." According to Humphreys, Schiller was further dissuaded from opening his play in Weimar because "it would [have been] too utterly absurd to assign the title role of the *Jungfrau* to the leading actress Karoline Jagemann, whose relations to the duke were a matter of public scandal... [Thus it was] necessary that the performance of the play at Weimar be given up and that it be produced elsewhere" (Humphreys, p. xli-xlii).

[140]Schiller himself was present on the play's triumphal opening night in Leipzig. According to a widely cited anecdote, the author received a standing ovation from the play's audience. As Humphreys wrote: "At the close of the performance all assembled at the exit of the theatre and, forming in a double line, stood with bared heads and in respectful silence as the poet walked out through the admiring crowd" (Huphreys, p. xlii).

[141]*Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 79. According to Marot, "two hundred and forty performances of the *Jungfrau* were given between 1801 and 1843" (Marot, *De la réhabilitation*," p. 118). And Raknem even asserted that "out of the total of about 70 ninteenth century French plays on Joan of Arc,...all [with the exception of Charles Péguy's Joan of Arc (1897)]...are more or less imitations and show, in some way or other, the influence of Schiller" (Raknem, Joan of Arc in History, Legend and Literature [Oslo:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of J. Avril's 1814 Parisian production *Le triomphe de lis, Jeanne d'Arc ou la Pucelle d'Orléans; drame en cinq actes et en vers, imité de la tragèdie allemande de Schiller* alone manifests overtly the inspiration of the German poet.[142] Similarly, the nineteenth-century playwright Maurin specifically mentioned the inspiration of Schiller's drama, as well as the "piquant ridicule" of Voltaire in the preface for his work *Jeanne d'Arc ou le siège d'Orléans, comédie héroïque à grand spectacle* (published in 1809):

> *"Quelque piquant que soit le ridicule dont Voltaire a voulu couvrir la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc (dite la Pucelle d'Orléans), il n'est pas moins vrai que les exploits merveilleux de cette fille vertueuse ennoblissent un des passages le plus intéressant de l'histoire de France....Tout le monde connaît la fin tragique de cette illustre Amazone, ses révélations à Charles VII, l'ingratitude de ce prince pour la libératrice de son trône, la mollesse dans-laquelle celui-ci vivait à Chinon auprès de son Agnes Sorel, tout cela m'avait donné plusieurs fois le désir de faire un ouvrage dramatique, quand la Pucelle d'Orléans de Schiller, que je vis jouer à Strasbourg fixa mon imagination."*[143]

Universitetsforlaget, 1971], p. 123).

[142]"The triumph of the lily", Joan of Arc or the Maid of Orleans; drama in five acts and in verse, imitating the German tragedy of Schiller." ["The lily"--"*de lis*"--is a word play on the title of nobility, *de Lis* (or *de Lys*), that Jeanne and her brothers received with a grant of arms from Charles VII in 1429. (*La fleur de lis* is also the heraldric emblem of French royalty).]

[143]"However sharp the ridicule may be by which Voltaire wanted to obscure the memory of Jeanne d'Arc (called the Maid of Orleans), it is nonetheless true that the marvelous exploits of this virtuous girl ennobled one of the most interesting passages in the history of France.... Everyone knows the tragic end of this illustrious Amazon, her revelations to Charles VII, the ingratitude of this prince for the liberation of his throne, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Peppered with scenes of miraculous feats in combat, storm-tossed battlefields, ardent and star-crossed lovers, and numerous scorned suitors for the resolute maiden "Johanna d'Arc," the widespread inspiration of Schiller's "*romantische Tragödie*" may also be seen in the increasingly popular, romantically impassioned treatment of the Maid's story that began to appear on the French stage as early as 1803. For example, J.-G.-A. Cuvelier's pantomime *Jeanne d'Arc ou la Pucelle d'Orléans* (performed in Paris in 1803) presented, according to its offical description, "*[une] pantomime en trois actes et à grand spectacle contenant ses exploits, ses amours, son supplice, son apothéose; mêlée de marches, chants, combats et danses*".[144] In this thrilling presentation of Jeanne d'Arc's "exploits, love-affairs, torture and apotheosis," Cuvelier's spectacle conspicuously recalled the grandiose scale and heroic pathos of Schiller's romantic tragedy. Finally, among the abundant progeny of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* may be counted not only Alexandre

---

indolence in which he lived at Chinon beside his Agnes Sorel; [already] all this had given me many times the desire to create a dramatic work, when Schiller's "The Maid of Orleans," which I saw played in Strasbourg, took hold of my imagination" (Maurin, *Jeanne d'Arc ou le siège d'Orléans, comédié héroïque à grand spectacle en trois actes et en vers* [Metz: Lamort imprimeur, rue derriére le Palais, 1809], p.[3]. Lanéry d'Arc criticized Maurin's Jeanne d'Arc as "too inspired by Schiller" (Lanéry d'Arc, "Drames en vers," no. 1789, p. 812).

[144]"[A] pantomime in three acts of great entertainment including her exploits, her love-affairs, her torture, her apotheosis; mingled with marches, singing, combat and dances" (Raknem, p. 257).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Soumet's immensely successful *Jeanne d'Arc* (which opened in 1825 at the Odéon in Paris with Mlle. George in the lead role, and twenty-one years later starred the great *interprète* Rachel), but also, outside of France, Verdi's opera *Giovanna d'Arco* (1845), and Tchaikovsky's The Maid of Orléans (1878).[145]

If, indeed, Schiller's primary intent had been to vindicate "the pious shepherd-girl" by repudiating Voltaire's objectionable treatment of her, he succeeded in the opinion of many in France. Thus as early as 1802, in his preface to the first French translation of *Die Jungfrau*,[146] the writer and theater critic Louis Sébastien Mercier (known for his writings on dramatic theory as much as for his fastidious and conservative historical studies of French society before the revolution) at once condemned Voltaire for ridiculing the "heroine who saved France":

> *Un poète immortel et trop célèbre a versé le ridicule et l'infamie sur un personnage historique digne de tous les hommages de notre reconnaissance, c'est un délit anti-national, car il attaque la mémoire d'une héroïne qui sauva la France,*[147]

even as he called upon Schiller to "avenge" her name:

---

[145]Warner, Joan of Arc, pp. 241-242.

[146]Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, Jeanne d'Arc ou la Pucelle d'Orléans, tragédie en cinq actes trans. Charles Frédéric Cramer, ed. L.S. Mercier (Paris: Cramer, an X [1802]).

[147]"An immortal and excessively celebrated poet overturned the ridicule and infamy of an historic personage worthy of all the homage of our recognition, it is a national offense, because he attacked the memory of a heroine who saved France" (Quoted in Lanéry d'Arc, "Drames et vers," no. 1832, p. 852).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *Vengeons les attentats commis par un cerveau de dépravé et libertin contre un nom qui n'aurait jamais dû cesser de demeurer pur et honoré si la frivolité ne rendait pas insensible à la gloire des armes protectrices immortelles des Etats."*[148]

Similarly, after seeing Schiller's play in Berlin, the romanticist and Catholic apologist François-René Chateaubriand sent a letter to the duchesse Duras (dated April 10, 1821) contrasting Schiller's play with Voltaire's poem. With scorn for Voltaire's "shameful" precedent, he offered enthusiastic (if not unconditional) praise for the German dramatist's exaltation of the Maid:

> *"C'est un mélodrame, mais un mélodrame superbe....Quel peuple que ce peuple français...Schiller chante Jeanne et Voltaire la déshonore."*[149]

Unlike Voltaire, who penned his "*la Pucelle*" with an imaginative abandon (seemingly unfettered by petty details of historic accuracy), Schiller, in preparing to write about *Die Jungfrau*, conducted a thorough research of his subject.

---

[148]"Avenge the attempts committed by a depraved and libertine against a name which could never have ceased from remaining pure and respected if frivolity had not surrendered to the glory of the immortal, protective arms of the States" (Quoted by Marot, p. 117). Mme. de Staël also celebrated the German *Jungfrau* as an cogent response to Voltaire (for the French themselves, she believed, could never have responded so effectively): "*C'est un trait de notre nation,*" she said, "*de ne pas résister à la moquerie quand elle lui a été présentée sous des formes piquants.*" Citing August Wilhelm von Schlegel (the great German Romantic propent of Mme. de Staël), Marot later concurred: "*le poète allemand vengeait Jeanne d'Arc de «l'insulteur de la pieuse voyante», selon l'expression d'Auguste-Guillaume Schlegel, l'ami de Mme de Staël" (Marot, p. 117).*

[149]"It is a melodrama, but a superb melodrama...What people these French are!...Schiller celebrated Jeanne and Voltaire dishonored her" (Quoted in Warner, p. 321, endnote 7).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As the author's correspondence with his friends Körner and Goethe indicates, Schiller devoted almost two years (from mid-June 1799 to April 1801) to researching and writing his *Jungfrau von Orleans*. During that time, he read, among other things, Clément L'Averdy's lengthy account of the criminal trial and condemnation of Joan of Arc (1790);[150] two works on sorcery; and over twenty-five manuscripts on the trial of Joan of Arc;[151] as well as, perhaps, the *Histoire de Angleterre* by Rapin de Thoyras and David Hume's History of England.[152]

Despite the playwright's studious preparations, however, Schiller's *Jungfrau* was, in her final incarnation, as fancifully distorted as Voltaire's *Pucelle*. In the midst of writing this play, Schiller himself acknowledged, in a letter to Körner (July 28, 1800), that he hoped to create a more evocative and "pathetic" drama by using his own imagination in writing about the Maid's tragic downfall:

> I will not keep secret from you my new plan...The Maid of Orleans is the subject on which I am working; the plan is nearly completed, and I hope within a fortnight to begin to carry it out. The subject-matter, in the

---

[150]L'Averdy's account, which numbered over 600 pages, was published in 1790 as the third volume of the *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi* (see above).

[151]Raknem, p. 98.

[152]Willard Humphreys noted, in his introduction to Schiller's work, that "many passages justify the belief that the *Histoire de Angleterre*, by Rapin de Thoyras (of which a German translation had appeared in 1760, and which Schiller had used in writing *Maria Stuart*) was his chief source of information" (Humphreys, p. xxx).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> way I have conceived it, is eminently poetical and very pathetic.... With witchcraft I shall have but little to do, and so I hope to get along with my own imagination. In books one can find scarcely anything that would be at all poetic.[153]

There is, perhaps, more than a bit of irony in Schiller's summary dismissal of the Maid's historic records as insufficiently poetic sources of inspiration. (It seems odd, that is, that the playwright deemed the actual facts detailing Joan of Arc's remarkable life not sufficiently dramatic for his depiction of her epic history. At the same time, it also seems rather strange to suppose that such sober documents as trial transcripts could ever provide suitable material for popular entertainment: Imagine, for example, the Nürnburg trials made into a tragic opera). Yet clearly, as his July 28 letter to Körner makes clear, Schiller's intention from the start was to fabricate an "eminently poetical and very pathetic" story about Jeanne d'Arc, a "romantic tragedy," as he ultimately subtitled his play.

According to Joseph Calmette, Schiller turned for inspiration to a "dashing" equestrian portrait of a woman, believed to be Joan, galloping on horseback with her sword brandished, then on exhibition in Würzburg.[154] This

---

[153]Quoted in Humphreys, pp. xxxii-xxxxiii.

[154]Cited in Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 321, footnote 16: Joseph Calmette, Jeanne d'Arc (Paris, 1946), p. 132. As Warner wrote concerning the possible identity of this canvas, "This could be a painting by the German Raymond de Baux, a specialist in battle scenes, exhibited at Tours in 1979 in *Jeanne d'Arc et sa légende*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stirring source apparently offered greater poetic inspiration than the historical accounts with which the playwright was familar; and in the end, Schiller's poignant portrayal of the maiden became more romantically inspired than historically correct. Replete with such ahistoric embellishments of *Sturm und Drang* as a magic helmet, violent claps of thunder signaling God's condemnation, and a knight in black armour who appears suddenly bearing a prophecy of doom and then sinks into the earth, the extensive biographical inaccuracies propagated by Schiller's text ranged from the relatively inconsequential, such as the author's unaccountable (and rather insignificant) decision to rename the Maid's father "Thibaut" (in fact, his name was Jacques), to the more egregious, such as his recasting the cause of her death from being burned at the stake to perishing on the battlefield.

In recounting some of Schiller's more dramatic fabrications, it becomes clear how fully the dramatist was willing to transform his protagonist, taking significant liberties in retelling the lifestory of the Maid of Orléans. Of equal importance, a concise examination of the portrayal of Schiller's Jeanne d'Arc also makes manifest the particular--and peculiar--nature of his manipulated

---

Baux's works are, however, dated later than Schiller's play in most cases, so the playwright's immediate inspiration might [have been] another equestrian portrait, in the collection of the museum in Orleans, that was lost in the bombing during World War II" (*Ibid.*).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

representation, a representation that significantly altered the Maid of Orléans's subsequent public persona in the nineteenth century, and vitally influenced a generation of playwrights, poets, writers, and their audiences in France in their popular perception of his heroine. Let us consider then, how and why Schiller was moved to transform his protagonist's already astounding life story, supplanting her unique accomplishments and tragic destruction with his own fictitious and projected narrative in the name of poetry and pathos.

One of Schiller's most fantastic theatrical inventions in *Die Jungfrau* is his dramatization of the Maid's capture and miraculous escape from a Burgundian prison, having broken open her chains with her bare hands before the astonished eyes of the "traitorous" (pro-Burgundian) French Queen Isabel, shortly before her death in the play's fifth act [Act V, Scene XI]. In actual fact, Joan of Arc never escaped from her captors after she was taken in battle by her enemies outside the walls of Compiègne in May 1430; although, her trial transcript indicates that she made two unsuccessful attempts to escape captivity. According to contemporary witnesses, Joan sought to escape from the fortress of Beaulieu-en-Vermandois by shutting up her keepers in her place, which resulted in her transfer to the castle of Beaurevoir. Later, from the castle of Beaurevoir, she again sought to escape by leaping from her tower cell,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which resulted in her being held in chains securely and uncomfortably (her trial transcripts show that she asked for their removal frequently) throughout the rest of her captivity.[155]

Such actual events in Jeanne's biography seem as marvelous as any work of heroic fiction, even without the unlikely theatrical embellishment of her breaking iron bonds with her bare hands. Indeed, Joan's attempted escapes--hoodwinking her captors and leaping from a high tower window--recall the latter-day superhuman exploits of Wonder Woman. It is therefore interesting to consider the implications (and possible impetus) behind Schiller's alteration of the Maid's actual lifestory, as well as his equally marked transformation of characteristic aspects of her personality.

Why, for example, did Schiller choose to portray *die Jungfrau von Orleans* as a heartless and invincibly powerful soldier in combat, slaying her enemies on the battlefield without compassion (or failure), when overwhelming evidence given at her trials offers contrary witness that Jeanne d'Arc not only never actually killed anyone, but also that she showed great compassion and mercy toward her enemies? While his transformation of her personality may seem simple, and his motivation for doing so straightforward--one may easily speculate, for example, that Schiller wanted to make

---

[155]Pernoud, Joan of Arc, pp. 149-150, 153-154.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

his protagonist a more passionately defiant and romantically distinctive figure by making her fierce and mercilous rather than tender and compassionate, the ramifications of her portrayed lack of compassion or tender human feeling are telling. Significantly, in Schiller's account, the Maid's unrelenting and mercilous devotion to conquering her enemy is interwoven with her renunciation of both her womanly nature and the traditional domestic sphere for women. It thus sets her apart from the rest of her sex, and, as the play unfolds, ultimately dooms her to a life of lovelessness and to a martyr's death. The Maid's implicit denial of her true female nature in her refusal to show mercy is evidenced, for example, in Act II, scene VII of *Die Jungfrau*, when Johanna refuses to spare the life of an unarmed Welshman named Montgomery, despite his impassioned pleas for pity:

> JOHANNA: Prepare to die! A British mother bore thee!
> MONTGOMERY: (*Falls at her feet.*) Fall back, terrific one! Forbear to strike an unprotected foe! My sword and shield I've flung aside, and supplicating fall defenseless at thy feet. A ransom take! Extinguish not the precious light of life! With fair possessions crown'd, my father dwells in Wales' fair land,...[and] with heavy gold he will redeem his son, when he shall hear I'm in the camp of France.
> JOHANNA: Deluded mortal! to destruction doomed! Thou'rt fallen in the Maiden's hand, from which redemption or deliverance there is none, had adverse fortune given thee a prey to the fierce tiger or the crocodile--hadst robbed the lion-mother of her brood--compassion thou mightst hope to find and pity; but to encounter me is certain death. For my dread compact with the spirit realm--the stern, inviolable--bindeth me, to slay each living thing whom battle's God, full charged with doom, delivers to my sword.
> MONTGOMERY: Thy speech is fearful, but thy look is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> mild; not dreadful art thou to contemplate near; my heart is drawn towards thy lovely form. O! by the mildness of thy gentle sex, attend my prayer. Compassionate my youth.
> JOHANNA: Name me not woman! Speak not of my sex! Like to the bodiless spirits, who know nought of earth's humanities, I own no sex; beneath this vest of steel there beats no heart.[156]

In denying compassion for her enemy, Schiller's maiden emphatically denies her womanly sex, for when Montgomery augments his supplications by appealing to "the mildness of [her] gentle sex," she rebuffs him, disowning her own gender and her enemy's pleas alike. Commanding her disarmed enemy then to take up his sword once again, Johanna challenges Montgomery to "fight for the sweet prize of life"; and "after a short conflict" (as Schiller's stage directions indicate) "Montgomery falls," slain by the maiden-soldier's hand.[157]

Historically, Jeanne d'Arc testified clearly (on February 27, 1431) that although she led French forces into battle, she never killed anyone.[158] And although she was accused of "perturbing and obstructing the peace, inciting to war, cruelly thirsting for human blood, [and] encouraging

---

[156]Schiller's Works, p. 348.

[157]Schiller's Works, p. 349.

[158]In her trial transcripts of Tuesday, February 27 (4th session), it is written: "Asked which she preferred, her standard or her sword, she answered she much preferred her standard to her sword....She said also that she herself bore her standard [rather than wielding her weapon], when attacking the enemy, so as not to kill anyone; she has never killed anyone, she said" (W.P. Barrett, trans. The Trial of Joan of Arc [London: George Routledge & Sons, 1931]: p. 73).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

it to be shed," during her trial of condemnation in 1430-31,[159] these charges were later denied at the Maid's rehabilitory trial in 1455-1456 by witnesses who pled, to the contrary, that she had shown remarkable charity toward her enemies.[160]

The original accusation that Jeanne lacked mercy was grievous because mercy, or "charity" towards others, is one of the three Cardinal Virtues in Catholic theology; thus absence of mercy, or cruelty, was considered (according to the teachings of the Catholic Church) a serious moral lapse, and it afforded part of the grounds for Jeanne d'Arc's mortal condemnation at her ecclesiastic tribunal in 1431. It is notable that, although Schiller implicitly denies the

---

[159]W.P. Barrett, trans. The Trial of Joan of Arc (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1931), p. 140.

[160]Her page Louis de Coutes, for example, gave witness to Jeanne d'Arc's clemency in battle: "Joan was pious and she felt great pity at such massacres. Once, when a Frenchman was leading away some English prisioners, he struck one of the Englishmen on the head so hard that he left him for dead. Joan, seeing this, dismounted from her horse. She had the Englishmen make his confession, supporting his head and consoling him with all her power" (Quoted in Pernoud, p. 64). Similarly, Jean Pasquerel (the Maid's confessor, who traveled in her retinue on her military campaigns), testified then that she wept with pity for the death of even her most provocative and offensive foes. As evidence, he cited an incident in which an enemy soldier named Classidas died in 1429, after verbally insulting Joan of Arc during a battle between the Armagnac and Anglo-Burgundian forces over a bridge leading to the city of Orleans: "...Joan returned to the charge, crying and saying: 'Classidas, Classidas, yield thee, yield thee to the King of Heaven; thou hast called me "whore", me; I take great pity on thy soul and thy people's!" Then Classidas, armed (as he was) from head to foot, fell into the river of the Loire and was drowned. And Joan, moved by pity, began to weep much for the soul of Classidas and all others who were there drowned in great numbers" (Quoted in Pernoud, p. 92).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Maid's mortal condemnation, by championing her as his heroic protagonist, he does not reject the charges against her of being cruel and blood-thirsty. Instead, Schiller transforms the nature of her supposed cruelty in his drama. His protagonist's lack of mercy, rather than being sinfully wrong, is implicitly linked to her renunciation of the norms of her sex. These rejected norms include not only a compassionate demeanor, but also a normative sexual life as a wife and mother. Johanna's mercilous and cold-hearted demeanor is conjoined with her vow of unwaivering virginity. Twinned in a steely renunciation of all human affection, her refusal of both emotional qualities is expressely vital to her mission and to her divinely inspired strength and prowess in battle.

The importance of Johanna's vow of chasity is articulated by the Maid herself in the last scene of the play's prologue. Musing to herself, then, in saying farewell to her family home, Schiller's protagonist reveals that God has specifically commanded her to renounce all "earthly love" in exchange for "war's triumphant glory" and the deliverance of her homeland:

> JOHANNA:...He...thus spake to me, "Go forth!
> Thou shalt on earth my witness be.
> Thou in rude armor must thy limbs invest,
> A plate of steel upon thy bosom wear;
> Vain earthly love may never stir thy breast,
> Nor passion's sinful glow be kindled there...
> But war's triumphant glory shall be thine;
> Thy martial fame all women's shall outshine.
>
> "For when in fight the stoutest hearts despair.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> When direful ruin threatens France, forlorn,
> Then thou aloft my oriflame shalt bear,
> And swiftly as the reaper mows the corn,
> Thou shalt lay low the haughty conqueror;
> His fortune's wheel thou rapidly shalt turn,
> To Gaul's heroic sons deliv'rance bring,
> Relieve beleaguer'd Rheims, and crown thy king!"[161]

Thus *die Jungfrau* is called upon to renounce all natural feelings of the heart, romantic affections and compassion alike, in order to gain the equally unnatural ability--for a woman--to "lay low the haughty conqueror" and to lead "Gaul's heroic sons [to] deliv'rance."[162]

While Schiller's decision to gender the virtue of mercy, to make it a characteristic and inherent trait of the female sex (that Johanna was aberrant in denying), was unusual, it was not unique. Although seemingly ungendered as a virtue[163], mercy has often been given a subtle female connotation. In Christian iconography, for example, mercy is traditionally personified by the figure of a woman performing works of charity.[164] By analogy, cruelty has

---

[161]Schiller's Works, p. 330.

[162]Schiller's Works, p. 329.

[163]Numerous virtues are more closely associated with gendered societal norms than mercy, including, for example, virginity--a virtue almost exclusively commended to women in Western society, and courage--a merit usually encouraged in men. Mercy (or "charity"), by contrast, is propounded as the foremost virtue for *all* Christians, men and women alike, in the first letter of Paul to the Corinthians--"...Now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity" (I Cor. 13: 13).

[164]In Gothic art, mercy is represented by the figure of a woman performing the six works of mercy--tending to the hungry, the thristy, the stranger, the naked, the sick and the imprisioned--admonishingly propounded in Matthew's gospel

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

often assumed an unfeminine, or unwomanly guise. In Shakespeare's Macbeth, for example, Lady Macbeth steels herself to commit murder by invoking the powers of evil to help her stifle her womanly weakness for mercy and remorse:

> Come, you spirits
> That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
> And fill me, from the crown to the toe, top-full
> Of direst cruelty! Make thick my blood;
> Stop up the access and passage to remorse...
> Come to my woman's breast, And take my milk for gall.[165]

In asking to be unsexed, Lady Macbeth asserts that she must deny her innate, nurturing tendencies as a woman, so that she may be cruel enough to kill. The very language of her evil invocation expresses the gendered nature of cruelty and mercy: rather than producing the life-giving sustenance of milk, her breast must now express the "gall" of murderous resolve.

Similarly, in Schiller's drama, Johanna must deny her "sex" that she may vanquish without mercy the enemies of France upon the field of battle. (Recall, for example, Johanna's words to Montgomery, in refusing his pleas of mercy, "I own no sex; beneath this vest of steel there beats

---

(Matt.25:35-37). This image became abbreviated in later Christian iconography to the sole representation of one act only, the naked being clothed by an allegorical (and traditionally female) figure of charity.

[165]William Shakespeare, The Tragedy of Macbeth, ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia A. LaMar, The Folger Library General Reader's Shakespeare (New York: Washington, Square Press, Inc., 1959): p. 15.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

no heart"[166]). After slaying Montgomery, Johanna reflects upon the link between her own cruelty and her miraculous strength at-arms in a monologue directed both to her fallen enemy and to the Virgin Mary [Act II, scene VIII]:

> JOHANNA: To death thy foot did bear thee--fare thee well! [*She steps way from him and remains absorbed in thought*]. Virgin, thou workest mightly in me! My feeble arm thou dost endue with strength, and steep'st my woman's heart in cruelty. In pity melts the soul and the hand trembles, as it did violate some sacred fane, to mar the goodly person of the foe. Once I did shudder at the polish'd sheath, but when 'tis needed, I'm possess'd with strength, and as it were itself a thing of life, the fatal weapon, in my trembling grasp, self-swayed, inflicteth the unerring stroke.[167]

Having established the focal significance of the *Jungfrau*'s denial of love and compassion, and her concomitant oath of virginity in his drama, Schiller inextricably links Johanna's romantic and familial heterosexual relationships with both the heroic success of her mission and with her ultimate tragic downfall. It is, in fact, in the realm of her relationships with men that Schiller makes his most remarkable and audacious revisions of the Maid's historic biography. Schiller invents, for example, not only the Maid's dramatic public rejection by her father in the play's third act, but also her romantic affairs with four men--the Earl Dunois (Bastard of Orleans), the French officer La Hire, Raimond (a shepherd from her village), and Lionel (an enemy English officer)--each of

---

[166]Schiller's Works, p. 348.

[167]Schiller's Works, p. 349.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

whom attempts to woo her during the course of the play.

These persistent suitors, like Thibault d'Arc's blistering renunciation of his daughter, are historically groundless.[168] Yet they are essential to the development of Schiller's dramatic tale, for each of these men in his own way, as father or as lover, either vitally supports or fundamentally threatens the success of Johanna's heroic mission. Her many suitors also underscore Schiller's construction of this woman as a compellingly desirable yet unattainable woman, whose continent life has been recast as a tensely sexual, almost frustratingly chaste melodrama. Indeed, dramatic tension throughout the play is sustained by Johanna's avowed resistance to, and intense personal relationships with, these men.

The play's first act, for example, opens with Thibault d'Arc urging his three daughters--Johanna, Margot, and Louison--to marry. Bestowing dowries upon them, he declares

---

[168]Joan apparently did have one suitor, at least, in her youth, for during her trial in 1431, she was asked about a suit for breach of promise that was brought against her by a (now-anonymous) man at the court of justice in the nearby city of Toul. When asked "What made you cause a certain man at the city of Toul to be summoned for [breach of promise of] marriage?", she replied: "I did not have him summoned, it was he who had me summoned. And there I swore before the judge to speak the truth and in the end he roundly said that I had made the man no promise whatever" (Quoted by Pernoud, p. 23). As Joan testified, the man's case was found spurious, and Joan was declared innocent of having broken an engagement between them. Although the figure of Raimond may have been inspired by this spurned suitor, there is no historical precedence for Jeanne having lovers, such as Dunois and La Hire, who pursue her after she left Domremy to lead the Armagnac forces.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to their suitors Étienne, Claude-Marie, and Raimond, respectively:

> ...Good neighbors, I have now resolved,
> While God still grants us safety, to provide
> For my three daughters; for 'midst wars alarms
> Women require protection, and true love
> Hath power to render lighter every load.[169]

Without a moment's pause, Margot and Louison agree to marry their beaux Étienne and Claude-Marie on the following morning. Johanna, however, remains silent and hence unbetrothed, even when her sister Margot urges her to "Gladden our father--follow our example! Let this day see three unions ratified!"[170]

After the two brides-to-be and their fiancés have retired from the stage arm-in-arm together, Thibault makes clear his displeasure with his last single daughter: "Thy sisters, Joan, will soon be happy brides; I see them gladly, they rejoice my age, But thou, my youngest, giv'st me grief and pain."[171] When Johanna persists in her silent refusal to acquiesce, however, it is her rejected suitor, Raimond, who defends her before Thibault, urging patience, with the apparent assumption that she will eventually come around. Despite Raimond's intercessions, however, Thibault persists in his disapproval, implying that Johanna's refusal to join the company of her sisters is linked to her persistent and

---

[169]Schiller's Works, p. 326.

[170]Schiller's Works, p. 326.

[171]Schiller's Works, p.326.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

suspect habit of musing beneath an enchanted "Druid tree" (an ancient oak that stands near the village Chapel, which is adorned with an image of the Virgin).[172] In response, Raimond again speaks for the silent Maid, defending her goodness and her divine inspiration: "Yon holy image of the Virgin blest...not Satan's work, leadeth thy daughter here!", he protests.[173] His interjections, speaking for the "lion-hearted maiden" (as Raimond describes her), are but the first of many instances in *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* when the maiden's own demonstrated strength and spirit oddly preclude her ability to protect herself against the verbal assaults of others. Able to wrestle even wolves single-handedly,[174] Johanna's remarkable powers of defense strangely leave her at moments of personal crisis, when she is forced to speak for herself. Her would-be-lover's intercessions in the first act, supplanting her own then-mute voice, are but a foretaste of the play's conclusion, when (in the play's fourth act) the Maid's doom will be sealed by her strange inability to defend herself by refuting her father's public--and unsubstantiated--accusation of sorcery, by speaking up on her own behalf in

---

[172]"THIBAULT: ...For hours together I have seen her sit in dreamy musing 'neath the Druid tree, Which every happy creature shuns with awe, for 'tis not holy there" (Schiller's Works, p. 326).

[173]Schiller's Works, p. 326.

[174]Schiller's Works, p. 328.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

order to save herself.

In the midst of this debate, a local countryman named Bertrand enters the scene bearing a "martial helm," and news of French losses in the Anglo-Burgundian siege of Orléans. Johanna, captivated by the helmet, is moved at last to action. Seizing it from his hands (to Bertrand's amazement and the consternation of her father), she exclaims, "Mine is the helmet--it belongs to me!"[175] And once again it is Raimond's task to defend Johanna. "Nay, let her have her way!," he insists, "This warlike ornament becomes her well...It cannot grace a worthier [head] than hers!"[176] Allowed to keep the helmet, Johanna takes it as a sign from God that she is to deliver France and the French throne from the hands of its enemies.

With the withdrawal of Bertrand, Thibault, and Raimond in the final scene of Act I, Johanna is, at last, left alone to say farewell to her peaceful home and to all hopes of marriage and love. Although sad to go, and wistful at having to leave behind all hope of marriage and children, she looks with eagerness upon the exciting battle ahead:

> JOHANNA: [*Alone*]. Farewell, ye mountains,
> ye beloved glades,
> Ye lone and peaceful valleys, fare ye well!
> Through you Johanna never more may stray!...
> Ne'er with the bride-wreath shall [my] locks be
> dress'd. Nor on [my] bosom bloom an infant fair; ...
> The heavenly Spirit promised me a sign;

---

[175]Schiller's Work, p. 328.

[176]Schiller's Works, p. 328.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

He sends the helmet, it hath come from him.
Its iron filleth me with strength divine,
I feel the courage of the cherubim;
As with the rushing of a mighty wind
It drives me forth to join the battle's din;
The clanging trumpets sound, the chargers rear,
And the loud war-cry thunders in mine ear.[177]

Having framed his dramatic narrative with the offer and refusal of marriage by Johanna in his opening scene, Schiller cast the Maid's story as a tale of love denied. As the play unfolds, Johanna's suitors multiply, and so do her opportunities to deny (or accept) their demands of love. In the play's third act, for example, Johanna receives two proposals of marriage, and in the play's fourth act, Raimond (Johanna's steadfast suitor) returns with the persistent hope that he may yet win her hand in marriage.

It is the Maid's love life that provides the real action in *Die Jungfrau*'s narrative. Her military successes are largely presented as merely off-stage action described through dramatic dialogue. Indeed, the most urgent issue coursing throughout the play, from the opening scene to the last act, is not--Will the Maid's army defeat the Anglo-Burgundian forces?--but, rather--Will the Maid succumb to love? Or will she keep her vow of chastity and romantic indifference to men? Thus in Schiller's play (as in Voltaire's poem before it), the Maid's historic military and political successes are made a lesser concern than her sexual life; and that most conventional of domestic

---

[177]Schiller's Works, p. 330.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

concerns--Will "the guy" (any of four top contenders) get "the girl"?--is given a greater significance than it could ever have had in the Maid's own unconventional adult life.

An acute instance of Schiller's undue attention to the Maid's love life may be found, for example, in his play's third act. There, in the opening scene, just before the coronation of Charles at Reims, two of the Dauphin's most prominent military leaders, the bastard Earl Dunois and his companion-at-arms La Hire, come together not to discuss strategy for the fierce on-going battle between the Armagnacs and the Anglo-Burgundians, or even the forthcoming and long-awaited crowning of their Dauphin as King, but rather to argue over Johanna's hand in marriage, insisting by turns that each would make the more suitable spouse to "this wondrous maiden."[178] Both smitten by the Maid's strength and purity, as well as by her beauty, and unable to decide between them who has the better claim to Johanna's love, the rival suitors decide to bring the issue to the soon-to-be King, and to the Maid herself. The Dauphin's interest in the matter is also keen, for he declares that by seeing Johanna well wed, he hopes, in part, to pay back his debt to her for her vital role in leading the French army thus far to victory, and in thereby clearing the way for his imminent coronation. "Thy fortune be henceforth thy Monarch's care!," he says in Act III, scene IV, "To wed thee

---

[178]Schiller's Works, pp. 352-53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nobly, maid, shall be my care."[179]

Knighting her for her accomplishments, Charles offers the heraldric shield of the *fleur-de-lis* as an ennobling dowery that will make even "the highest peer...feel himself exalted by thy hand."[180] Without hesitation then, Dunois and La Hire profess their love to Johanna, before the Dauphin, the Archbishop of Reims, and other members of the court.[181] Johanna responds by gently, but firmly refusing both suitors, saying "I am a soldier of the Lord of Hosts, And to no mortal man can I be wife." When the Archbishop protests, however, that "high heaven's decree" is that women, by nature, should be the "fond companion unto man,"[182] and Charles adds his own insistence that she should marry, Johanna responds with greater vehemence that marriage would "degrade" and "annihilate" her by causing her to break her divine oath, thereby incurring the wrath of God. Insisting further that she is no longer a woman, and hence not suitable for marriage, Johanna asks rhetorically (as evidence of her special, "unsexed" and extramarital status): "Dare a woman in iron panoply array herself, And boldly mingle in the strife of men?" Forcefully renouncing any further discussion of marriage, she concludes:

---

[179]Schiller's Works, p. 357.

[180]Schiller's Works, p. 357.

[181]Schiller's Works, pp. 357-358.

[182]Schiller's Works, p. 358.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Woe, woe is me! if e'er my hand should wield
> The avenging sword of God, and my vain heart
> Cherish affection to a mortal man;
> 'Twere better for me I had ne'er been born!
> Henceforth no more of this, unless ye would
> Provoke the Spirit's wrath who in me dwells!
> The eye of man, regarding me with love,
> To me is horror and profanity.[183]

Fatally bound to refuse all affection from "mortal man," and personally repulsed by offers of love, Johanna's peripeteia, or dramatic reversal of fortunes, ironically (and, perhaps, inevitably) comes as a result of her falling in love, *coup de foudre*, with an enemy English soldier on the field of battle in the last scene of the third act. With one look into her opponent's face (revealed when the Englishman's helmet is torn open in hand-to-hand combat with the Maid), Johanna's disavowed feelings of compassion and affection are awakened, her vow of chastity thereby is broken, and her confidence in her divine powers leave her. Unable to kill her opponent, Lionel, or to see him die by another's hands, she urges him to flee at the approach of La Hire and Dunois. He does so after snatching her sword from her hands, saying "This sword I seize, in pledge that I again behold thee!"; and the Maid is left to swoon, overcome and defenseless, into the arms of La Hire.

In the next scene (Act IV, scene I), just before the coronation of the King, Johanna is left alone to muse with grief and fear upon her fallen grace, wishing that she had

---

[183]Schiller's Works, p. 358.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

never looked into the face of Lionel, and longing for her innocent days as a humble shepherd girl:

> --Why was I doom'd to look into his eyes!
> To mark his noble features! With that glance,
> Thy crime, thy woe commenc'd...
> Harmless [shepherd's] staff! Oh, that I ne'er
> Had for the sword abandon'd thee!...
> High Queen of Heaven! Oh, would that thou
> Hadst ne'er reveal'd thyself to me!...
> Why, Holy one on me impose
> This dread vocation? Could I steel,
> And to each soft emotion close
> This heart, by nature form'd to feel?[184]

As this soliloquy makes clear, Johanna has realized, at last, that as a woman her heart was meant to feel love, and with that realization, she regrets that she was made to swear by the "High Queen of Heaven" to deny all human affection in the pursuit of a divine and crowning glory. This message--that women, by nature, are called to love men, not to lead them in battle, and that to deny a woman's amorous nature is to court grief, a grief that will supersede any attendant glory that such aberrant, heroic, and loveless women may accrue--is a familiar one throughout *Die Jungfrau*. Asserted in the play's first act by the Maid's father, and in the third act by the Archbishop of Reims and the King, this message is reiterated at the beginning of Act IV by the King's mistress, Agnes Sorel, when she disturbs Johanna's sorrowful reverie to urge the Maid to put aside her suit of mail that she may "be a woman" and feel, in her thus unarmored breast, the "power of the

---

[184]Schiller's Works, p. 365.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

God of Love."[185] Having taken an irrevocable and mortally binding vow of chastity, however, Johanna replies to Sorel with bitter grief that it is her lamentable "hapless fate" never to enjoy the pleasures of love; and she begs to be left alone to hide her "infamy" and "woe." As a dramatic counterpoint, their conversation is interrupted by the entrance of two of her everpresent suitors, Dunois and La Hire, who lead the reluctant Johanna away to attend the King's coronation.

It is there, at the Cathedral of Reims, at what should have been an unmitigatedly joyful celebration of the fruits of her ascendant leadership, that the Maid's tragic downfall begins. Confronted suddenly by her father, who publicly denounces her for practicing "the arts of Hell...the specious, juggling arts wherewith she hath deluded King and people," Johanna remains silent in the face of his accusations, unable to defend herself. Her confidence in her divine mission having been shattered by her guilty, albeit involuntary, sexual desire for Lionel, she can make no reply. Her silent refusal to defend herself, even when offered the protection of Dunois and Raimond (her formerly rejected suitor, who has accompanied Thibault d'Arc to Reims in the vain hope that he might yet win Johanna's love), is taken as an admission of guilt, and leads to her subsequent rejection and abandonment by her family, friends, and

---

[185] Schiller's Works, p. 366.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

compatriots.

In a driving storm, Johanna leaves Reims to wander in the woods, deserted by everyone except Raimond, who has accompanied her in her banishment in an attempt to both protect and woo her. Set upon by Queen Isabel (traitorous French leader of the English forces),[186] and by Isabel's soldiers, Johanna is at last abandoned even by Raimond, who flees to save himself. Imprisoned by the English, Johanna is offered a last chance to save herself by agreeing to accept Lionel's love. When she refuses, she is bound in heavy chains in a watch tower, from which vantage point she can hear the defeat of the French (who, without her divinely-inspired leadership prove to be vulnerable to the British once again). Hearing of the capture of King Charles by the English army, Johanna is inspired to pray for the return of her divinely-inspired strength. Restored to good grace by having renounced all offers of love and protection from her suitors, Johanna, miraculously, is able to break free of her chains. Escaping before the astonished eyes of

---

[186]The more precise term Anglo-Burgundian does not apply here, for ahistorically Schiller has his Duke of Burgundy converted back to the "French"--i.e. Armagnac--cause by Johanna's "purity and simplicity" on the battlefield in the play's second act [Act II, scene X]. After Burgundy swears his renewed fealty to Charles in the *Die Jungfrau*'s third act, the English forces in the play retain only the allegiance of Queen Isabel on the French side in their opposition to Charles's ruling over an undivided France. In historical fact, however, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs were not reconciled until 1453, at the cessation of the Hundred Year War in France, over two decades after Jeanne d'Arc's death.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Queen Isabel, Johanna dashs from the tower to come to the aid of her King. The outcome of the battle is disclosed at the opening of the next scene. It then becomes clear that the Maid has turned the tide of the conflict and freed Charles at the cost of her own life, for in the company of French soldiers flying banners of victory, Johanna's mortally wounded body is carried from the field by the King with the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy. Despite her grievous wounds, Johanna rejoices at France's triumph, and at her renewed acceptance by her former compatriots. While "gazing round her with a joyful smile" (as Schiller's stage directions state), the dying Johanna exclaims "...Brief is the sorrow--endless is the joy!", and so the play ends.

In Schiller's portrayal of Johanna's final hours, the central theme--that Johanna must deny love, the love of Dunois, Raimond, and Lionel (who each, in turn, attempt to rescue her in the last two acts), and that thereby she must deny her very nature as a woman in order to gain the superhuman strength of God--is interwoven clearly with the message that the Maid is doomed to mortal grief in having chosen the unwomanly life of a soldier, outside the safe and humble domestic sphere of women. Her subsequent suffering and martyrdom are foregone conclusions; her only ultimate hope of "joy" and salvation is found through her unresistant submission to the harsh reproof of her father and of God in the play's fourth and fifth acts. As Johanna herself

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

explains to Raimond [Act V, scene IV], in accounting for her refusal to deny her father's accusations at Reims:

> I silently submitted to my doom which God my lord and master, o'er me hung...Coming from [my father], me thought it came from God; and fatherly the chastisement it will prove.[187]

Thus, in the end, although Johanna is denied the safety, security, and happiness of domestic life and conjugal love by her defiance of her "sex" (i.e. by her defiance of social norms for women), she is offered the opportunity to redeem herself, before her death, by surrendering with humble obedience to the will and judgement of paternal authority.

In so concluding the Maid's life story, Schiller was able to accomplish a delicate balancing act that both acknowledged the beneficent results of the Maid's non-normative behavior (her significant role in returning the French throne to a French king and driving the English forces from France in the Hundred Years War), while, at the same time, making it clear to the women in the play's audience that unless they wished to forego a safe and happy life, and unless they were willing to "unsex" themselves and give up all human affection, they should renounce Johanna's unwomanly example and remain within the narrow domestic sphere. Thus masterfully, he created an admirable but unemulative protagonist, a tragic Amazon whose public show of courageous strength and heroic accomplishment might

---

[187]Schiller's Works, p. 376.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

inspire the accolades and sympathy of women and men alike, but whose privately loveless life, and inevitably unhappy fate could never inspire the envy of her female audience, an audience that might otherwise, perhaps, have been inspired to disobey social norms and paternal authority in light of the Maid's splendid heroic precedent.

Voltaire, it may be said, sought to trivialize Joan's accomplishments by reducing her historic military successes to a ludicrous sexual escapade in his poem *"La Pucelle d'Orléans."* It is thus ironic that Schiller, in seeking to rescue the Maid from Voltaire's "mockery," similarly recast her life as a romantic adventure, littered with would-be lovers, whom she must likewise scorn (with the protection of the long-suffering Raimond in Schiller's text, rather than Saint Denis--the Maid's guardian in Voltaire) in order to accomplish her divine mission.

If, as Marx says, "all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur...twice, the first time as tragedy, the second as farce,"[188] in the instance of Jeanne d'Arc's literary afterlife, what occured first as sexual farce in the eighteenth century, ensued as romantic tragedy

---

[188]The complete quote from Marx, in the opening lines to The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, is "Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce" (Marx, p.15).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in the century that followed.[189] In both Schiller's and Voltaire's texts, Joan of Arc's heroic successes and ultimate climactic downfall were reformed, removed from the public realm of politics and military history, and recast in the private sphere of moral and sexual virtue. Thus, while Voltaire deployed *la Pucelle*'s sexuality as a tool to critique the Church and the monarchical state in France, Schiller appropriated it, in part, as a moral lesson, as a warning for all women that they should not be tempted to emulate the Maid of Orléans in abandoning the modest private realm for the more glamorous public sphere.

"Pinned down to her sex" by Voltaire, Schiller, and the many who followed their example throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the theatre, literature and plastic arts, the image of Jeanne d'Arc was made to conform to reigning conventions of womanhood, and made to accommodate the exigencies of those who reinvented and reinvested in her throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus the enduring project of essentializing and engendering Jeanne d'Arc, of sculpting her (like Pygmalion's Galetea) in the likeness of her maker's desire, continued.

---

[189]As Warner wrote similarly later: "whereas Voltaire burlesques Joan's magic virginity, Schiller makes it the agent of her tragic fall" (Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 241).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Part II

THE SONG OF WOMEN:
Jeanne d'Arc in French Art and Society in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

"Non-existent on the political level, strong but restricted within the family, the space occupied by women in a public and private imagination in the nineteenth century, whether at the political, religious or poetic level, was enormous, almost to the point of becoming an obsession. The Church celebrated the cult of the Virgin Mother whose apparitions originated great pilgrimages. The Saint-Simonians dreamed of salvation through the Mother who came from the East. The Republic took the form of a woman,'la Marianne.' Poets and painters sang of women despite their everyday misogyny."

Michelle Perrot, "Women, Power and History" (1984)[190]

---

[190]Michelle Perrot, "Women, Power and History," in Writing Women's History, trans. Felicia Pheasant, 160-174, Paris: Editions Rivages, 1984 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 170.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 5

Caught in Amber: The Success and Failure of One Image

> "Heine, speaking of Lessing's critics and antagonists, compares them to tiny insects which were caught in amber while it was yet viscid on the tree, and thus were accidentally immortalized. ...This comparison applies, in a measure, to all whom chance, kinship or common interests have brought into intimate contact with the life of a great man. They reap an unsought and involuntary immortality."
>
> Hjalmar Hjorth Boysen, "The Life and Works of Schiller," Essays on German Literature (1892)[191]

If, indeed, art history, as a discipline, favors those transcendent successes in the visual arts whose popularity has remained canonically entrenched over the ages, then writing about the fortunes of a work whose vogue lasted scarcely more than a few decades by a now little-known artist, such as E.-É.-F. Gois *fils*'s *Jeanne d'Arc*, may seem inappropriate. Erected in the *place de la République* (later renamed the *place du Martroi*) in Orléans in 1804, Gois's Maid was taken down and displaced by a new Jeanne d'Arc sculpture by Denis Foyatier a mere fifty-one years later. By the end of the century, Gois's sculpture was all but forgotten by even the most devoted of Johannistes.[192]

---

[191]Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, Essays on German Literature, 1892, Reprint (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972): p. 12.

[192]For example, despite the sculpture's praise at the Salon of 1802 (where it was exhibited for the first time) by such prominent critics as C.-P. Landon, and the First Consul Napoléon Bonaparte himself, Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* went unmentioned in such late nineteenth century studies of Jeanne d'Arc iconography as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

If, however, art historical research may be understood more inclusively as the study of art objects (of all kinds--from the canonically established to the lesser-known) within a particular cultural and historical continuum, then Gois's *Jeanne* may be accepted as an altogether fitting place in which to begin the tale of Joan of Arc's afterlife in the art of nineteenth-century France. As will be discussed below, the very mercurial rise and fall of this work's critical fortune makes manifest the force of such unstable but vital factors in the object's public reception as politics, aesthetic taste, and cultural fashion.

In this light, the fact that Gois's sculpture went from being praised as "marvelous," in 1804, to being denigrated as "mediocre," as early as the 1820s, makes the work not less relevant today, as a long-acknowledged "second-rate" work of art, but rather, arguably, *more* historically significant, as a kind of archaeological relic of altered aesthetics. This reconsideration of Gois's work, within the artist's own lifetime, may be regarded thereby as a cogent illustration of the fatal force of all-too transient artistic and cultural exigencies, demonstrating what occurs when an artist's work happens to fall in the chasm between

---

André Michel's 1889 article devoted to "*les oeuvres [de la Pucelle] connues de notre temps*"--"*Jeanne d'Arc au Salon,*" which was published in the *Journal des Débats*, and reprinted in Léo Taxil's *Jeanne d'Arc* (a weekly review, which came out in 1889, devoted to all-things-Johannique) [André Michel, "*Jeanne d'Arc au Salon,*" *Jeanne d'Arc* 11 (July 4-10, 1889): pp. 173].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

shifting stylistic movements. Trapped, it will be argued, in the swift and heated transition between the last romanticizing vestiges of the late Baroque and the historicizing idealism of Neoclassicism between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Gois's work was caught like an insect frozen in amber while it was yet viscid on the tree.[193]

Yet, even if Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* was deemed a failure within decades of its public inauguration, it did succeed in winning fame for the artist, if only for a time. And although this eminence (the artist's obviously hoped-for "immortality"-by-association) proved all too fugitive, it was not coincidental or (to borrow Heine's analogy again) "accidental." Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc*, like Schiller's *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, was (as the playwright predicted correctly of his own work in July 1800, while still in the process of writing it) created deliberately to "arouse great

---

[193]A similar casuality to changing taste in sculpture, Jean-Antoine Houdon's Diana was criticized, at the Salon des Beaux-Arts in 1802, for being out of touch with current aesthetic values, and lacking a classical "purity" in its excessive realism. (Sculpted in 1777, Houdon's huntress was first rejected at the Salon, thirty-five years before, because of its "shameless nudity" and "indecency." Despite its official rejection then, however, the sculpture was unanimously praised in private by the critics who flocked to see the sculpture in the artist's studio. Nevertheless, by 1802, the sculpture had already passed out of fashion). As one critic wrote in 1802, "At the time when we did not yet understand the beauties of the antique, this statue might have given us pleasure; but today, when we insist on purity of design...we cannot help laughing at this unfortunate Diana, who, moreover, lacks any bit of clothing to hide her French build" (Quoted in H.W. Janson, 19th-Century Sculpture [New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1985], p. 45).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

interest because of its subject matter."[194] As Gois in France (like Schiller in Germany) rightly judged, the time was ripe then, during the years of Napoléonic conquest, to reconsider Joan of Arc's image.

If Joan of Arc had not existed, it is easy to imagine that Napoléon--or one among the many (Gois included), who sought to please him in the arts and politics of the Napoléonic era--might have simply invented her, like Macpherson's Ossian,[195] so ready-made does she seem for that

---

[194]Humphreys, p. xxxi.

[195]The epic tales of Ossian, the legendary Gaelic hero and bard of the third century A.D., were supposedly discovered and translated by the Scotsman James Macpherson (1736-1796) in the mid-eighteenth century. Published between 1760-1763, the Poems of Ossian (now believed to have been written by Macpherson himself), enjoyed an immediate, widespread, and lasting success in both the British Isles and on the Continent. Almost immediately, it was translated into French, Italian (the language in which Napoléon read these tales), and German, among others. The Ossianic saga of Fingal (a brave Celtic warrior-king), his son Ossian, and their ancient warrior nation attracted Napoléon (and the painters who sought his patronage, such as Gérard, Girodet-Trioson, and Ingres), as propitious images of Gaelic power and supremacy, in both military and cultural terms. Ossian's supposed writings, said to rival the ancier classics, earned him among the French the sobriquet "*le Homer gaulois*" (although, for example, the Germans--who embracing Ossian with comparable alacrity--regarded Ossian as equally one of their own, a purely "teutonic warrior"). According to Albert Boime, Napoléon even went so far as to establish a Celtic Academy, which sought to prove that Ossian was Gallic by tying his ancestry to the Bretons who descended from the Celts, in order to "whip up nationalist and patriotic enthusiasm against the English, who claimed the Ossianic legacy as their own" (Boime, Art in an Age of Bonapartism, p. 56). Similarly, the prominent German romanticist Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock declared Ossian to be "of German origin because he was a Caledonian." (*Ibid.*, p. 56) Like Napoléon's attempted retrieval of Ossian for the benefit of French national unity, Klopstock's Germanic co-option of the mythic bard was fueled by his pan-Germanic cultural and political agenda. For Klopstock, Ossian's heroic, pre-classical world

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cultural epoch. Offering an image of indomitable military might, and the promise that even the most common individual can rise to greatness through sheer personal talent and vision, *la Pucelle* was an almost archetypal (albeit female) rendition of the Napoleonic hero: the common-[wo]man-made-good, who arrived at her ascendancy through her astounding accomplishments as a soldier-conquerer. It comes thus as less of a surprise that Gois's sculpture was so eagerly embraced when it appeared in the Salon des Beaux-Arts of 1802, than that it came to be so thoroughly repudiated by the mid-nineteenth century. What follows below, therefore, is as much an inquiry into the perplexing origins of the sculpture's later public "failure" as it is a consideration of its almost immediate success.

---

offered (like the medieval world--that other privileged realm in the rising romantic vision of German unity) the idea of a united fatherland with a vast and powerful common heritage.

Like the politically impelled rise and transformation of Jeanne d'Arc's image in the 1800s, the invention and deployment of the legendary bard Ossian, in the early nineteenth century, make manifest the links between politics and culture. For in the drive towards a consolidated power base in France (as in Germany), cultural representation was forced to sublimate "reality" to the manipulating forces of authority in the pursuit of a cogent and binding social unity. Thus, resonant manifestations of cultural identity, both real and invented (such as Ossian or Jeanne d'Arc) became vulnerable to political exploitation, invented, transformed and reinvented according to the demands of the given authority.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 6

Propagating the Maid and the Propaganda Machine: Gois, Napoléon and the Maid of Orléans

> *"...QUELLE époque plus favorable à la réédification du Monument national que l'on propose, que celle où UN HÉROS a donné la paix à l'Europe...QUEL moment plus propice que celui où ce Guerrier Pacificateur a réuni les debris de nos autels disperés, rappelé des Ministres errans [sic] et proscrits, et rétabli sur ses bases inébranlables le Culte antique et sacré, qui produisit tant d'hommes illustres et d'intrépides guerriers!"*
>
> *Prospectues d'une souscription autorisée par le gouvernment, pour la réédification, à Orléans, d'un Monument en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc* (1803)[196]

Accompanied by the fan-fare of a festival, a concert, a dedicatory mass, and speeches in Paris and Orléans, Edme-Étienne-François Gois *fils*'s sculpture of *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* was dedicated as a public monument in the place du Martroi in Orléans on May 8, 1804. It came as the result of numerous distinct forces, which together impelled the sculpture's rapid, almost mercurial, ascendancy from its rather unspectacular (undecorated) inaugural exhibition in 1802 to its prominence as a sculpture that enjoyed national

---

[196]"WHAT more favorable epoque for the reedification of the National Monument that is proposed than that in which A HERO has given peace to Europe....WHAT Moment more propitious than this, in which this Warrior Pacifier has rejoined the debris of our scattered altars, recalled errant and exiled Ministers, and restored under its resolute base the antique and sacred Worship, that produced so many famous men and intrepid warriors!" (*Prospectues d'une souscription autorisée par le gouvernment, pour la réédification, à Orléans, d'un Monument en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc* (Orléans: Secrétariat de la Mairie, Chez Jacob l'aîné, Imprimeur de la Préfecture, [1803]): 3).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recognition and support. Paid for by a public subscription and supported by national and local officials, the rise of this monument to the Maid of Orléans was driven by a confluence of political, cultural, and aesthetic interests, ranging from the artist's will to garner what ever financial and professional advancement he might; the Catholic Church's desire to encourage the renewed recognition of religious figures in France; the town of Orléans's desire to support local, civic pride and regional patriotism; to, ultimately, Napoléon Bonaparte's own desire to cultivate images that fostered his political agenda.

This latter force was especially cogent. Indeed, Napoléon's influence in the rise of Gois's image of *Jeanne d'Arc* was pervasive, affecting the sculpture's public reception and subsequent public acquisition. In his study on Art in an Age of Bonapartism, Albert Boime commented aptly on the assertive control that Napoléon exercised over the production and reception of art in France during his years in power, as a means of seizing and securing social control. As Boime wrote on Napoléon's use of the arts as a political tool of "propaganda" to further his own ends:

> A regime achieving power through usurpation could not depend on convention alone to preserve itself. Just as Napoleon had to wage and win wars to sustain actual power, so he had to mobilize, manipulate, and marshal imagery of every stamp to maintain control of the crosscurrents of the hegemonic process....The catastrophic consequences of the Napoleonic era...had to be realistically confronted up to a point and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

transcended by the propaganda machine.[197]

In this study, it will be argued that Joan of Arc's image was propagated in the early years of the nineteenth century as a component of Napoléon's "propaganda machine." At the same time, however, it also will be demonstrated that Jeanne d'Arc's image was not fostered by Napoléon alone; rather her image functioned, during the first years of the nineteenth century (as ever), as an expedient tool for many--artists, critics, and politicians alike--who saw her as a effective vehicle for realizing their own aspirations.

The process of propagating Jeanne d'Arc's image during the Napoléonic era began (as sweeping movements often do) modestly enough, in August of 1802, the same year that Schiller's *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* was translated into French, when Gois exhibited a plaster cast of his sculpture *Jeanne d'Arc* [fig. I] at the Salon des Beaux-Arts. Gois had already launched his career by that time, having attained a series of awards in his field. His professional accomplishments to date included securing the *deuxième prix de Rome* in 1788 (while enrolled as a student at the elite *école de l'Académie Royale*), as well as winning the *grand prix de Rome* three years later, at age 26.[198] Furthermore,

---

[197]Albert Boime, Art in an Age of Bonapartism, 1800-1815. Vol. 2 of A Social History of Modern Art (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990): p. xxvi.

[198]Before entering the *Académie*, Gois trained under the tutelage of his father, Étienne-Pierre-Adrien Gois (himself a master sculptor). While an *élève* at the academy, Gois *fils* was

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

at the Salon of 1799, Gois's *works*, a group sculpture of the *Trois Horaces* and his *Vénus* were awarded a second place prize, *le Prix de seconde classe*.[199] This "*prix d'encouragement*" placed Gois among the upper echelon of artists exhibiting at the Salon, and, of equal importance, the prize's attendant award of 3,000 francs provided him with the funding necessary to create two new sculptures.

Gois's first "*travail d'encouragement*" (as works funded by such "encouragement" prizes were called), *La Victoire, grande figure*, was completed without delay, and was exhibited at the Salon of 1800.[200] In 1802, Gois returned to the Salon with his second "*travail*

---

awarded first place in the prix-de-Rome competition for his bas-relief representing *Abimélech rendant Sara à Abraham*. (Emmanuel Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, Vol. 5 [Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1976], p. 4; and Ulrich Thieme and Fred C. Willis, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, Vol. 14 [Leipzig, Verlag von E.A. Seemann, 1921], pp. 335-336).

[199]Paris, Grand Palais, *La Révolution française et l'Europe: 1789-1799*, Vol. 3, *La Révolution créatrice*, exh. cat. (Paris: *Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux*, 1989): p. 849.

[200]The *Prix d'Encouragement* were bestowed by the Salon jury, with funding from the *l'Assembée nationale*, during the years 1791-1800, with the precise intention of encouraging such new oeuvre (Brigitte Gallini, "*La création artistique sous la révolution*: Concours et prix d'encouragement," in *La Révolution française et l'Europe, 1789-1799*, exh. cat., Galeries nationales du Grand Palais [Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989]: p. 830). *La Victoire* was exhibited as n° 435 in the Salon of 1800, and *Jeanne d'Arc* was listed as n° 426 at the Salon of 1802 (Gallini, p. 849).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d'encouragement," *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat*,[201] an over-life-size sculpture cast in plaster (as sculptures were traditionally shown at the Salon) that was as stately in scale--measuring 2^{m} 60^{cm} (approximately 8'6")--as it was controversial in subject. Reviving an image that had become the object of popular ridicule since the publication of Voltaire's poem, and the subject of political controversy since the events of the French revolution led to the damage and destruction of her image in Domremy and Orléans, Gois's depiction of the Maid of Orléans represented a modest, but calculated risk by the artist. In entering a full scale sculpture of her in the Salon of 1802, the first major artistic representation of *la Pucelle* since the Revolution, Gois was wagering that it was an auspicious moment for restoring the public image of Jeanne d'Arc.

Whatever gamble the artist may have taken in depicting the subject of Jeanne d'Arc at the Salon, Gois did not take any chances in selling his second "*travail d'encouragement*" there. Seizing upon the first offer that he received, without waiting for a more prestigious or lucrative public commission, without even waiting to make a copy, at least, of his original (and unique) plaster model, Gois accepted 800 francs from a private citizen from Montpellier, M. Fontanel, for the original plaster cast of his sculpture of

---

[201]Gois's Jeanne d'Arc was listed as n° 426 at the Salon of 1802 (Gallini, p. 849).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Maid, while it was still on display at the Salon.[202]

The artist's expectations for his sculpture were (as this transaction appears to demonstrate) modest, at best, at the time of the sculpture's inclusion in the Salon at the Palais du Louvre. For by selling the original plaster model of his *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat*--the prototype for any possible, subsequent copies of the work in bronze or marble--Gois set himself up for the difficult task of having to remodel his *Jeanne d'Arc* all over again, in the event (presumably unlikely, to the artist's mind) that others should express an interest in acquiring a copy of his *work*.[203] As *"Un Curieux"* (the anonymous author of an extensive series of articles on Gois's *"Statue de la*

---

[202]The original plaster of Gois's Pucelle, purchased from the artist at the Salon by M. Fontanel, was later donated to the Musée de Montpellier by Mme Fages, née Fontanel (*Un Curieux* [pseud.], *"Statue de la Pucelle, par Gois, sur le place Dauphine, antérieurement sur la place du Martroi, à Orléans* (1804)," *Jehanne la Pucelle* 10 [June 10, 1910]: p. 173). [cf. *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France*. *Province*. *Monument civils*, *vol. I, p. 363]*

[203]In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, grand-scale, traditional sculpture was produced through a long, laborious process that began with a sculptor forming a small-scale model, or *maquette*, of the image in clay or wax, that the sculptor then replicated in a full-scale clay model. This clay model served as an exact prototype for the artist's completed sculpture; in the process of making a plaster cast of it, however, the full-scale clay model was destroyed, leaving a "plaster original" from which successive, more permanent replicas in stone or cast metal (usually marble or bronze) were made. Consequently, Gois's sale of the original plaster model of his *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* appears to imply that the artist did not anticipate needing the plaster to make subsequent copies of his sculpture. [For a thorough discussion of sculpting and founding in the nineteeth century, see H.W. Janson 19th-Century Sculpture (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1985), pp. 10-16].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pucelle")[204] later wrote:

> *"[Le statuaire] n'avait pas soupçonné le succès qui l'attendait. Il ne s'était pas douté que l'oeuvre qu'il modelait pourrait être érigée sur une place publique. S'il avait nourri cette pensée, il se fût gardé d'aliéner son modèle entre les mains d'un amateur de Montpellier, au risque d'être obligé d'exécuter un second moule, voire même de modeler à nouveau sa statue, dans l'éventualité de négociations avec Orléans ou tout autre ville."*[205]

Clearly, Gois underestimated the public and critical reception that his *Jeanne d'Arc* would receive by the end of its public display at the Salon of 1802.[206] For despite the

---

[204]Published in a multi-part series entitled "*Monuments de Jeanne d'Arc*" (which examined a variety of sculptures dedicated to *la Pucelle* by artists such as Gois, Emmanuel Fremiet, and Paul Dubois, among others), "*Un Curieux*"'s articles devoted specifically to Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* were published in ten issues --all with the same subtitle "*Statue de la Pucelle, par Gois, sur la place Dauphine, antérieurement sur la place du Martroi, à Orléans [1804]*"--in the Johannique periodical *Jehanne la Pucelle* between June 10 and November 10, 1910.

[205]"[The sculptor] had no suspicion of the success that awaited [his sculpture]. He had no idea that the work that he modeled could have been erected in a public place. If he had entertained this thought, he would have kept himself from transferring his model into the hands of an admirer from Montpellier, at the risk of being obligated to execute a second mould, [or] even to model anew his statue, in the event of negotiations with Orléans or an entirely different city. That exposed him to the risk of a long, difficult and costly travail" (*Un Curieux*, p. 190).

[206]What is less clear, however, is *why* the artist's expectations for the "success" of his sculpture were so modest. Why, in other words, did Gois sell his sculpture so precipitously? Perhaps Gois assumed that his work had little chance for a more profitable sale in the form of a public commission, after learning that his *Jeanne d'Arc* would not be the recipient of any awards at the Salon des Beaux-Arts of 1802. Or perhaps, the artist was in need of a quick sale for personal, financial reasons. As few record remain of the artist's financial and personal circumstances at the time, any answers to these questions remain only speculative.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fact that his work was not distinguished by an award from the Salon Jury, and despite Gois's own premature doubts about his sculpture's future ascendancy, his Maid was regarded as an undoubted success by the Salon's end. The work won not only the praise of Salon critics, and the approbation of the Salon-going public, but also the attention of important prospective patrons, who, between the years of 1802 and 1804, began to express an interest in acquiring a copy of Gois's Jeanne d'Arc. As Aufrère-Duvernay wrote, Gois's Jeanne d'Arc "excited universal enthusiasm" at the exhibition.[207]

Among the critics who expressed their warm support for Gois's sculpture was C.-P. Landon (the prominent Salon critic, and a former "*pensionnaire de la République*" at the *École Nationale des Beaux-Arts* in Rome), whose favorable attention to Gois's work had already been piqued by the sculptor's *Trois Horaces* in 1800.[208] In his lengthy annual review of the Salon des Beaux-Arts (entitled *Annales du Musée et de l'école moderne des beaux-arts*) in 1802, Landon devoted three pages to an essay on "*Jeanne d'Arc, pucelle*

---

[207]Aufrère-Duvernay, p. 22.

[208]Landon praised Gois's *Trois Horaces* in 1800 as "*le plus important de ceux que la Sculpture a produit, cette année, aux regards du public.*" ("...the most important of those that Sculpture has produced this year, as regards the public" [(Charles-Paul) Landon, *"Suite de l'exposition au Salon du Musée,"* *Journal des Arts, des sciences et de litterature* 86 (*10 vend. an IX* [October 2, 1800]), p. 213).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d'Orléans, par Gois."[209] In the course of his critique, Landon commended the sculpture's "animated attitude," as well as the artist's "perfect resolution" of the Maid's "difficult" costume. As Landon wrote:

> *Le modèle en plâtre de la statue de Jeanne d'Arc, fesait [sic] partie de l'exposition de cette année; il a mérité de nouveaux éloges à M. Gois fils, déjà connu avantageusement par son groupe des Horaces. La figure a plus de six pieds de proportion; elle a cette attitude animée, qui doit caractériser l'héroïne française. L'artiste a parfaitement surmonté les difficultés que présentait le costume, et s'est cependant attaché à le rendre avec la plus exacte vérité.*[210]

Landon concluded his essay by announcing that the city of Orléans was endeavoring to raise support for the execution of a bronze version of Gois's *Pucelle*, and by insisting that the French government should similarly commission a marble version of Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* to adorn either the hall of *l'Institut* or the gallery of the Consular palace (both highly prestigious venues for Gois's sculpture).[211] As Landon wrote: *Le citoyen Maret, préfet du département du Loiret, et le citoyen Desormeaux [sic], maire d'Orléans, ont invité le corps municipal et*

---

[209]C[harles] P[aul] Landon, *Annales du Musée et de l'école moderne des beaux-arts* vol. 3 (Paris: C.P. Landon *de l'Imprimerie de* Migneret, *An* XI [1802]), pp. 118-20.

[210]"The plaster model of the statue of Jeanne d'Arc took part in this year's exhibition; it merited new praise for M. Gois (the son), already known favorably for his group [sculpture] of the Horaces. The figure is over six feet in scale; it has an animated attitude, which ought to characterize this French heroine. The artist perfectly surmounted the difficulties that the costume presented, and yet [he] was devoted to rendering it with the most exact truth" (Landon, p.120)

[211]Landon, *p. 120.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *les habitans de cette ville à arrêter l'exécution en bronze de ce monument, pour remplacer celui qui a été détruit dans la révolution. Il serait à dèsirer aussi que le gouvernment le fit exécuter en marbre, et que cette femme extraordinaire, dont la France s'enorgueillit, trouvât place parmi les personnages célèbres, dont les statues ornent la salle de l'Insitut et la galerie du Palais consulaire.*[212]

Numerous critics echoed this call for the erection of a monument to the Maid's memory, although they often gave their own varying reasons as to why Gois's work should be employed for that purpose. In an essay on "*Sculpture*" (specifically the sculpture of the ancient Greeks in relation to Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc*) published in *La Décade philosophique* in October 1802, the critic Alphonse Leroy *fils*, for example, praised Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* as a modern example of the classical "*beau idéal,*" inspired by the "*certaine symétrie,*" "*haute perfection,*" "*beauté*" and "*passion*" that infused such examples of antique perfection as the Laocoön or the Niobe.[213] Citing the historic virtues

---

[212]"The citizen Maret, Prefect of the Department of the Loiret, and the citizen Desormaux, Mayor of Orléans, have invited the municipal body and the inhabitants of that city to decide upon the execution of this monument in bronze, to replace that which was destroyed in the revolution. It would [also] be desirable for the government to have [this sculpture] executed in marble, and for this extraordinary woman--of which France is so proud--to find a place among the famous personages that adorn the hall of the Institute and the gallery of the Consular Palace" (Landon, p. 120).

[213]"Ideal beauty," "certain symmetry," "high perfection," "beauty," "passion" (Alphonse Leroy, [*fils*], "*Sculpture: Aux rédacteurs de la Decade philosophique,*" *La Décade philosophique* 35 [*an 11* (1802)]: 110, 112). This essay was also published (with virtually no variations) in numerous other periodicals in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of Gois's celebrated subject (which was still on display in the Musée du Louvre), and decrying the absence of any remaining notable monument to Jeanne d'Arc in France, Leroy called for the execution of Gois's Maid in marble for the "honor" of the nation, the heroine, and her sculptor, alike:

> *Cette héroïne à qui la France dut alors sa délivrance du joug des Anglais, n'avait encore aucun monument remarquable. Mais le C. Gois vient de lui en élever un qui, s'il est exécuté en marbre, honorera la nation, l'héroïne et le statuaire.*[214]

Similarly, speaking before a public session of *la Société libre des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Paris* on *"le dimanche 18 vendémiaire an* II [Sunday, October 10, 1802]," the "citizens" Lecomte, Taillasson and Ponce delivered a *"Rapport sur une Statue de la Pucelle d'Orléans, exécutée*

---

the Autumn of 1802, including: "*Sculpture: Aux Rédacteur des Journals des Arts,*" Journal des Arts, des Sciences et de Littérature 232 (*20 vendémiaire, an* 11 [October 12, 1802]), pp. 100-113; and "*Sculpture: Aux Rédacteur des Nouvelles des Arts,*" Nouvelles des Arts, peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure, ed. C.P. Landon (Paris: Migneret, *an* 11 [1802]), pp. 17-23.

Although less well known today than the Laocoön, perhaps, "*La Noibé*" (described by Leroy as possessing "*cette beauté idéale d'expression*" [this ideal beauty of expression]) was praised by such prominent classicists as Mengs, Winckelmann, and Quatremère de Quincy (among others) in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. A cast of the six figures of the Noibe group was also copied for Napoléon in 1808. [For further information on this sculptural grouping and the Laocoön, and on their public reception in the early nineteenth century, see Francis Haskell and Nicolas Penny, Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 243-247 and 274-279.]

[214]"This heroine, to which France owes then its deliverance from the yoke of the English, no longer had any noteworthy monument. But the C[itizen] Gois has just raised one, which will, if it is executed in marble, honor the [French] nation, the heroine, and the sculptor" (Leroy, p. 113)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

par le citoyen Gois fils" that both highly praised Gois's Jeanne d'Arc and called for the public commissioning of his sculpture in marble.[215] By executing the statue in marble, the group's spokesman Ponce asserted, not only would the statue itself be enhanced, and the young, deserving artist encouraged, but also "*la nation acquitterait par ce moyen une dette sacrée qu'elle a contractée depuis long-temps avec le beau sexe.*"[216] Thus by placing "*les traits d'une femme célébre, la gloire de son sexe*"[217] as a token female representative among a series of sculptures of famous Frenchmen, such as then adorned the Grand Gallery of the Louvre, and the Great Hall of the Consular Palace,[218] "the

---

[215]Subsequently published in Landon's *Nouvelles des Arts* in 1802, a copy of Ponce et al's "Report on a Statue of the Maid of Orléans, executed by the citizen Gois *fils*" may be found under the following citation: Ponce, Lecomte, and Taillasson, "*Rapport sur une Statue de la Pucelle d'Orléans*," in *Nouvelles des Arts, peintures, sculpture, architecture et gravure*, ed. C.P. Landon, 91-93 (Paris: Migneret, *an* XI (1802): pp. 91-93.

[216]"The [French] nation could acquit itself, in this way, of a sacred debt that it had owed the fair sex for a long time" (Ponce et al., p. 92).

[217]"the features of a famous woman, the glory of her sex" (Ponce et al., p. 92).

[218]This idea that Jeanne d'Arc might embody the essential, ideal virtues of "the fair sex" proved to be enduring throughout the nineteenth century; as was the notion that by honoring Joan of Arc, all women might similarly be honored. These themes, especially the former, were reiterated almost yearly, for example, in the *panégyriques de Jeanne d'Arc*, that were read in the *Cathédrale d'Orléans* during the annual *fête de Jeanne d'Arc* held there. [See below for a further discussion of the annual *fête de Jeanne d'Arc* in Orléans]. It also was a subject that was taken up with great frequency in women's periodicals and Johannique literature, particularly during the last decades of the nineteenth century into the first decades of the twentieth

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fair sex" would at last be rewarded, by proxy, for their unsung heroic virtues ("*le courage,*" "*le dévouement,*" and "*l'amour de la patrie*"),[219] as well as their "private talents" (which remain unnamed, yet which, nevertheless, form the basis--in Ponce's words--"upon which the charm of society is founded").[220] As Ponce stated:

> *Il serait à desirer que cette figure fût exécutée en marbre; elle y gagnerait....La nation acquitterait par ce moyen une dette sacrée qu'elle a contractée depuis long-temps avec le beau sexe. Rien de plus flatteur pour lui, sans doute, que de voir reproduire d'une manière durable les traits d'une femme célèbre, la gloire de son sexe, à laquelle la France a tant d'obligation.*
>
> *La statue de cette héroïne, placée au milieu de celles des grandes hommes qui ont illustré la nation, nous rappellerait sans cesse que si les femmes possèdent au suprême degré les vertus privées et les talens qui font le charme de la société, les virtus héroïques ne leur sont point étrangères, et qu'inspirées par l'amour de la patrie, elles peuvent nous donner aussi des examples de courage et de*

---

century in France, as well as in America and England. See, for example, the Victomtesse de Pitray's series on Joan of Arc and "Feminine Christian Virtues" in Leo Taxil's conservative Catholic periodical Jeanne d'Arc, such as "*Les vertus chrétiennes féminines: Le patriotisme*" (May 1889), "*Les vertus chrétienne féminines: Le dévouement et l'amour de la famille*" (September 1889), and "*Les vertus chrétiennes féminines: L'obéissance et l'amour de la discipline*" (June 1889); Isabel M. O'Reilly, "The Maid of France and the New Womanhood," American Catholic Quarterly Review 19, no.75 (July 1894): 582-606; Maurice Barrès, *Autour de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1916); and R.F. O'Connor, "The Saint of Patriotism," American Catholic Quarterly Review 49 (1919): 529-555.

[219]"courage," "devotion" and "love of one's country" (Ponce et al., p. 93).

[220]"*qui font le charme de la société*" (Ponce et al., p. 93).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dèvouement.[221]

Thus for the authors of the special report on Gois's statue presented to *la Société libre des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Paris* on October 1802, Jeanne d'Arc's image represented the opportunity to satisfy the desire of women to see their contributions to society suitably recognized. This rather condescending suggestion recalls, not coincidentally, the motion (discussed above in Chapter 2) made by *l'Assemblée communale de Paris* in 1790 regarding the request of "*les dames française*" to participate in the celebration of the revolutionary "ceremony of the Federative pact" that year.[222] In response to the "French ladies"'s demand for inclusion in the proceedings, the Communal Assembly moved that the role of the revolutionary *parisiennes* at the "*fête de la Fédération*" would be acknowledged only by the admission of a portrait of Jeanne d'Arc at the ceremony's events--rather than by allowing the

---

[221]"It would be desired that this figure be executed in marble; it would gain a lot from that....the nation would acquit by this means a sacred debt that it contracted with the fair sex a long time ago. Nothing [would be] more flattering to [women], without a doubt, than to see reproduced in a durable manner the features of a famous woman, the glory of her sex, to which France owes such an obligation.

"The statue of this heroine, placed amidst those of the famous men who have made [this] nation illustrious, would recall unceasingly that, however [much] to a supreme degree women possess private virtues and talents upon which the charm of society is founded, their heroic virtues are by no means unknown, and that inspired by the love of their country, they are also able to give us examples of courage and devotion" (Ponce et al., pp. 92-93).

[222]See above, for a discussion of these event.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

women themselves to play a direct and vital role there. This motion, that Jeanne d'Arc's image be celebrated as a substitute for offering real recognition--or better still, a substantive role for women in the political process--came during a time when women were being systematically refused a viable position in the political sphere, despite their vital contribution in recent political events.[223]

Similarly, during the first years of the nineteenth century, at the same time that men such as Lecomte, Taillasson, Ponce, and Landon (among others) were expressing an eager interest in satisfying society's "debt" to women by adding Jeanne d'Arc's image to the vast, all-male pantheon of "*grandes hommes*" honored in France, women were not only losing the few legal advances that they had gained during the Revolution, they were even in the process of losing the few, meager rights to personal freedom and separate property that they had held under the *ancien régime*. It was at that time, between 1801-1807, that the formation of Napoléon's legal code codified as law the curtailing and revision of (or, more accurately, perhaps, the backlash against) the

---

[223]It was, for example, the women of Paris who lead the famous march on Versailles on October 5, 1789, which culminated in the King being brought back to Paris under duress on October 6. This march to Paris marked a turning point in the Revolution, in which control was shifted away from Louis XVI and into the hands of the increasingly powerful revolutionary forces.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recent social advancement of women in France.[224]

Women lost all agency as mature and independent citizens. Unmarried women, for example, were forbidden the right to serve as a guardian, to witness a legal document, or to be part of a family council. Married women were legally obliged to obey their husbands. They were forbidden to give, sell, or mortage property; and they were allowed to acquire property only with their husband's consent. Furthermore, although the Code Napoléon continued to allow divorce (a legal recourse instituted during the Revolution), the inequality of access to this legal process for women was, as the Napoléonic historian Robert Holtman wrote, "especially shocking." Egregious (even misogynistic) examples of this inequity include the following, as Holtman wrote:

> A husband might demand divorce for adultery if the wife tried to introduce a stranger into the legitimate family; she could obtain a divorce only if the husband cohabitated with his concubine in the common house. The husband could have his wife shut up in a house of

---

[224]The formation of Napoléon's new, and vastly sweeping civil code of law began in July 1801, when Napoléon created a "Commission of Legislation" in the Council of State to serve in rewriting France's domestic law. Portions of the code went into effect as they were adopted. Thus, thirty-six laws were united into a comprehensive Civil Code in March 1804; the entire new code of law, however, was not completed and promulgated until 1807 (when the code received its name Code Napoléon). The new legal code was to resolve conflicts between Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary laws, while also clarifying and reforming the law with the idea of making a better and more just society. The "improvements," however, did not ameliorate the status of women. [For more information on the Code Napoléon, see Robert B. Holtman, The Napoleonic Revolution (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), pp. 72-98].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> correction for up to two years, but a fine was the severest penalty a wife's charges could bring upon her husband. If the husband murdered his wife upon surprising her in adultery, his act was legally justifiable; if the circumstances were reversed the murder she committed was inexcusable.[225]

Napoléon made little secret of his intent regarding the altered position of women in society with the promulgation of his legal code. "A Bride," Napoléon declared to the Council of State, "must realize that on leaving the tutelage of her family she passes under that of her husband."[226] He similarly asserted "the husband must possess the right to say to his wife: 'Madame, you shall not go out, you shall not go to the theatre, you shall not receive such and such a person; for the children you will bear shall be mine."[227] Indeed, with cool disdain, Napoléon even went so far as to tell Madame de Staël (a women of great character and strength in her own right and--after 1805--no supporter of Napoléon's), "Women should stick to knitting."[228] Thus, it is little surprise, perhaps, that among the many reasons that were given for building a monument to Jeanne d'Arc around 1802 was the call for repaying "*une dette*

---

[225]Holtman, p. 92.

[226]Quoted in J. Christopher Herold, The Age of Napoleon (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987), pp. 148-149.

[227]Felix Markham, Napoleon (New York: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 97.

[228]Quoted in Herold, pp. 148-149.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sacrée..contractée depuis long-temps avec le beau sexe,"[229] for the social contract in France left little other recompense for women during Napoléon's years in power than the token celebration of a woman from France's distant past.

In any case--regardless of the many who praised Gois's sculpture, and called vigorously in 1802 for its rendering in bronze or marble as a public monument dedicated to the Maid's honor, to the honor of the French nation, or even to repay women for their unrequited sacrifices to society--the impetus for commissioning a large-scale copy of Gois's sculpture came neither from the art world of the critics, the jurors, and the public at the Salon des Beaux-Arts; nor from national or local officials, who had the legal and political power to call for the public acquisition of Gois's work. Rather, remarkably (given the artist's earlier modesty of aspirations where his *Jeanne d'Arc* sculpture was concerned), it was Gois, himself, who proposed the matter to the Mayor of Orléans through an intermediary named M. Colas de Brouville. Gois, in fact, not only lobbied aggressively to have his *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* acquired by the city of Orléans, he demanded no less than 40,000-60,000 francs for the project (despite having already sold the original model for his sculpture at a fraction of that cost).

---

[229]"A sacred debt...contracted with the fair sex a long time ago" (Ponce et al, p. 92).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Emboldened, apparently, by the favorable criticism that his sculpture received at the Salon (and hoping, presumably, that this positive reception might engender further commercial interest in his work), Gois began seeking new commissions for his *Jeanne d'Arc* in the Fall of 1802. He was rewarded first by a small-scale commission for a new terra cotta maquette of his Maid from M. Alexandre Lenoir for the *Musée des Monuments français*, which he completed by late November of that year.[230] Conveniently, it was in fact this terra cotta maquette that Gois showed to the municipal council of Orléans, when the artist traveled there in the early winter of 1802, in an effort to win a commission for a large-scale copy of his sculpture from that city.[231]

Aside from Orléans, among the many locations that Gois could have chosen to pursue as a suitable venue for his sculpture was, of course, Paris, or any of the principal cities or towns from Jeanne d'Arc's history--such as

---

[230](*Un Curieux*, p. 173). In his study *Les fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc a Orléans*, Cochard asserts that Lenoir commissioned Gois to make a sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc "around 1800," that is, before Gois completed his sculpture for the Salon (Th. Cochard, *Les fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc a Orléans* [Orléans: Marcel Marron, 1907], pp. 27-28). This chronology, however, is not supported by documentary evidence, and is contradicted by the account of Gois's Jeanne d'Arc by Herluison and Leroy ("*Le sculpteur Gois fils et sa statue de Jeanne d'Arc*," *Mém. Soc. arc. et hist. de l'Orléanais* XXIX [1905], pp. 513-544).

[231]*Un Curieux*, p. 173.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Domremy, Chartres, Reims, or Rouen, among others.[232] Gois turned to the town of Orléans in late 1802, however, because he had heard that the citizens of Orléans were actively interested, at that time, in replacing the statue of Jeanne d'Arc that had graced their city from the early sixteenth century until it was destroyed by revolutionary officials in 1792.[233]

---

[232]For a map of the towns and cities through which Jeanne d'Arc passed after embarking on her mission in 1429, as well as the location of her childhood home (Domremy), and the city of her death (Rouen) in 1431, see [fig. XLII].

[233]*Un Curieux*, pp. 172-173; and *"Interieur: Paris, le 27 pluviôse. Extraits du registre des séances du conseil municipal d'Orléans. -- Séance du 30 frimaire an 11,"* Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel 148 (*Jeudi, 28 pluviôse an 11 de la République* (February 17, 1803), p. 596. For information on the historic statue of Jeanne d'Arc that was destroyed in Orléans by order of "*le Conseil général de la commune*" in Orléans, see above; see also [fig.s III-IV]. Orléans may have been especially inclined to erect a sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc in 1802, according to Cochard, because of recent interest that Napoléon showed in reviving the annual festival to Jeanne d'Arc's memory as a part of an effort to renew religious observance in France. Quoting a letter largely ignored in Johannique literature by Hughes Maret to his brother Philibert, Cochard demonstrates the First Consul's early (and apparently unsolicited) interest in this matter in the Spring of 1802. On *23 ventôse an X* (March 14, 1802), the *secrétaire d'État* Hugues Maret wrote to his brother, the *premier préfet du Loiret*, about Napoléon's: «*Mon cher ami, le premier consul désire que tu m'envoies pour lui un mémoire détaillé sur la fête de la Pucelle; que tu y joignes ton opinion sur le cérémonial qui se pratiquait et sur celui qu'on pourrait observer, dans le cas où il conviendrait de célébrer cette fête vraiment nationale. Je t'écris à la hâte, parce que les vouloirs du premier consul sont pressés et pressants....H.B. Maret, P.S. On désire faire quelque chose qui soit agréable aux Orléanais...* ["My dear friend, the First Consul desires that you send for him a detailed report on the Festival of the Maid; [and] that you add your opinion regarding the ceremonial which was practiced [as well as] that which one could observe, if he would agree to celebrate this truly national festival. I write to you in haste, because the demands of the First Consul are pressing and urgent...H.B. Maret, P.S. One would desire to do whatever was

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The vigor and persistence that Gois displayed in attempting to induce Orléans to acquire his sculpture is detailed in a private letter (reproduced below), which was sent to the Mayor of that city, M. Crignon des Ormeaux, in November 1802. Written not by Gois, but rather by a citizen of Orléans named M. Colas de Brouville (a prominent Orléanais businessman who was introduced to Gois in Paris by a mutual friend), the letter addresses the feasibility of commissioning Gois to complete a version of his Pucelle for Orléans in bronze, marble or lead. While expressing certain doubts about the proposed project, especially its financial viability during a time of post-war and post-revolutionary "penury,"[234] Colas de Brouville's letter to Crignon des Ormeaux reveals some of the ambitious and enthusiastic urgency that the artist (and his friend) displayed in meeting to discuss how the citizens of Orléans might fund the commissioning of a Jeanne d'Arc sculpture, should they

---

agreeable to the people of Orléans..." (Cochard, p. 19)]. The Prefect responded immediately by sending the requested report (compiled by the Mayor of Orléans at the prefect's direction) to his brother, the Secretary of State, on March 18, which was in turn passed on to the First Consul. After reading it, Bonaparte sent the report on March 23, 1802 to the Second Consul Jean-Jacques de Cambacérès (Cochard, p. 19). No further action was taken by Napoléon or his administration regarding the *fête de la Pucelle* until 1803, when the Bishop of Orléans wrote to formally request that the festival be reinstated (see below).

[234]In 1802, Orléans, like much of France, was suffering from financial straits in the wake of the French Revolution, and six years of war in Europe. [For a concise discussion of France's financial situation before and during Napoléon's rule, see Holtman, pp. 20, 99-120].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

choose to do so.

Gois, according to Colas de Brouville, suggested at their meeting that Orléans organize a public subscription to raise the necessary monies. The artist also stated his firm intention to go to Orléans in person to urge the city's Mayor to adopt this project, despite Colas de Brouville's candid discouragement in discussing the matter. As Colas de Brouville described the events to the Mayor of Orléans:

> *Paris, le 7 frimaire an XI.*
> *(28 september 1802)*[235]
>
> *Monsieur,*
> *Un de mes amis très-lié avec M. Gois, auteur de la statue que vous avez vue au Musée du Louvre, m'avait parlé de proposer à la ville d'Orléans de faire l'acquisition d'une pareille statue, soit en bronze, en marbre ou en plomb.*
> *Je lui ai dit dans quel état de pénurie était notre pauvre commune, qui ne peut pas même soutenir ses hospices. Je lui ai fait voir que les citoyens surchargés d'impôts se prêteraient difficilement à coopérer à cet embellissement de la ville; je lui ai même dit que je ne voyais pas de place où on put établir un monument.*
> *Malgré tout, il m'a amené hier M. Gois, avec un projet de souscription que le jeune sculpteur a l'intention de venir vous soumettre lui-même à Orléans.*
> *Il s'agit d'abord d'une somme de 60,000 pour le faire en bronze, tout posé sur son piédestal en marbre; d'une somme de 50,000 francs, pour faire en marbre; et*

---

[235]Note: as *Un Curieux* pointed out, Dupont incorrectly converted the date upon which Colas de Brouville wrote his letter--"*le 7 frimaire an XI*" (in the revolutionary calendar)--to "*28 septembre 1802*" (in the Gregorian calender) when he later published Colas de Brouville's letter in 1855 (Un Curieux, p. 206). The correct date for the seventh day of frimaire in Year XI of the revolution was *November* 28 (not September 28, as Dupont mistakenly asserted). This common confusion in dating between the Revolutionary and Gregorian calendars is an obstacle, at times, in finding information relevant to historic events that occurred between 1793-1805 when the revolutionary calendar was employed in France, including, unfortunately, the years when Gois's statue was being built as a public monument in Orléans.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *de celle de 40,000 francs pour le faire en plomb.*
>
> *Il propose des actions de 50 francs chacune, pour lesquelles on donnera une médaille de bronze, représentant d'un côté, le premier consul; de l'autre, la figure de la Pucelle ou du monument, avec légendes et exergues analogue, les noms du préfet, du maire, etc. Le piédestal de la statue aura, sur deux faces, une grande table de marbre où seront inscrits les noms des souscripteurs...*[236]

Gois's innovative proposal to erect and finance a grand version of his sculpture in Orléans was ambitious. It also was politically savvy, as the artist proposed raising an enormous sum--as much as 60,000 francs--by asking supporters of the project to each give a relatively affordable individual amount of 50 francs apiece in a widespread public

---

[236] "Paris, Frimaire 7, Year XI [November 28, 1802]*

"Monsieur,
One of my friends [who is] very intimately acquainted with M. Gois, author of the statue which you saw at the Louvre Museum, had spoken with me to propose that the city of Orléans make the acquisition of a similar statue, [either] in bronze, in marble or in lead. I told him in what state of penury our poor commune was, that [it] could not even maintain its hospices. I showed him that the citizens, [already] overburdened with taxes, would fall in with contributing to this embellishment of the city [only] with difficulty; I even told him that I did not see space where one could establish a monument. Despite everything, he brought M. Gois to me yesterday, with a project for subscription that the young sculptor himself had the intention to come to submit to you in Orléans. [The project] concerns a sum approaching 60,000 to execute in bronze, all composed on its marble pedestal; a sum of 50,000 francs, to execute in marble; and that of 40,000 to be executed in lead. He proposed [that for those subscribers who give] 50 francs each, a bronze medal will be given, representing on one side, the First Consul; on the other the figure of the Pucelle or the monument, with legends and analogous exergues, the names of the prefect, of the mayor, etc. The pedestal of the statue will have, on two faces, a large table of marble on which will be inscribed the names of the subscribers...." (Quoted in Dupont, p. 47).

*(See footnote above, regarding the discrepancy between the Revolutionary and the Gregorian calendars, in translating "7 *frimaire an XI*.")

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

subscription. In addition, enticements for support of his project on every level--from the small subscriber to the First Consul of France--were built into the proposal. Contributors, who gave the minimum requisite 50 francs were to be recognized publicly by having their names inscribed on the statue's pedestal. In return for their donation, they also were to receive a commemorative bronze medal. This proposed commemorative medal would serve the further purpose of honoring the local and national authorities (such as the prefect of the *Département du Loiret*, and the Mayor of Orléans), whose names were to be inscribed on the medal's exergue. Moreover, the medal also was to be used to flatter the First Consul, for Napoléon's image was to be immortalized with that of the Pucelle on the commemorative coin.

In his letter to the Mayor of Orléans, Colas de Brouville pronounced Gois's plan "captivating." At the same time, however, Colas de Brouville expressed doubts about the project's feasibility; and he expressed concern, above all, that if the project failed, after it was begun, "it would not give a very good idea of Orléanais patriotism."[237] Having expressed his concerns about acquiring such an expensive object during a time of great fiscal retraint, Colas de Brouville closed his letter to Crignon des Ormeaux with an idea that offered some meager, final encouragement

---

[237]Quoted in Dupont, p. 48.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

regarding a possible source of external funding for the proposed acquisition. If Napoléon were to pass through Orléans on his way South, Colas de Brouville suggested, the First Consul might be persuaded to donate "if not the totality, [then] at least a large part of the price." As he wrote in conclusion:

> *...Je lui fait observer qu'une circonstance particulière pourrait le favoriser, peut-être qu'un voyage du priemier consul dans le midi, et son passage par Orléans, pourrait être une occassion d'obtenir, sinon la totalité, au moins une grande partie du prix; qu'alors le temps sera moins malheureux peut-être, la misère moins grande, le pain moins cher, les travaux plus actifs, que tous ces motifs qui retiennent aujourd'hui le patriotisme généreux de nos concitoyens, n'existant plus, on pourrait plus facilement faire réussir son projet. --Mais c'est un jeune homme, il desire jouir de son ouvrage et de ses talents, et conserve l'envie de partir d'ici à 15 jours....*
> *P.S. J'oubliais de vous dire que l'artiste vous offre une statue en plâtre pour 1,200 francs, cette statue a 7 pieds de hauteur; elle est d'une très-belle forme, vigoreuse et hardie.*[238]

In this letter, Colas de Brouville makes clear his hesitancy, while making it equally clear that Gois is vigorous in his persistence. For where the Orléanais

---

[238]"I have observed to [Gois] that a particular circumstance could favor him; a journey by the First Consul in the South, passing through Orléans, perhaps could be an occasion to obtain, if not the totality, [then] at least a large part of the price, till a less unfortunate time perhaps, [when] the misery [will be] less great, the bread less costly, work more active; [when] all of these motives that today restrain the generous patriotism of our fellow-citizens exist no more, one would be able more easily to make his project succeed. --But he is a young man, he wants to gamble with his work and his talents, and [he] maintains the desire to depart from here in 15 days.... / P.S. I forgot to tell you that the artist is offering you a statue in plaster for 1,200 francs. This statue is 7 feet tall; it has a very beautiful, vigorous and bold form" (Quoted in Dupont, p. 48).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

business man expressed restraint in the face of exigent social and fiscal concerns, the young sculptor exhibited an unabated desire to win assent for his project. Determined to sell the city of Orléans a copy of his *Jeanne d'Arc*, and undaunted by Colas de Brouville's sobering assessment of his chances in Orléans (even when confronted with the "hunger, want, and misery" of that city), Gois not only demonstrates tenacity in his insistence upon meeting with the Mayor of Orléans, he even has the temerity to offer the town's citizens a "reduced" price for a plaster casting of his sculpture. (While no astounding bargain at 1,200 francs, the price must have seemed a veritable *bon marché* by comparison with the enormous sums Gois was demanding for a more permanent version of his *work*.)

If Gois misread his chances for success at the Salon, he did not do so on this occasion. Gois's overtures to the Mayor were met with great alacrity. According to Dupont, Mayor Crignon des Ormeaux, who had already seen Gois's sculpture at the Salon, responded that Orléans would be delighted to possess his work.[239] He had no doubts that Orléans would be willing to make "the most generous sacrifices" for the sculptor's *Jeanne d'Arc*; and he invited the artist to come to Orléans to discuss the price and terms of payment.[240]

---

[239]Dupont, p. 49.

[240]Dupont, p. 49.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Mayor's immediate support for Gois's proposed project is, perhaps, surprising considering the fact that the Mayor had, to date, made no effort to acquire the work for his city, despite (as Colas de Brouville reminded him in his letter) already having seen Gois's sculpture in Paris. As "*Un Curieux*" described this state of affairs:

> *...le maire d'Orléans avait fait le voyage de Paris. Il s'était rendu au Salon. La statue de Gois ne lui était pas inconnue, mais il n'avait fait aucune ouverature à l'artiste. L'initiative du projet, au succès duquel Crignon-Désormeaux va s'appliquer, avec non moins d'habileté que de patriotisme, n'appartient pas au maire d'Orléans. C'est à Colas de Brouville qu'en revient l'honneur.*[241]

Perhaps the Mayor's newfound interest in acquiring Gois's sculpture in November 1802 was merely fortuitous. Given a second chance to purchase a sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc for his city through the artist's persistent self-promotion, Crignon des Ormeaux simply leapt at an opportunity that he had, regretfully perhaps, overlooked earlier that Autumn. It is, however, also possible that the Mayor of Orléans's new eagerness to acquire Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* was inspired, at least in part, by the attention that

---

[241]"...The Mayor of Orléans had made the journey to Paris. He had made his way to the Salon. Gois's statue was not unknown to him, but he had made no overtures to the artist. The initiative for the project, to the success of which Crignon-Désormeaux applied himself with no less ability than patriotism, did not rest with the Mayor of Orléans. It is to Colas de Brouville that the honor should be returned" (*Un Curieux*, p. 206). Given Colas de Brouville's hestitancy in supporting Gois's proposal in November 1802, however, *Un Curieux*'s assessment in crediting Colas de Brouville, rather than the sculptor himself, with the "honor" of having had the "initiative" to re-erect a sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans at that time seems inappropriate.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gois's sculpture received during the course of the Salon, not only from numerous critics, but also from, arguably, the most influential arbiter of taste in the arts and society of France at the time--the First Consul Napoléon Bonaparte, himself.

Napoléon's active engagement with the arts, as First Consul (1799-1804) and Emperor (1804-1814), has been widely documented, as has his support for (and, to varying degrees, control of) the offical art institutions in France--the *École des Beaux-Arts*, the *Institut*, and the *Salon des Beaux-Arts*.[242] Similarly, Napoléon's extensive patronage of the arts and architecture in France--accumulating a vast array of paintings, sculptures, monuments, and buildings for the French nation by commission, acquisition, and foreign conquest during his years in power--has been equally well

---

[242]A contemporary demonstration of Napoléon's overt influence in encouraging the production of particular subjects in painting, especially contemporary events, grand history paintings, and portaits celebrating his own achievements as First Consul (and later Emperor), may be seen in the anonymous engraving "*La peinture d'Histoire encouragé par le Gouvt.*" [fig. XLIV] from 1802, now in the collection of the Biblothèque nationale in Paris. For a discussion of Napoléon's ongoing interest in the Salon des Beaux-Arts, as an expedient political tool during his tenure as First Consul and Emperor of the French, see also the Introduction to Albert Boime, Art in an Age of Bonapartisme, 1800-1815, vol. 2 of A Social History of Modern Art (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. xxi-xxvii; for a brief discussion of Napoléon's role in the advancement of the Fine Arts in France (especially in relation to the *École des Beaux-Arts* and the *Institut*), see also Chapter 1 of Albert Boime, The Academy and French Painting (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recognized in subsequent art historical scholarship.[243]

Clearly, Napoléon's favor for an artist, or a work of art, had significant repercussions during his years in power (as, for example, David learned to his advantage, when his painting of Napoléon at St.-Bernard [1801] so satisifed the then-First Consul that he went on to name David "premier peintre" of France). In any case, Napoléon's interest in the *works* exhibited annually (or biennially, some years) at the Salons des Beaux-Arts was keen, as was mentioned in numerous Salon reviews. As one contemporary critic (who signed his name with the pseudonym "Paris") related in 1802, for example:

Le premier consul s'est rendu le 5e. jour

---

[243] For a discussion of the development of painting during the Napoléonic regime, see Robert Rosenblum, "Painting Under Napoléon, 1800-1814," in French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, [1975]), pp. 161-173. It is interesting to note that Jean-Antoine Chaptal (an embittered former advisor to Napoléon, who served as his Minister of the Interior from 1801-1809) described Napoléon later, by contrast, as having no taste or interest in the arts. "Napoléon did not care for the arts," Chaptal said, "probably because nature had denied him the sensibility to appreciate their merit. ...[H]e always appeared to interest himself in the arts....He did this for political reasons or in order to demonstrate his broadmindedness. ...The Emperor gave commissions but was indifferent as to the manner of execution, because he lacked the taste to judge for himself, and being unable to appreciate any particular artist, he was disposed to believe that the one he trusted was the best" (Quoted by Anita Brookner, Jacques-Louis David [New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1980], p. 145). Nevertheless, Napoléon's close association with such an enduringly prominent artist as David, his extensive patronage of the arts, and such anecdotal evidence as his famous exclamation--"If I weren't a conquerer, I would wish to be a sculptor"--would seem to belie Chaptal's contention that Napoléon lacked an appreciation of the arts (if not also his subjective assertion that Napoléon "lacked taste," as well).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *complémentaire...au Salon des tableaux qu'il a parcouru dans le plus grand détail. Le premier consul a ordonné qu'on achetât pour lui trois de plus beaux morceaux de l'exposition.*[244]

That year, the First Consul paid attention not only to the paintings at the Salon, Napoléon also singled out one sculpture in particular for favorable consideration--Gois's Jeanne d'Arc. Dupont described the encounter between Napoléon, Gois, and his sculpture at the Salon thus:

> *[L]e premier consul visitant un jour le musee du Louvre s'était arrêté devant cette statue; il l'avait bien longtemps considérée et lui avait trouvé l'air belliqueux. Je le crois bien. --Ce n'est pas tout: il avait complimenté l'artiste qui était un tout jeune homme timide, si on en juge du moins par l'obscurité de son nom que l'on ne rencontre nulle part ailleurs que sur le socle de cette statue,*[245]

noting thereby not only *le premier consul's* flattering attentions to Gois's *work*, but also the artist's relative obscurity in 1855. Similarly, Aufrère-Duvernay also noted the First Consul's praise, writing "*les éloges du premier*

---

[244]"The First Consul proceeded, on the 5th complementary day,...to the Salon of paintings, which he looked through in the greatest detail. The First Consul ordered three of the most beautiful works of the exposition to be bought for him" (Paris [pseud.], *L'Observateur des Spectacles, de la litterature et des arts* 208 [3 *vendémiaire an XI* (Sept. 25, 1802)]): p. 2).

[245]"[T]he First Consul, visiting the Louvre museum one day, halted before this statue; he considered it for a long time and observed its bellicose air. I think that's right. That's not all: he complimented the artist, who was a young timid man, if one [may] judge at least by the obscurity of his name, which one encounters nowhere else than on the pedestal of this statue" (Dupont, *Les trois statues de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 42-43). In light of Gois's aggressive self-promotion in November 1802, the descriptive "timid," for the artist's behavior seems less accurate than does the quality "obscure," in describing the artist's name by the mid-nineteenth century.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Consul" for the sculptor of *Jeanne d'Arc* "*ne...firent point défault*" at the Salon.[246]

If Napoléon's compliments to the sculptor were known by Crignon des Ormeaux, as is possible, it might have given the Mayor of Orléans the further confidence necessary to accept Gois's ambitious proposal at a time of great fiscal austerity.[247] The First Consul--as Head of State--held the biggest purse-strings in France; with Napoléon's support (as Colas de Brouville's letter intimated) the project was unlikely to fail. Moreover, as the Mayor well knew, the First Consul's formal approval for the project was necessary for it to proceed, should the Mayor and the Municipal Council of Orléans decide to pursue the acquisition of Gois's sculpture for a new monument in their city.

Knowledge of Napoléon's support for the sculpture might explain, moreover, the sudden, coincidental interest that numerous other cities began to show in Gois's sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc in the Winter of 1802-1803. At that time

---

[246]To quote Aufrère-Duvernay directly, "Un statuaire distingué, Gois fils,...et son modèle, exposé au Louvre, excita un enthusiasme universel. *Les éloges du premier Consul ne lui firent point défault*" ["A distinguished sculptor,...and his model, excited a universal enthusiasm. The praise of the First Consul for him was by no degree lacking"] (p. 22).

[247]The Mayor was already aware of the First Consul's interest in the subject of Jeanne d'Arc, having been apprised of his interest in reviving the *fête de Jeanne d'Arc* by Maret in March 1802 (see above). As Cochard wrote: "*La municipalité, qui n'ignorait plus le bonnes dispositions de Bonaprte pour la reprise de la fête de la Pucelle, sollicita d'abord son approbation pour l'érection, le 8 mai 1803, d'un nouveau monument en l'honneur de la Pucelle d'Orléans*" (Cochard, p. 20).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rouen, Reims and Compiègne each began to express a desire to acquire its own large-scale copy of Gois's Pucelle for use as a public monument.[248] Like Orléans, each of these cities was dependent on national monies and Consular approval to do so; like Orléans, these cities may have seen Napoléon's expressed approbation for Gois's sculpture as an incentive to pursue their own acquisition of his work.

Nevertheless, whether or not Napoléon's interest in Gois's *Pucelle* directly inspired the Mayor of Orléans (or, for that matter, the leaders of Rouen, Reims and Compiègne), Crignon des Ormeaux took swift action in initiating the formal process of acquiring his *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat*. Within days of receiving Colas de Brouville's letter, the Mayor held a meeting in Orléans with Gois and the *premier préfect du département du Loiret*. At the conclusion of their meeting, Crignon des Ormeaux accepted Gois's new terra cotta maquette of Jeanne d'Arc (made recently on commission for M. Alexandre Lenoir) for consideration as a submission for the design of a new public monument. The Mayor then promptly called together a commission of twelve members--"made up of artists and men of art, and distinguished devotees of this city," to pass judgement on Gois's design, and to study the actual

---

[248]Dupont, p. 49,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

feasibility of the proposed project.[249] With the permission of the Prefect Maret, Crignon des Ormeaux immediately called a special session of Orléans's municipal council, which met on *Frimaire 30* [December 21], in the waning days of 1802, to ratify the commission and win support for the project.

A succinct, official account of this meeting (and other related meetings that ensued) was published in *Le Moniteur Universel*, a governmentally controlled and nationally distributed newspaper, two months after the fact in February 1803.[250] According to the published extract of this meeting in *Le Moniteur*, the Mayor announced to the Municipal Council of his city that it was in accordance with "*le voeu des habitans d'Orléans, de rétablir dans notre ville un monument en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle...de conserver à la postérité le souvenir des actions héroïques de cette*

---

[249]"*Extraits du registre des séances du conseil municipal d'Orléans. -- Séance du 30 frimaire an* XI [December 21, 1802]," *Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel* 148 (*Jeudi, 28 pluviôse an 11 de la République* [February 17, 1803]), p. 596

[250]The entire sequence of public meetings and official decisions made in Orléans and Paris (between December 1802 and February 1803) regarding whether or not to commision Gois to cast a sculpture of his *Jeanne d'Arc* for a public monument to *la Pucelle* was published together in a single issue of *Le Moniteur universel* on "*28 pluviôse an XI*" [February 17, 1803], under a column entitled "*Intérieur: Paris, le 27 pluviôse*" [February 16, 1803], a regular feature which presented the news of France's internal, domestic affairs from the previous day. Because these original documents from 1802-1803 have not been republished in modern Johannique literature, and are difficult to find, they will be quoted in this dissertation below.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fille célèbre."[251] After drawing the councilmen's attention to the model for Gois's sculpture, he announced the naming of a twelve-man commission to evaluate the *work*; and he asked that the Municipal Council agree to authorize and hear the verdict of these special commissioners *"pour...enfin statuer sur les moyen d'exécution et l'acquittement de la dépense"* for this project.[252]

The Council's decision was affirmative. They authorized the Mayor's special commission, agreeing *"en principe qu'il est de la gloire des français, et particulièrement de la ville d'Orléans, de réédifier le monument de la Pucelle, et approuve, en conséquence, la commission."*[253] Having named the twelve commission members (a mixture of politicial aides; "*amateur*" art lovers; and design and engineering professionals from Orléans), as well as a thirteenth participant (the private secretary to the Prefect, who was to report to the regional authorities on the committee's proceedings), the Mayor adjourned the

---

[251]"the wish of the inhabitants of Orléans to reestablish a monument to the honor of Jeanne d'Arc (called La Pucelle) in our city...to conserve for posterity, finally, the memory of the heroic actions of this famous girl" ("*Extraits du registre...30 frimaire*," p. 596).

[252]"in order...finally to pronounce judgement on the means of execution and the settlement of the expenses" ("*Extraits du registre...30 frimaire*," p. 596).

[253]"In principal that it is for the glory of France, and particularly the [glory] of the town of Orléans, to rebuild the monument of the Maid, to approve, accordingly, the commission..." ("*Extraits du registre...30 frimaire*," *p. 596*).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

session until "the Friday following, eleven o'clock in the morning," when the Council and Mayor were to meet again to hear the commission's findings.[254]

On *3 Nivôse* [December 24], three days later, the Mayor, the Municipal Council, and the project's commission met again to resolve the issue of whether or not to accept Gois's proposal. The commission expressed its firm support for erecting a copy of Gois's Jeanne d'Arc in their city. In their formal statement to the Mayor and city council, "*Project de prospectus d'un souscription à ouvrir pour la réédification d'un monument en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc, libératrice de la France, envahie par les Anglais, sous le règne de Charles VII*" (later reproduced in full in Le Moniteur Universel),[255] the commission indicated numerous reasons for their decision, including the desire to recall

---

[254]The special Counsel, as is described in *Le Moniteur universel*, was composed of the following individuals: "citizens Bouchet, engineer; Lebrun, architect and member of the Municipal Council; Bardin, professor of draftsmanship at the School of Civil Engineering; Rochet, architect; Colas-de-Brouville, Sr., *amateur*; Huet de Froberville, *amateur*; Devouge, painter; Seurrat de Guilleville, former alderman; Crignon-d'Ouyoner, *amateur*; Dautroche-de-Laporte, *amateur*; Delaage-Demeux, assistant to the Mayor; Debisemont, *amateur*; and Couturier, private secretary to the prefect" ("*Extraits du registre...30 frimaire*," *p. 596*).

[255]"Project of the Prospectus of a Subscription to be opened for the Reedification of a Monument in Honor of Jeanne d'Arc, liberator of France, [which was] invaded by the English under the reign of Charles VII" ("*Project de prospectus d'un souscription, pour la réédification d'un monument en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc, libératrice de la France envahie par les Anglais, sous le règne de Charles VII*," Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel 148 [*Jeudi, 28 pluviôse an XI de la République* (Thursday, February 17, 1803)]: 596).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Maid's "noble" and "miraculous successes" in French history; to atone for the ingratitude of Jeanne d'Arc's contemporaries who abandoned her to her enemies; and in order to rectify the misdeeds of a more recent regime that allowed historic statues of Jeanne d'Arc to be destroyed.

The prose style employed by the author(s) of the commission's report is dramatic and telling. In a ploy both marked and masked by the stirring tones of pomp and circumstance, magisterial authority and high emotion, the machinery of the State (here a commission of the local government, working at the behest of the town's Mayor and the prefect of the region, in cooperation with the Municipal Council) can be seen moving to reclaim Jeanne d'Arc and to sell her as a commodity to the public and to Napoléon.

Opening with a brief, and melodramatic history of *la Pucelle*'s life, the "*Project de prospectus*" called first for the commemoration of Jeanne d'Arc's "courageous actions" in a public monument, that it might stand as an reminder of the historic lessons to be learned from her lifestory:

> *Il est dans l'histoire des nations des époques à jamais mémorables, dont le souvenir doit être transmis à la postérité par des monumens publics, qui lui rapplelent sans cesse les erreurs funestes qui entraînent la patrie sur le bord du précipice, et les actions courageuses qui la sauverent d'une ruine inévitable.*
>
> *...[Sous le reigne de Charles VII] l'abattement et le consternation, suite ordinaire des longues défaits, régnaient dans l'armée des Francais, et les disposaient à porter le joug étranger qu'on leur imposait.*
>
> *Soudain une jeune héroine, honseuse de l'abaissement de la France, enthousiaste de la gloire de son pays, et fier encore d'appartenie à une nation*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

que ses revers n'avaient pas entiérement avilie, forme le noble dessein de ranimer le courage des Français, de combattre avec eux, et de vaincre les ennemis, ou de périr les armes à la main.

Le ciel sans doute, et l'amour de la patrie, lui inspirerent cette généreuse résolution; l'histoire nous offre les details des succès miraculeux qui couronnerent son dévoûment; elle vainquit les Anglais, délivra la ville d'Orléans, ranima en France l'esprit public, amena par-là l'expulsion totale de ces insulaires, et enfin, pour prix tant de services, ô honte! ô siècle de ténebres et d'ingratitude! elle fut lâchement abandonnée à ses ennemis par celui qui lui devait sa couronne et ses Etats, et les Anglais la firent brûler vive à Rouen comme sorciere.[256]

In noting the edifying quality of the proposed monument, which would recall for posterity the salvation of France from its own "disastrous errors" in the past through this young heroine's efforts, the "Prospectus" alludes not only to France's errancy during the reign of Charles VII,

---

[256]"In the history of nations, from ages eternally memorable, [there have been] disastrous errors which [have] swept the country to the edge of a precipice, and courageous actions which [have] saved it from an inevitable ruin; the memory of which should be transmitted to posterity by public monuments, which [would] recall [such events] without cessation....[Under the reign of Charles VII], despondency and consternation, [which] ordinarily follow long defeats, governed the spirit of the French, and disposed them to take the foreign yoke which was imposed on them. Suddenly a young heroine, ashamed of the abasement of France, enthusiastic for the glory of her country, and proud to belong again to a nation whose reversals had not been entirely degraded, formed the noble plan to reanimate the courage of the French, to combat with them, and to vanquish the enemy, or to perish at-arms. Heaven, without a doubt, and love of country inspired her in this generous resolution. History offers us the details of the miraculous success that crowned her devotion. She vanquished the English, delivered the city of Orléans, reanimated the French public spirit, bringing by that the total expulsion of these islanders, and finally, for the price of all this service--oh shame! o century of darkness and ingratitude!--she was abandoned to her enemies in a cowardly manner by those who were in her debt [for] their crown and their social status, and the English had her burned alive in Rouen as a sorceress ("*Project de prospectus*," p. 596).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

but also, analogously, to its more recent errors during the Revolution, as is demonstrated by the text that follows. After posing a rhetorical question that makes an unmistakable reference to the destruction of the historic monument to *la Pucelle* in Orléans by revolutionary authorities in 1792, the commission's statement continues by making a passionate appeal for the re-erection of a monument to Jeanne d'Arc as an instructive response to the wanton devastation wrought by the preceeding, bloody and "execrable," revolutionary regime:

> *Quel Francais peut voir d'un oeil sec les débris des statues élevées à cette héroïne?*
> *Si un régime à jamais exécrable a marqué par des monceaux de ruines, et par une longue trace de sang et de larmes, son passage dans notre maiheureuse [sic] patrie, hâtons-nous d'en effacer jusqu'au souvenir; qu'il n'en reste que pour servir de leçon à nos neveux; réparons nos temples, nos monumens, que l'ouragans a renversés, et gravons sur le marbre, comme dans les coeurs de tous les Francais, la reconnaissance éternelle de la patrie envers une jeune guerriere qui l'a délivrée du joug étranger.*[257]

---

[257]"What Frenchman is able to look with a dry eye at the debris of the statues erected to this heroine? If a regime forever execrable has marked its passage in our unfortunate country by the heaps of ruins, and by a long trace of blood and of tears, we hasten to efface it to the point of memory, [so] that it remains only to serve as a lesson to our descendants. We repair our temples, our monuments, that the hurricane had reversed, and we engrave upon marble, as in the hearts of the French, the eternal memory of the country back [towards] a young [female] warrior who delivered it from the foreign yoke" ("*Project de prospectus*," p. 596). While no particular regime from the French revolution is identified by name here, it may be assumed that the governmental authority being vilified in the Prospectus was that of the Convention (which ruled in France from 1792-1795), and which oversaw the long, bloody, and aptly-named Reign of Terror from 1793-1794. The iconoclastic destruction of militantly activist revolutionary factions, such as the populist *sans-culottes*, which worked outside the Convention and which were

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Drawing an analogy between France at the time of Jeanne d'Arc, and France in the present day, the "*Prospectus*" then concludes by praising the proposed monument as a timely endeavor. Having already portrayed Jeanne d'Arc as a victorious martial leader, a "Liberator" inspired by her patriotism as much as by God, who arose from the humblest social ranks of France to lead her nation to victory--in other words, having already cast Jeanne d'Arc as a proto-Napoléonic hero, the stage was set, finally, to make an implicit association between *la Pucelle* and the First Consul himself in the rousing conclusion to the committee's statement:

> *Quelle époque plus favorable à la réédification du monument national que l'on propose, que celle où un héros a donné la paix à l'Europe, aprés avoir vengé par d'innombrables victoires, l'éclat de nos armes, terni par des défaites, fruit de nos discordes intestines.*
>
> *Quel moment plus propice que celui où le guerrier pacificateur a réuni les debris de nos autels dispersés, rappelé des ministres errans et proscrits, et rétabli sur ses bases inébranlables le culte antique et sacré qui produisit tant d'hommes illustres et d'intrépides guerriers!*
>
> *Puisse ce moment éterniser dans l'ame de tous les Français le véritable amour de la patrie, la haine des factions, des discordes civiles, des étrangers qui en attisent le feu, et enfin la gratitude du Peuple Français envers ses Libératuers.*[258]

---

reponsible for much of the vast destruction to France's historic churches, monuments, and public buildings during the mid-1790s, may also have been the object of the Prospectus's condemnation.

[258]"What epoque more favorable for the reedification of a national monument that is being proposed, than this in which a hero has given peace to Europe, after innumerable victories vindicated the brilliance of our arms, formerly tarnished by defeats, [the] fruit of our discordant bowels! What moment more propitious than this in which this Warrior-Pacifier has reunited

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although unnamed, the "hero," "warrior-peacemaker," and savior of France's "ancient and sacred religion" being lauded (in an almost hyberbolic, if not also oxymoronic, manner) in the final lines of the "*Project de Prospectus*" is clearly Napoléon. The term "*[le] héros...[qui] a donné la paix à l'Europe*"[259] is an unmistakable reference to Napoléon's signing of the Treaty of Amiens with England in March 1802, which brought a longed-for--if fragile--peace to France, after six long years of war in Europe, North America, the Near East, and North Africa.[260] Similarly, the phrase "*le guerrier pacificateur...[qui] a réuni les débris de nos autels dispersés,...et rétabli sur ses bases inébranlables le culte antique et sacre*"[261] clearly alludes to the *Concordat*, an agreement signed July 15, 1801, and promulgated on April 18, 1802, reconciling relations between

---

our broken altars, recalled stray and proscribed ministers, and reestablished on their resolute foundation the ancient and sacred religion, which produced so many illustrious men and intrepid warriors! This monument would be able to perpetuate in the soul of all the French the true love of the Nation, the hatred of factions, of civil discord, of foreigners who stir the fire, and finally the gratitude of the French people towards their liberators" ("*Project de prospectus*," p. 596).

[259]"[The] hero...[who] has given peace to Europe" ("*Project de prospectus*," p. 596).

[260]The Treaty of Amiens, however, brought only a short-lived peace, as war was resumed between France and England within a year.

[261]"The Warrior-Pacifier [who] has reunited our broken altars, ...and reestablished on their resolute foundation the ancient and sacred religion..." ("*Project de prospectus*," p. 596).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Vatican and the French government, which had become estranged during the French Revolution.[262] Together, these two climactic military and diplomatic achievements are declared as establishing a moment "propitious" for the construction of a monument to the Maid of Orléans, which, according to the "*Prospectus,*" would inspire (like Napoléon's own latter-day example) patriotism, love of civil peace and harmony, and "the gratitude of the French people towards their liberators."

This conclusion to the "*Prospectus*" reveals, at least in part, the commissioners' true intent in seeking to propagate the image of Jeanne d'Arc. Not only were they hoping to advance regional pride by celebrating a heroine of great local import, as well as promoting French patriotism--*"le véritable amour de la patrie,"* but also (perhaps above all) their statement indicates that they further wanted to foster civil accord and cooperation on the part of the citizenry. By promoting Jeanne d'Arc's image as an example that might "perpetuate in the soul of all the French...the

---

[262]Although secret negotiations for the Concordat were actually completed with Pope Pius VII in July 1801, Napoléon waited nine months to promulgate the accord on Easter Sunday, April 18, 1802 (*28 Germinal An X*), in order to minimize the considerable resistence he rightly anticipated it would meet from anti-clerical forces in the French legislature. The signing of the Treaty of Amiens on March 24 (*4 Germinal An X*)--with all the attendant good will it engendered--afforded Napoléon the opportunity he needed to formally announce renewed relations with Rome. In fact, the promulgation of the *Concordat* coincided with a *Te deum* (a celebratory mass) sung on the *jour de Pâques* 1802 in the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris, in honor of both the signing of the Treaty of Amiens and the Concordat.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hatred of factions, of civil discord, of foreigners who stir the fire," the author(s) of the "*Prospectus*" display a desire to promote stability in the current social system. Longing for peace after years of revolutionary upheaval and social discord, and eager as well, perhaps, to retain their positions of power and privilege in the unsettled time following Napoléon's coup d'état in 1799, these members of the social elite of Orléans (that is, the Mayor, the Municipal Council, and Mayor's commissioners) appear to express a desire for social stability so urgent that they are willing even to ally social dissents with foreign agitators, thus rearing the ugly head of xenophobic hatred in a ploy to retain and reinforce the status quo.

This ploy of condemning those who dissent while also victimizing foreigners in an effort to build a more stable and controlled social environment has a long history in conservative and extremist politics. It has, for example, enjoyed a great deal of currency in France in recent years, where the party of the extreme right--*le Front national*--has called for the expulsion of foreigners, and the condemnation of all those of different racial, social or religious backgrounds, in the name of reviving and returning France to its (arguably) lost glory. It is not coincidental that these neo-fascists have also turned to Jeanne d'Arc as their mascot, serving not only as a symbol of France's triumphant historic past, but also standing as the indomitable figure

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of one who expelled the English from France and returned the French nation to the hands of the French King Charles VII.

Furthermore, in praising and comparing Napoléon and Jeanne d'Arc in their conclusion, it is likely that the commissioners were seeking to curry Napoléon's favor for their proposed project, as well as the favor of Napoléon's loyal followers, who held positions of considerable authority. At the same time, the commission's members also may have been endeavoring to trade on the First Consul's considerable celebrity in seeking to sell their audience (the Municipal Council, as well as the general public) on the image of Jeanne d'Arc at a time when Napoléon's popularity was at an all-time high,[263] and *la Pucelle*

---

[263]The popular approval that Napoléon enjoyed in 1802 for--among other things--having achieved both peace after six long years of war, and victory (more often than not, at least) in leading the French forces is illustrated by the print "*La joie du peuple français à l'annonce du traité de Paix avec l'Empire*" [fig. XLIII] from 1802. In this popular engraving, Napoléon's laurel-wreathed portait dominates a room crowded with jubilant French men, women and children, who are shown in various gestures of vigorous emotional expression--falling on their knees with joy, casting their eyes to heaven with the transported rapture of relief, while shouting and waving their hands with excitement and pleasure. This sentiment is augmented in the print by a lengthy caption, which sports such exclamations as "*La paix Grand-Dieu! La paix quelle nouvelle!...,*" as well as such praise for Napoléon as "*ce Héros aimable, si redoute, si sage...!*" ["Peace Great-God! Peace what News!...this amiable hero, so formidable, so wise..."]. Proof of the trust and admiration felt by the French people towards their First Consul during the Autumn of 1802 is even more vividly demonstrated, perhaps, by a single event--a direct vote of the people, held shortly after the Treaty of Amiens was signed, to redetermine the future of Napoléon's rule as First Consul in France (three years after he wrested control of the government from the hands of the Directory in a coup d'état). In a plebiscite held on August 2, 1802 (*14 Thermidor An X*), Napoléon was granted--by a majority of 3½ million to 8

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d'Orléans's image was only just emerging from the shadow of Voltaire's ridiculous satire.

The response of Orléans's Municipal Council to the commission's "*Project de prospectus...pour la réédification d'un monument en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc*" was enthusiastic. They not only voted unanimously for "*le réerection de ce monument vraiment national*," they also moved to adopt the commission's statement in full.[264] And in voting their unanimous assent to the proposal that Gois's statue be employed in re-installing a monument to Jeanne d'Arc in their city, the Council made specific reference to its comparison between Jeanne d'Arc's day and the modern day, calling her era an "*aussi belle époque*" as their own.[265] Confident that a statue of Jeanne d'Arc would elicit the support not only of Orléanais citizens, but also the favor of the French people, who would be "jealous of contributing to perpetuating the memory" of Jeanne d'Arc,

---

thousand--the title of First Consul for life [Cobban, A History of Modern France, vol. 2, p. 16]. Thus, by associating Jeanne d'Arc with one of the most brilliant, audacious, and (for a time) popular leaders of the new century--a man admired then by some of the most prominent figures of his day, Goethe and Beethoven included--the Maid's own, newly rehabilitated persona may have benefited in return.

[264]"The re-erection of this truly national monument" ("*Extrait du registre des arrêtés du conseil municipal d'Orléans. -- Séance du 3 nivôse an* XI [December 24, 1802]," *Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel* 148 [*Jeudi, 28 pluviôse an 11 de la République* (February 17, 1803)], p. 596).

[265]"equally noble epoch" ("*Projet.*" *Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel* 148 [*Jeudi, 28 pluviôse an XI de la République* (February 17, 1803)], p. 596).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Municipal Council voted further to request permission from the National authorities to "open a subscription" to raise funds for a bronze casting of Gois's statue.

In so doing, the Municipal Council followed the proposal made by Gois to Colas de Brouville and the city of Orléans in November 1802. Indeed (as is clearly stated in the minutes of their December 24 meeting), the Council deliberately elected to follow "*la proposition faite par le Citoyen Gois, Artiste-Statuaire, de réédifier dans cette Ville une statue de Jeanne d'Arc*"[266] in virtually every detail. They announced, for example, that a commemorative medal would be struck, which--as Gois had suggested--would represent "*d'un côte, la tête du premier Consul; et de l'autre, le Monument réédifié, et dont les inscriptions rappelleront cette époque.*"[267] This medal was to be given (as Gois had also proposed) "*aux seules personnes qui auront souscrit pour la réérection du Monument.*"[268]

With the permission of the prefect of the Département, copies of these minutes (or "*procès-verbal*") of the

---

[266]"The proposition made by the Citizen Gois, Artist-Sculptor, to rebuild in this city a statue of Joan of Arc" ("*Projet,*" p. 596).

[267]"on one side the head of the First Consul, and on the other, the monument to be rebuilt, with some inscriptions which will recall this epoque." ("Project," p. 596). The artist's suggestion to Colas de Brouville was virtually identical, see above.

[268]"To individual persons who will have subscribed for the re-erection of the monument" ("*Project,*" p. 596).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Municipal Council's sessions on December 21 and 24, 1802, were sent to Paris for the approval of the First Consul. Napoléon's assent was given with alacrity. On *"le 10 pluviôse an XI"* [January 30, 1803], he inscribed his approval for Orléans's proposed monument to Jeanne d'Arc on the margins of the Council's *"procès-verbal."* These remarks, recounted the following month in *Le Moniteur Universel* (and often quoted since in Jeanne d'Arc literature) are remarkable:

> *Ecrire au citoyen Crignon-Désormeaux, maire d'Orléans, que cette déliberation m'est très-agréable.*
> *L'illustre Jeanne d'Arc a prouvé qu'il n'est pas de miracle que le génie français ne puisse produire dans les circonstances où l'indépendance nationale est menacée.*
> *Unie, la nation française n'a jamais été vaincue; mais nos voisins plus calculateurs et plus adroits, abusant de la franchise et de la loyauté de notre caractere, semerent constamment parmi nous ces dissentions, d'où naquirent les calamités de cette époque et tous les désastres que rappelle notre histoire.*[269]

Passionate and politically charged, the First Consul's words represent the apotheosis of Jeanne d'Arc as a heroine remade

---

[269]"Write to citizen Crignon-Désormeaux, mayor of Orléans, that this deliberation is very pleasing to me. The illustrious Joan of Arc proved that there is no miracle that the French genius cannot produce when the conditions are propitious or when our national independence is endangered. United, the French nation has never been vanquished; but our more calculating and more adroit neighbors, abusive of the sincerity and loyalty of our character, sowed among us these dissensions constantly, from which was born the calamities of this epoque and all the disasters that our history recalls" (Quoted in *Le Moniteur Universel* 148 [*28 pluviôse an* XI (February 17, 1803)], p. 596). This document, with Napoléon's handwritten remarks, is conserved today at the Centre Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans [fig. XLV].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in the image of Napoléonic desire--as an illustrious, even miraculous personification of French genius, stalwart and indomitable in the face of danger.

For Napoléon, Jeanne d'Arc's life presented a clear example of patriotism, courage and valor for his followers and compatriots to emulate, while to his enemies (both abroad and at home) her unlikely triumphs represented a lesson not to interfere with France's domestic affairs and not to presume abusively upon the good will of the French people--for, as Napoléon wrote (with a deliberately aggressive tone), "United, the French nation has never been vanquished."[270]

In blaming France's *"voisins plus calculateurs et plus adroits"* for *"les calamités"* and *"les désastres"* of French history, both recent and past, Napoléon was pointing beyond France's borders for the origins of its internal ills (expressing a sentiment not unlike that asserted by Orléans's commissioners in condemning together "*des*

---

[270]The Johannique scholar Georges Goyau has even suggested that Napoléon's celebration of the image of Jeanne d'Arc was meant as a direct affront to the English, at a time when the First Consul was preparing to break the Treaty of Amiens with Britain--as, in fact, he did, three months after writing his epistle on Jeanne d'Arc. On May 12, 1803, France resumed war against Britain. As Goyau wrote: "*L'heure approchait où l'on allait rompre la paix d'Amiens; Jeanne, qui avait humilié le nom anglais, devenait un auxiliaire pour les desseins de Bonaparte*" ["The hour approached when the Peace of Amiens would be broken; Joan, who had humiliated the English name, became an accessary in Napoléon's plans"] (Georges Goyau, Sainte Jeanne d'Arc: les étapes d'une gloire religieuse [Paris: Henri Laurens, 1920], p. 113).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

discordes civiles" and "*des étrangers qui attisent le feu*" in their "*Project de prospectus*").[271] In so doing, the conqueror, who came to power and ruled as First Consul through waging and winning wars abroad and by ruthlessly suppressing opponents of the new order at home, declared his manifesto of military and social hegemony in an ostensible celebration of "the illustrious Jeanne d'Arc."

Napoléon had, it might be argued, numerous reasons to support and promote Jeanne d'Arc's image during his years as First Consul. A vibrant and rousing figure of military might and patriotic inspiration (as stirring as Ossian or Hercules,[272] but with the added advantage of being historic, rather than mythic, and wholly French), Jeanne d'Arc offered

---

[271]""Civil discord," "foreigners who stir the fire" ("*Projet de prospectus*," p. 596). Napoléon's tendency to severely criticize his enemies, in an effort to win domestic support, was noted by Robert Holtman, who described it as a rather heavy-handed propagandistic device. "Napoleon's message," Holtman wrote, "less subtly stated than is true of modern propaganda, included castigation of the enemy. (Of Great Britain, Napoléon's most persistent opponent, he said, for example, 'It is too bad Hell is not at England's disposal; she would vomit it over the whole universe')" (quoted by Holtman, The Napoleonic Revolution, p. 164; for a further dicussion of Napoleon's systematic use of propaganda, see also pp. 163-178).

[272]For a discussion of Hercules as an image that enjoyed sporadic popularity as symbolic representation of French strength during the *ancien regime* and the French Revolution, see Maurice Agulhon, Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 13-14; J.B. Gaignebet, "*Essai sur le cheminement d'Hercule au cours de l'Histoire de France*," Provence historique 99 (January-March 1975), pp. 111-124; and Lynn Hunt, Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution (1984), already noted in Chapter 1 above. For a brief discussion of the image of Ossian, see above, Chapter 5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

an heroic image for the French people that was unburdened with an overt and compromising association with the Revolution.[273] Unlike Marianne, the female allegory of the Republic, Jeanne d'Arc made no discomforting promises of liberty (promises that Napoléon had no intention of keeping, however much he portrayed himself as the heir apparent of the Revolution during his tenure as First Consul).

Nevertheless, the association between Jeanne d'Arc and Marianne is an apt one. While distinctly different images in origin and symbolic import (one was allied with the left--the Republic, the other with the right--the Monarchy; one was allegorical, while the other was historic), these two women have a number of attributes in common. Young, female, evocative of strength and virtue, each woman seemed to offer, for a time, a viable, coherent and unifying symbol for France (such as might be reproduced on coins or

---

[273]While Joan of Arc might have been dismissed during the time of the Consulate as a figure tainted by an historic association with the Monarchy, she was not, perhaps due to the careful manner in which she was retrieved then. For example, in the rhetoric of Gois, the commission, the Municipal Council of Orléans, and Napoléon, great care is taken *not* to mention Jeanne d'Arc's principal role in placing Charles VII on the throne of France. Rather her principal accomplishment is recast, portraying her as "France's savior," delivering the French *people* (rather than the French throne) from the hands of the English invaders. Similarly, the King, when he is mentioned at all, is portrayed in a pejorative light. In the "*Project de Prospectus,*" for example, Charles VII is shown to be weak, ineffectual and ungrateful to the Maid for her "miraculous successes" in "vanquishing the English, delivering the city of Orléans, reanimating the French public spirit,...[and bringing thereby] the total expulsion of these islanders [the English]." Note that no mention is made, here, of Jeanne d'Arc's vital role in bringing Charles to Reims for his coronation in 1429.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

monuments) in the iconographic vacuum left in the wake of successive social upheavals so profound that they overthrew the nation's very self-identity.[274] Liberty (popularly called "Marianne," in the later nineteenth century) filled the vacuum left by the downfall of the French Monarchy, which took with it the image of the King as the embodiment of the State.[275] Similarly, Jeanne d'Arc came to the fore after the collapse of the Revolution rendered, in turn, the image of Liberty problematic.

The link between these politically divergent figures (Marianne being a mascot of the Left, Jeanne d'Arc a heroine of the Right) is most clearly illustrated when one compares one of the first post-revolutionary representations of the Maid, Voyez's engraving of Janne-Darc [sic] [fig. XI], to a popular print of the Republican personification, *La Liberté: Patronne des Républicains francais indivisible et invincible*

---

[274]For a thorough and ground-breaking study on the image of Marianne as the personification of Liberty and the French Republic, as well as an incisive discussion of the notion of a single unifying symbol standing as the representation of a national entity, see Maurice Aguhlon, Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880 (already cited above) and Maurice Aguhlon, *Marianne au Pouvoir: L'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1880 à 1914* (Paris: Flammarion, 1989).

[275]Liberty, the allegorical figure of a young woman dressed in a Roman tunic, represented the Republic officially for the first time in September 1792, when she was chosen for the first seal of the new government, replacing the image of the King, whose portrait theretofore personified the royal state.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

by F. Bonneville [fig. XLVI].[276] Voyez's *Pucelle* (which may have later inspired Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc*) is a reverse image--a direct copy--of Bonneville's *La Liberté*. That is to say, in dress, physique, and demeanor, the women are virtually identical. Both Liberty and Jeanne d'Arc wear the same classical drapery gathered at the shoulders with a medallion; both women are wearing a baldric with the hilt of a sword at their side. In fact, the only notable distinction between Bonneville's Liberty and Voyez's Jeanne d'Arc may be found in the absence of a tricolored sash around the waist of Jeanne d'Arc, and in the different hats the women wear. In a manner more suitable for a post-Brumaire heroine, Liberty's phrygian cap,[277] adorned with a jaunty sprig of laurel, gives way to a feathered hat (such as was believed, erroneously, in the early nineteenth century to be an historic attribute of Jeanne d'Arc's dress).[278]

---

[276]Voyez's Maid is a mirror image (literally--note the reversal of the composition) of Bonneville's Liberty, which indicates that Voyez copied his Janne-Darc directly from Bonneville's *La Liberté*.

[277]In deference, probably, to those who opposed women's active participation in the Revolution (and who, therefore, objected to women wearing the politically charged "*bonnet rouge*" in public), the female personification of Liberty was usually shown during the first Republic carrying the phrygian cap on a pike, rather than wearing it on her head, as Bonneville's *Liberté* does. [See above, for further discussion on the phrygian cap and the role of women during the Revolution].

[278]For a further discussion of this feathered hat, and its long tradition in Johannique iconography, see below. Note: Voyez copied Bonneville's print so closely that his Jeanne d'Arc even

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In standing for the hopes and aspirations of a body politic, offering a symbolic manifestation of "*le génie français*" in 1802, Jeanne d'Arc represented for Napoléon a suitable successor to Liberty. An image of martial strength and national unity, Joan of Arc's historic persona also offered Napoléon the added attribute of a strong religious conviction (an attribute conspicuously absent, for example, from the wholly secular personification of Liberty) at a time when the First Consul was working to revitalize and reorganize the Catholic Church in France with the signing of the Concordat in the Spring of 1802.[279]

This formal agreement with the Vatican marked the crowning achievement in Napoléon's efforts to bring the largely refractory authorities then governing the Church of France under his direct control, while at the same time reinvigorating the faith of the people, which Napoléon saw as serving a distinct political purpose in reinforcing the necessary social order.[280] It was, however, by no means the

---

wears the same branch of laurel on her plumed toque.

[279]Napoléon's efforts were not hindered, it might be noted, by the publication of François-René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand's publication of his famous apology for Catholicism, *Le Génie du Christianisme* in 1802.

[280]Napoléon was, on numerous occasions, quite candid in expressing his political reasons for fostering religious observance in France. To an assembly of clergy in Milan in June 1800, for example, Napoléon said: "No society can exist without morality. But there is no good morality without religion. Religion alone can give the state firm and lasting support" (quoted by Bernard Reardon, Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-Century France [Cambridge:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

last of Napoléon's efforts to restore the observance of the Catholic faith among the French people. In 1804, for example, Napoléon had a propagandistic print issued that promoted an image of divine and papal blessings being bestowed upon his newly proclaimed Imperial rule in France [fig. XLVII] *Dieu et le chef de l'Eglise protège Napoléon*;[281] while in February 1806, Napoléon announced (with, perhaps, as much hubris as concern for fostering French faith) that a new saint's day would be celebrated in France--"the Feast of Saint Napoleon, Roman Officer and Martyr" [fig. XLIII]. In the very title of his imperial decree announcing the new feast day bearing his name, "*Décret impérial concernant la fête de Saint Napoléon et celle du rétablissement de la religion catholique en*

Cambridge University Press, 1975], p. 2). Similarly, in outlining the basic tenents of his agreement with the Vatican, he said in June 1801: "Fifty émigré bishops, paid by England, today guide the French clergy. Their influence must be destroyed; for that, the pope's authority is necessary. He must dismiss them or make them resign. It is said that, as the Catholic religion is followed by the majority of Frenchmen, its practice must be organized. The First Consul appoints fifty bishops, the pope institutes them. They appoint the *curés*, the state gives them a salary. They take the oath. Priests who do not submit are deported. Those who preach against the government are handed over to their superiors for punishment. The pope confirms the sale of the clergy's possessions: he consecrates the Republic....They will say that I am a papist; I am nothing at all; in Egypt I was a Mohammedan; here I will be a Catholic for the good of the people" [Quoted in Furet, p. 226]

[281]"God and the Head of the Church protect Napoléon." Declared "Hereditary Emperor of the French" on 28 *Floréal An* XII (May 18, 1804), Napoléon crowned himself head of the Holy Roman Empire in a ceremony attended by Pope Pius VII at Notre Dame cathedral on 11 *Frimaire An* XIII (December 2, 1804).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

France,"[282] Napoléon declared his intention that this religious celebration was to serve as a further component of his administration's on-going effort to foster the reestablishment of the Catholic religion in France [fig. IL]. Similarly, in 1803 (ten months after the signing of the Concordat) Napoléon's support for a monument to *Jeanne d'Arc* may have been, in part, an effort to promote the public recognition of a French heroine with a strong historic, religious association.

Ironically, in the later nineteenth century, Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* was criticized for not being religious enough. In 1855, for example, Dupont wrote of Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc*: "*Je cherche sur ce front un rayon de foi, et je le cherche en vain.*"[283] Similarly, at the end of the nineteenth century, F.E. Desnoyers faulted Gois for emphasizing the Maid's war-like demeanor, while admitting no trace of her "inspiration from God":

> "...*Jeanne était plus qu'une guerrière: elle était l'inspirée de Dieu et de la patrie, et Gois l'a oublié. Tout est lá militaire, belliqueux; la fille des champs, la messagère du ciel, ne se voient pas sur cette figure au type grec....*"[284]

---

[282]"Imperial Decree Concerning the Feast of Saint Napoleon and that of the Reestablishment of the Catholic Religion in France."

[283]"I search over this countenance for a glimmering of faith, and I search in vain" (Dupont, p. 101).

[284]"Joan was more than a warrior: she was also inspired by God and patriotism, and Gois forgot that. Everything there is warlike, bellicose; the country girl, the messenger from heaven, cannot be seen in this Grecian-type of figure..." (F.E.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

And, indeed, it might be conceded that Gois's presentation of Jeanne d'Arc placed no particular emphasis on the religious aspects of his subject. In depicting Jeanne d'Arc's furled banner, for example, clutched in the *Pucelle*'s right hand, the sculptor indicated no details on its partially concealed surface; thus the religious insignia--"Jesus-Maria"--that Jeanne d'Arc so proudly proclaimed on her standard is not visible in Gois's rendering.[285] Similarly, Gois's Maid makes no overt gestural or facial references to spiritual inspiration; unlike, for example, the seventeenth century monument to Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans, which portrayed the Maid kneeling before a pietà [fig. IV], or such later *Pucelle*s as Marie d'Orléans's reverent *Jeanne d'Arc en prière* (1839) [fig. XL], Henri Chapu's kneeling *Jeanne d'Arc en prière* (1870)

Desnoyers, *L'Iconographie de Jeanne d'Arc* [Orléans: H. Herluison, 1891], p. 11).

[285]The Maid's banner is described in her trial transcripts (Tuesday, February 27, 1431) in great detail: "Asked whether, when she went to Orleans, she had a standard or banner, in French *estandart ou banière*, and what colour it was, she answered she had a banner, with a field sown with lilies; the world was depicted on it, and two angels, one on each side; it was white, of white linen or boucassin, and on it were written, she thought, these names, JHESUS MARIA; and it was fringed with silk. Asked if these names JHESUS MARIA were written above, or below, or at the side, she answered, at the side she believed....Asked who persuaded her to have this painting on her standard, she answered: 'I have told you often enough that I have done nothing but by God's command'" (Barrett, p. 73). [The Maid's lack of surety regarding the words on her banner may be attributed to her illiteracy.] For an illustration of what her banner may have looked like, see Harmand's attempted reconstruction [fig. XXXI] (Adrien Harmand, *Jeanne d'Arc: ses costumes, son armure* [Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1929], fig. 17, p. 297).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[fig. XXXII], or even J.-A.-D. Ingres's *Jeanne d'Arc au sacre du roi Charles VII, dans la cathédrale de Reims* (1854) [fig. XXXIII], which portrays the Maid with her hand on an altar and her eyes raised towards heaven.

Nevertheless, in the artist's own day, the religious implications of his sculpture's image did not escape notice. In fact, Gois's image of *la Pucelle* (or rather the attention which his sculpture drew to the subject of Jeanne d'Arc after it was commissioned as a public monument) sparked a vigorous debate in the first decade of the nineteenth century on the issue of the Maid of Orléans's religiosity. While many clergy and *croyant* proclaimed her faithfulness, anti-clerics, atheists and others lined up--not against the image of Jeanne d'Arc herself[286]--but rather against the notion that her astounding accomplishments represented the product of a devout religious fervor.

Many incredulous and anti-clerical authors during the Consulate and First Empire endeavored to minimize any religious associations in the Maid's biography, including, for example, Pierre Chaussard, the skeptical and anti-monarchical author of the early nineteenth century study

---

[286]Throughout the nineteenth century, however repeatedly Jeanne d'Arc was employed as a mascot by the Right (even when she was adopted, at times, by extremist, xenophobic, anti-semitic, and anti-suffragist forces), she was never fully abandoned by the Left. As, for example, Léon Gambetta (one of the founders of the Third Republic) declared, in countering criticism of her as an image of the opposition: "*On ne touche pas à Jeanne d'Arc.*" (See footnote **58** above).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jeanne d'Arc: recueil, historique et complet (1806). In his work, which highly praised Gois's sculpture for its "*caractère de grandeur et de stabilité*," as well as the subject of *Jeanne d'Arc*, which the author described as "*le plus extraordinaire de notre histoire*," Chaussard sought to cast doubt on the idea that Jeanne d'Arc was divinely inspired.[287] As Chaussard wrote, questioning not only Jeanne's revelations, but also the idea that she was sent by God to reestablish the Monarchy:

> *Il est toujours incertain que Jeanne d'Arc ait été suscitée de Dieu pour rétablir la monarchie Française, plus incertain qu'elle ait eu des révélations, comme il parait que l'Auteur*[288] *le croit trop légèrement sur la foi de ses Manuscripts.*[289]

---

[287]"character of grandeur and stability,""the most extraordinary of our history" ([Pierre Jean Baptiste] Chaussard, *Jeanne d'Arc: recueil, historique et complet* [Orléans: Chez Darnault-Maurant, Imprimeur-Libraire, Éditeur, 1806], pp. 457, 481).

[288]The author to whom Chaussard is referring is the scholar and cleric Nicolas Lenglet-Dufresnoy, author of one of the earliest and most enduringly famous histories on the life of Jeanne d'Arc, *L'Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, vierge, héroïne et martyre d'état, suscitée par la providence pour rétablir la Monarchie Françoise* (1752), which propounded the notion that Jeanne d'Arc was divinely inspired.

[289]"It has always been uncertain whether Jeanne d'Arc was called by God to reestablish the French Monarchy, even more uncertain is whether she had revelations, as it appears that the Author [Lenglet-Dufresnoy] believed too easily in the faith of his manuscripts"(Chaussard, p. 375).

While Chaussard conceded that Jeanne d'Arc probably acted in good faith in asserting her belief in divine inspiration, he believed that she was duped by her enemies: "*Elle était de bonne foi dans la ferme croyance de l'inspiration divine, ...elle a été par conséquence une victime parfaitement innocente de la fureur de ses ennemis*" ["She was of good faith in the firm belief in divine inspiration,...she was consequently a perfectly innocent victim to the furor of her enemies"] (Chaussard, p. 192). It was

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Others authors, such as Théodore Bouys, sought to explain Jeanne d'Arc's mysterious voices and astounding victories in scientific terms. Bouys, author of the 1806 study *Nouvelles considerations puisées dans la clairvoyence instinctive de l'homme sur les oracles, les sibylles et les prophètes et particulièrement sur Nostradamus*, for example, asserted that:

> *touts les prodiges, et touts les merveilles que [l'histoire de Jeanne d'Arc] contient, trouvent une explication naturelle, qui nous délivre de la due nécessité de nier absolument des faits qui, par le concours des historiens, des pièces déposées au procès de Jeanne, et des actes publics consignés dans les registres des parlemens de France et d'Angleterre, sont ce que nous avons de plus authentique.*[290]

This "*explication naturelle*" for Jeanne d'Arc's "*merveilles*" was, according to Bouys, "la *clairvoyance instinctive*" and "*le somnabulisme magnétique*," which Bouys defined as a kind of sixth sense awakened when a subject becomes

---

these enemies, according to Chaussard, who had her burned "*comme sorcière et sacrilége, en sort que la religion servit de prétexte à cette honteuse vengence, qu'il faut après tout attribuer à la barbarie de ces tems*"[sic] ["as a sorceress and sacrilegious person, so that religion served as the pretext for this shameful vengeance, which should be attributed after all to the barbarism of the time"] (Chaussard, p. 470).

[290]"All the marvels which [the history of Jeanne d'Arc] contains, find a natural explanation, which frees us from the painful necessity of having to absolutely deny the accomplishments which, with the concurrence of historians, of documents introduced at the trial of Jeanne, and the public acts deposited in the registers of the parliaments of France and England, we hold to be the most authentic" (Théodore Bouys, *Nouvelles considerations puisées dans la clairvoyence instinctive de l'homme sur les oracles, les sibylles et les prophètes et particulièrement sur Nostradamus* [Paris: Desenne, Debray, 1806], p. 158).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"somnambulant" (that is, when the subject enters what is now called a trance-like or hypnotic state). According to Bouys, it was in fact such "instinctive clairvoyance" that inspired the "ancient oracles and sibyls," as well as the biblical and "modern" prophets (such as Nostradamus and Jeanne d'Arc) in making their prophesies.[291]

Among those, by contrast, calling for the recognition of Jeanne d'Arc's religious faith in the first decade of the nineteenth century was Étienne-Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste-Marie Bernier, Bishop of Orléans. Inspired, apparently, by Napoléon's approval for Orléans's request to erect Gois's sculpture as a monument to Jeanne d'Arc (publicly announced in *Le Moniteur Universel* on February 17, 1803), Bernier

---

[291]"natural explanations," "marvels," "instinctive clairvoyance" and "magnetic somnambulism" (Bouys, pp. vi, and 158). Bouy's derived the term "magnetic somnambulism" from the theories of "animal magnetism" propounded by Franz Mesmer (1734-1815) in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Mesmer and his followers held that by drawing energy from the "magnetic flux" (an external force-field of power), subjects placed into a state of "somnambulism" (ie. an hypnotic trance) could be "magnetized," thereby gaining astounding powers of clairvoyance. In a tangentially related subject (linking Jeanne d'Arc and the subject of hypnotism in nineteeth century France), Kenneth McConkey has suggested that the painting Joan of Arc Listening to Voices (1879) by Jules Bastien-Lepage reflects Bastiens's interest in the experiments of Jean Martin Charcot, a famous nineteenth century physician who treated patients with mental and nervous disorders at La Saltpêtrière hospital in Paris through the use of hypnosis. Charcot's research and lectures on hysteria and hypnosis, attended by Bastien-Lepage, were an early influence on Sigmund Freud. (For further information, see Kenneth McConkey, "Listening to the Voices: A Study of Some Aspects of Jules Bastien-Lepage's 'Joan of Arc Listening to the Voices'," Arts LVI [January 1982], pp. 154-160). In understanding historic conceptions of "animal magnetism and "magnetic somnambulism," the author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Dr. David M. Wark, Diplomate, American Board of Psychological Hypnosis.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

wrote to Jean Portalis (one of the authorities of the Council of State) to obtain permission to reestablish the annual *fête de Jeanne d'Arc* in Orléans.[292] In his letter dated February 22, 1803, Bernier called for the religious commemoration of the Maid's defeat of the English forces at Orléans, insisting that it was divine inspiration that enabled Jeanne d'Arc to accomplish this miraculous "event:"

> *La religion ne peut être étrangère au souvenir d'un événement qui prouve jusqu'à quel point elle peut enflammer le courage des guerriers et donner au sexe le plus faible des sentiments au-dessus de ses forces.*[293]

Napoléon's support for Jeanne d'Arc as a religious figure is evidenced by the decision which his administration made in deciding to grant Bernier's request to reinstitute the annual *fête de Jeanne d'Arc* in Orléans. As Portalis wrote in offical response to Bernier's letter, on "6 ventôse an XI de la Republic"[294]:

> *«J'ai présenté au Premier Consul, monsieur l'évêque, votre projet de rétablir les cérémonies religieuses qui avaient autrefois lieu en mémoire de*

---

[292]Held annually in Orléans on the eighth of May, from the fifteenth century until it was discontinued by the revolutionary government in 1793, the *fête de Jeanne d'Arc* celebrated the lifting of the siege of the city. For further information on the Joan of Arc festival in Orléans, see above.

[293]"Religion cannot be estranged from the memory of an event which proves to what extent [religion] can enflame the courage of warriors and give to the weakest sex the underlying feeling of its strength" (Quoted in Marot, *De la réhabilitation a la glorification de Jeanne d'Arc*, *p. 119)*.

[294]"6 ventôse Year XI [February 25, 1803] of the Republic" (Quoted in Jacques-Henri Bauchy, *Une fête pas comme les autres (550 ans de fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc)* [Orléans: Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1978], p. 38).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

la délivrance d'Orléans par la Pucelle.
«Il approuve entièrement ce projet, et il a trouvé dans votre proposition un nouveau témoignage de votre empressement à faire concourir la religion à tout ce qui peut être honorable pour la Nation Français.»[295]

It is, of course, not surprising that Napoléon favored Bernier's petition, since it followed the First Consul's own suggestion to revive the festival in 1802, in an effort to promote religious observance in France. What is illuminating, however, is the candor with which Napoléon expressed his reasons for supporting Bernier's efforts. Not mincing any words with professions of profound religious sentiment, Napoléon admitted that he approved Bernier's project because he recognized in this prominent cleric (who had assisted in the negotiations for the Concordat) a "willingness to make religion cooperate" with his government. Napoléon was not errant in his judgement. In planning Orléans's 1803 Jeanne d'Arc festival, Bernier warmly repaid Napoléon by tying the observance of religious faith and the recognition of Jeanne d'Arc's valor and piety with the firm support of Napoléon's rule in France. In Bernier's offical declaration announcing the reestablishment of the *fête*, for example, the Bishop made it clear to whom the citizens of Orléans owed their gratitude not only for

---

[295]"I presented to the First Consul, Monsieur the Bishop, your project for reestablishing the religious ceremonies which had formerly [been] a reminder of the deliverance of Orléans by the Pucelle. / He entirely approved of this project, and he found in your proposition new evidence of your willingness to make religion cooperate with all that may be honorable for the French Nation" (Bauchy, pp. 37-38).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the permission to celebrate once again the Maid of Orléans's historic liberation of their home, and for the reestabliment of religious faith in France, but also for the victorious legacy of their leader, whose strength "makes all of Europe tremble." As Bernier wrote:

> *Aujourd'hui les temps sont changés: la reconnoissance [sic] public a repris tous ses droits, la Religion son empire, la vertu son éclat. Conquérant qui fit trembler l'Europe, relève en même temps la colonne érigée dans les champs d'Ivry, & le monument de l'immortelle Jeanne d'Arc au milieu d'Orléans.*[296]

Similarly, in commissioning a new hymn on "the Mission of Joan of Arc" for the festivities, Bernier offered further praise for the First Consul, while at the same time promoting Napoléon's vision of French patriotism and martial spirit.[297] In the song's final verses, in Latin and French, (and "composed to the rhythm of «*Horatien*»")[298], the faithful of France are called to emulate Jeanne d'Arc in being courageous, fearless, and bold. At the same time, their leader, Napoléon, is portrayed as a brilliant successor to the valiant and divinely-inspired maiden, who rescued France from a craven defeat:

---

[296]"Today, times have changed: public recognition resumed all of its rights, religion [has resumed] its empire, virtue its radiance. [The] Conqueror who makes all of Europe tremble, raises at the same time the column erected in the fields of Ivry, and the monument of the immortal Jeanne d'Arc in the midst of Orléans" (Reproduced in Marie-François Pradelle, "*Les Fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc a Orléans au XIXème et au debut du XXème siècle*," Orléans, France, 1982, p. 61) (Typewritten.) [CJA: 9.41 PRA]

[297]Cochard, p. 22.

[298]Cochard, p. 22.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

... V

Non bello proceres eligis milites;
Terrarum dominos per famulam juvas;
Torpent castra metu: fœmina prosilit
Vindex ex humili casa.

Comme soldats, vous ne prenez pas les grands. Aux maitres du monde, vous prêtez l'appui d'une bergerette. La peur hypnotise le soldat: d'une humble chaumière, une femme s'élance pour nous venger.

VI

Cui sic Omnipotens: Surge, Deus jubet;
Prœ te, terribilis fulguret Angelus;
Prœ te, virgo, tremant corda virilia
Ferratœque ruant fores.

Le Tout-Puissant lui dit: «Va, Duie le veut! Que devant toi lance ses foudres le terrible Archange! Que devant toi, jeune fille, tremblent les hommes, et tombent les portes de fer.

VII

Audax carpe viam; dux adero tibi,
Per te suscipient regna novum decus,
Quœ prolapsa gravi clade tuebitur
Rursum Napoleo meus.

«Hardiment, marche en avant; je serai ton Chef. Par toi, le royaume va recevoir un nouveau lustre; et quand plus tard, il succombera dans une horrible défaite, c'est Napoléon, mon élu, qui le relèvera.»[299]

Bernier's flattery to Napoléon echoes the homage tendered by the Municipal Council of Orléans in soliciting

---

[299] V

"Like soldiers, you do not take the great. / To the masters of the world, you lend the support of a shepherdess. / Fear hypnotizes the soldier: from a humble cottage, / a woman springs to avenge us.

VI

"The All-Powerful says to her: «Go, that is God's desire! / Before you the terrible Archangel throws his thunder! / Before you, young girl, men tremble, / and gates of iron fall.

VII

"«Boldly, march forward; I will be your Leader. / Through you, the realm will receive a new luster; and when later, it succumbs in a horrible defeat, / it is Napoléon, my Chosen one, who will raise it up again" (Quoted in Cochard, pp. 23-24).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Napoléon's support, which is not surprising given that Bernier (like the City of Orléans) owed a debt to the First Consul and to his deputies, not only for permission to revive the Joan of Arc commemoration in Orléans, but also for being placed by him in charge of the festivities--which ended the over three-hundred year tradition of the Mayor of Orléans holding the authority to organize the festival. For, while the Mayor Crignon des Ormeaux had some minor authority in organizing the solemn festivities at the 1803 *fête de Jeanne d'Arc*,[300] for the first time in Orléanais history, it was by the official order of the Bishop that the event was held.[301]

Under Bernier's direction, such traditional secular entertainments as the costumed Pucelle (a young girl dressed as the Maid of Orléans) and the award to the most virtuous Orléanais maiden--regular components of the Joan of Arc festival in Orléans before the Revolution--were

---

[300]Crignon de Ormeaux was responsible, however, only for such relatively minor details in organizing the *fête de Jeanne d'Arc* as determining where the participants in the festival's traditional parade would stand. (See Pradelle, for a copy of the Mayor's proclamation).

[301]*Mandement de Monsieur l'évêque d'Orléans, qui ordonne le rétablissement de la Fête de la délivrance de cette ville par Jeanne d'Arc, connue sous le nom de Pucelle d'Orléans* ["Pastoral Letter of Monsieur, the Bishop of Orléans, who orders the reestablishment of the Festival of the Deliverance of this City by Jeanne d'Arc, known by the name of the Maid of Orléans"]. This document from 1803 is conserved today at the Centre Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

abandoned.[302] The only ostensibly secular events scheduled for the fête were a concert of martial music, and the inauguration of a plaster version of Gois's sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc, which had been completed by then. (It was decided by the Mayor and the Municipal Council that this provisional sculpture would be erected in Orléans's town square in order to elicit the support of the public in raising funds for a final bronze version of the sculpture).

Held in conjunction with the *fête de la Pucelle* on May 8-9, 1803, the ceremony inaugurating Gois's sculpture, was a simple one, matching the still humble state of the work, which (not yet cast in bronze) took the form of a plaster cast set on a wooden pedestal in the Place du Martroi in Orléans. There was a concert of martial music and a procession, which included members of the clergy and the national guard, municipal and national authorities (including military officers, the Prefect, and the President of the Tribunal), as well as "*les pauvres des deux sexes de l'hôpital général*" (presumably as a chastening image of charity).[303] And the following day, at *la cathédrale Sainte-Croix*, a solemn mass was held "for the repose of the soul of Jeanne d'Arc and of the warriors who died in the

---

[302]See above.

[303]"the poor of both sexes from the general hospital" (Pradelle, p. 31).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

siege of Orléans,"[304] with a sermon--or, as it was traditionally known, "*un panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc*"--delivered by M. Corbin, "*chanoîne, grand chantre de Ste-Croix.*"[305] Thus, on the 374th anniversary of the lifting of the siege of Orléans, religion, art and politics came together in the observation of the *fête de Jeanne d'Arc* and the dedication of a sculpture to la Pucelle d'Orléans.

Clearly, the efforts of Gois, the Municipal Council of Orléans, the Mayor of Orléans, and the Mayor's special commission were vindicated in Napoléon's seizing upon Jeanne d'Arc as an image of French unity and strength. Casting Jeanne d'Arc as a latter-day Napoléonic heroine won them the necessary official approval needed to erect a provisional monument and to open a national subscription to raise funds for a permanent public monument to the Maid of Orléans.

It also won Orléans and the artist some much-needed direct financial support; for Napoléon subsequently donated 6,000 francs to Orléans's subscription, and members of his administration followed suit.[306] The Minister of the Interior, Jean Chaptal, subscribed for 5,000 francs; while Napoléon's "*Chef d'état-major*" and Minister of War, Louis-Alexandre Berthier, paid 500 francs to Orléans's

---

[304]*Mandement de Monsieur l'évêque d'Orléans*, pp. 6-7; reproduced in Pradelle, pp. 66-67.

[305]"canon [and] precentor of [the Cathedral of] the Holy Cross" (Aufrère-Duvernay, p. 29).

[306]Dupont, p. 50.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

subscription.[307] Numerous other public officials also contributed 50 francs or more; and over one hundred and fifty citizens--primarily professionals, members of the military, and the middle class (that is, the core of Napoléon's most loyal supporters)--also responded to Orléans's "*Projet de Prospectus*" by contributing at least fifty francs, for which they received, in return, a commemorative coin embossed with the united images of Napoléon and Jeanne d'Arc by Gois [fig. L]).[308]

While the words of Napoléon, Gois, the Bishop of Orléans, and members of the local and national government have survived as records of the many and varied motivations behind the promotion and support of the sculpture *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* in 1803, the feelings and concerns of the ordinary French citizens (primarily from Orléans and Paris) who contributed can only be surmised. Motivated apparently by an interest in advancing the image of *la Pucelle d'Orléans*, as well as a sense of local or national pride; by a desire to foster the restoration of the Church in France; or even, perhaps, by a sense of loyalty to Napoléon and/or to the city of Orléans, these private individuals together donated a total of between 4,000 and

---

[307]*Un Curieux*, p. 267.

[308]See the "*Liste des Souscripteurs pour le Monument, de la Pucelle,*" quoted in Chaussard, pp. 458-466.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

11,500 francs by 1804.[309]

As has already been suggested, one of the reasons why Jeanne d'Arc's image was deemed worthy of support by so many, at a time of great fiscal restraint, may have been the considerable attention brought to her life story during that time by Johann Christophe von Schiller's immensly successful play *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, translated into French in 1802 by Charles-Frédéric Cramer. For not only did Schiller's play engender numerous successful productions devoted to the Maid in France,[310] it also inspired a fervent patriotic response. For some, such as the writer and critic Louis-Sébastien Mercier, writing in 1802, Schiller's Johanna rescued the "*la mémoire d'une héroïne qui sauva France*" from "*un délit anti-national*"--that is, Voltaire's ridicule.[311]

But for others in the early nineteenth century, the very notion that a German poet and playwright might appropriate the life story of the Maid of Orléans was an

---

[309]While the surviving records of those who subscribed to the project clearly indicate the names and professions of the individual contributors, they do not list the respective amounts that each subscriber gave (aside from the three largest contributions given by Napoléon, Chaptal and Bernier). Consequently, the proportion donated by members of the general public, as opposed to that given by members of Napoléon's administration and by officals in the local and regional government of Orléans, cannot be determined.

[310]As has already been noted above, Schiller's play also engendered numerous new plays by French authors, inspired by Schiller to write their own dramas on Jeanne d'Arc, during the first years of the nineteenth century. See above.

[311]"heroine who saved France," "the national offense" (Quoted in Lanéry d'Arc, p. 852). See above.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

affront to France's honor. For example, Chaussard wrote with utter distain for Schiller's "monstrous Germanic drama" in 1806: "*...le drame Germanique de Schiller...est un monstre qui ressemble à la chimère d'Horace.*"[312] For Chaussard, Joan of Arc was a patently French subject, who belonged to the French. And as "a national subject," she should only be written about by French authors, as Chaussard continued:

> *[Le drame de Schiller] a été dignement naturalisé et transporté sur les boulevards de Paris, par le détracteur de Racine, par Mercier.*
> *Ce suject, le plus extraordinaire de notre histoire, était à-la-fois le plus épique et le plus dramatique peut-être. Le plus épique par le merveilleux, le plus dramatique par l'intérêt...*[313]

Thus, perhaps, some of the ground swell of interest in Jeanne d'Arc in the first years of the nineteenth century in France came as a kind of nationalistic response to the German poet, whose ostensibly sympathetic effort to 'retrieve' Joan of Arc from the ridicule of Voltaire proved, at times, as provocative as it was inspirational to the nineteenth century "*culte de Jeanne d'Arc.*"[314]

---

[312]"...the Germanique drama of Schiller is a monster which resembles a chimera from Horace" (Chaussard, pp. 480-481).

[313]"Schiller's drama was properly naturalized and transported to the boulevards of Paris,by the detractor of Racine, by Mercier. This national subject, the most extraordinary of our time, was all-at-once the most epic and the most dramatic, perhaps. The most epic because of the marvelous, the most dramatic by interest" (Chaussard, p. 481).

[314]While history may not repeat itself, old chauvinisms do often endure. Thus, French patriotism (and perhaps a possessive aversion to German interest in Jeanne d'Arc) was reawakened in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Be that as it may, through a public subscription and governmental support, the town of Orléans raised sufficent funds (over 37,000 francs, according to the figures given by Cochard) by the Spring of 1804 to erect the final version of Gois's sculpture in the central square of Orléans.[315] Cast in bronze by the Parisian founder, Jacques-Charles Rousseau, the statue was set on a marble pedestal carved by the Orléanais marble-cutter Scellier.[316] In its final incarnation, the monument was moved from the center of the large *place du Martroi*--where the plaster cast had been deemed to be too small for the space--to a smaller site, the

---

1815, when a Prussian nobleman offered to buy Joan of Arc's family home in Domremy for 6,000 francs from Nicolas Gérardin, a descendant of one of Jeanne d'Arc's godsons. Gérardin, a veteran of the Napoléonic wars, refused to sell the home to the Prussian "for reasons of patriotism," as Marina Warner wrote. "The interest of the Prussian shamed the Département des Vosges," according to Warner, and the regional government subsequently bought the home for 1,800 francs, allowing Gérardin to continue living there as a custodian (Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 258).

[315]The town itself committed 10,000 francs to the effort; an additional 11,500 francs came from Napoléon, Chaptal and Berthier. With the addition of 15,509 francs raised by subscription [Cochard, p. 29], the town had at least 37,009 francs (of the total 48,000 francs which the sculpture cost) by 1804, which was enough for the project to proceed. If Cochard's figures are correct, it might be assumed that the town of Orléans raised the additional monies through taxes, although an exact accounting for the sculpture's acquisition is not known. Dupont, by contrast, maintains that: "*En 1804, les listes de souscripteurs étaient couvertes et les 40,000 francs trouves. La ville y ajouta de derniers 10,000 francs destinés à l'érection du piédestal et à l'acquisition des bas-reliefs*" ["In 1804, the lists of subscribers was covered and the 40,000 francs found. The city added the last 10,000 francs intended for the erection of the pedestal and the acquisition of the bas-reliefs" (Dupont, p. 51).

[316]Cochard, p. 30.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

place Saint-Pierre, immediately adjacent to the town square, at the intersection of the place du Martroi and la rue de la Levrette [fig. LI].[317]

Like the year before, the sculpture was inaugurated in 1804 in conjunction with the annual *fête de la Pucelle*. And (as in 1803), the festival remained essentially religious,[318] despite the Mayor of Orléans's endeavor (as early as May 25, 1803--that is, within weeks of the conclusion of the last Jeanne d'Arc festival) to wrest control of the annual celebration from Bishop Bernier.[319] In honor of the inauguration of the new bronze monument, there were, however, also a few minor additions to the festivities: At 8 o'clock in the morning on May 8, 1804, the Mayor, accompanied by members of the Municipal Council and the National Guard, formally unveiled Gois's sculpture

---

[317]According to Jean Le Maire, the original plaster sculpture of Gois's Jeanne d'Arc, made for the town of Orléans in 1803, was conserved (after being moved from the place du Martroi in the Spring of 1804) in the garden of Orléans's town hall until 1885, at which time the fate of this sculpture becomes obscure (Jean Le Maire, *Notes pour servir a l'histoire de la statue de Jeanne d'Arc de Gois* [Orléans: R. Houzé, 1945], p. 6, footnote 1).

[318]According to Bauchy, the celebration of the *fête de Jeanne d'Arc* remained essentially the same from 1803, until the end of the Empire (Bauchy, *Une Fête pas comme les autres*, p. 45).

[319]A letter from the Minister of the Interior, Jean Chaptal, to the Mayor of Orléans, dated *5 Prairial an XI* [May 25, 1803] indicates that Crignon des Ormeaux had already expressed a desire to change the "rank of the different authorities in the public ceremony" for the forthcoming Joan of Arc festival. Chaptal (tellingly, perhaps) responded prevaricatingly to Crignon des Ormeaux that "the government was in the process of determining that at the moment." [For a complete copy of the letter, se Aufrére-Duvernay, footnote 23, page 34].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

on the place de Saint-Pierre.[320] Later, a cortege was formed to formally process around the monument, and Bernier blessed the sculpture with a solemn prayer.[321]

Thus, in less than sixteen months since the opening of the Salon des Beaux-Arts in Paris, Gois's sculpture came to be celebrated as a nationally recognized monument, paid for by Napoléon and the people of France, blessed by a Bishop, feted by a Mayor. Only one further event of note took place in conjunction with these offical proceedings in Orléans. It was a private event; but even though it was not a part of the sculpture's offical inauguration, it does much to illustrate what impelled the successful rise of Gois's sculpture to national recognition: On May 8, 1804, the six-year old daughter of the sculptor Edme-Étienne Gois fils and his wife Madeline (née Suchet) was baptised. Standing as godmother was Marie-Thérèse-Joseph Champagne, wife of Philibert Maret (the Prefect of the Loiret); while Antoine-Edouard Crignon des Ormeaux, Mayor of Orléans, took the place of godfather in the Bishop's private chapel. Conducted by Bernier himself, Jeanne-Aurélie-Joséphine-Madeline Gois was baptised into the Catholic faith.

It was later said that she was named for *la Pucelle* and for the town of Orléans in receiving her first names

---

[320]Cochard, p. 31.

[321]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"*Jeanne-Aurélie*."[322] Whether that is true or not, the transformation of this small private moment--a young child's baptism--into a ceremony of public display and personal politics demonstrates with some poignance perhaps, how, yet again, one young girl may be called to serve the personal and political aspirations of others.

---

[322]Cochard, p. 31.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 7

The Love of Long Hair and Laying Down the Law

> "...Chastity then as defined by St. Paul is seen to be a complex conception, based upon the love of long hair; the love of subjection; the love of an audience; the love of laying down the law, and subconsciously, upon a very strong and natural desire that the woman's mind and body shall be reserved for the use of one man and one only."
>
> Virginia Woolf, Three Guineas (1938)[323]

In the conclusion to this discussion of Jeanne d'Arc's image during the Napoléonic era, the appearance of Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* will be discussed in relation to the historic iconography of Jeanne d'Arc's image, a visual tradition that left its enduring mark in the formation of the artist's work, informing its precipitous rise to success and its equally mercurial fall in the public favor. The appearance of Gois's Maid will also be discussed in relation to social norms of dress and behavior, norms which not only informed the life (and death) of Jeanne d'Arc in her own day, but which also proved to be powerful forces in the representation and reception of her later image as well. It will be argued that for Gois and Jeanne la Pucelle, the line between politics and appearance was, at times, narrow indeed, giving a new dimension, perhaps, to the adage "The personal is political."

---

[323]Virginia Woolf, Three Guineas (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, n.d.): 166-167.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Proud and fierce, Gois's Pucelle displays a determined, seemingly indomitable expression. She strides briskly forward with her right foot advanced in a broad step; her upper body leans eagerly into the momentum of her stride, and her chin is raised high as she glares into the distance [fig. I and XX]. She appears ready to lead her soldiers into battle: Her sword is drawn but lowered in her right hand, while in her left, Joan clutches her standard against her right shoulder in an aggressively possessive gesture [fig. XXI].

Clad in a long, full skirt that swirls about her legs, implying the force of wind and the agitation of her own vigorous movement, Gois's Pucelle seems only momentarily frozen, as if poised before charging into the fray.[324] This same sense of animated movement may be seen in the billowed folds of her banner, and in the generous, rippling waves of her long hair, which stream down her back and fly behind her

---

[324]According to the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Valenciennes*, Gois went to great lengths to accurately render the drapery on his Jeanne d'Arc sculpture, as is ilustrated by the following colorful anecdote: "*«Un jour le sculpteur Gois était occupé à faire la statue de Jeanne Darc [sic] pour la ville d'Orléans. L'adjustement de la draperie lui avait donné beaucoup de peine, et il cherchait encore un des plis principaux. Fatigué de ne pas le trouver, il quitte son atelier et va prendre l'air au jardin des Tuileries. Une dame passe devant lui sur le pont Royal, et jette un crie en disputant au vent la longue robe qui la couvrait. Ce mouvement attire les yeux de l'artiste. O bonheur! son pli, son cher pli se dessine. Gois vole vers la dame... «Arrêtez, madame! de grâce, arrêtez! Conservez un instant la pose.» Et ces mots dits, l'artiste, la retenant, étudie son pli, s'en pénètre, et salue profondément pour regagner en hâte l'atelier*" [Quoted by Aufrère-Duvernay, footnote 25, p. 35].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in a spectacularly abundant ponytail (visible from the sculpture's side and rear)[fig. XX(b)].

As a whole, the costume of Gois's Jeanne d'Arc is an odd conflation of a flowing, filmy dress surmounted by a stout breast plate with pauldron (shoulder plates, an anachronistic addition--as pauldron were not common in French armor until the sixteenth century), broad solleret (metal-plated shoes), a baldric, and a low, stiff (and decidedly un-medieval) hat with six plumes. Taken together, these trappings appear inharmonious, stylistically inconsistent and anachronistic. Emblematic of disjunctive masculine and feminine attributes, this combination of the dress and hair of a woman with the weaponry, armor, and hat of a man recalls, in baroque guise, such ancient helmeted and begowned figures as Bellona and Minerva (the Greek and Roman goddesses of war and wisdom) and Fortitude (the classical personification of courage, endurance and strength).[325]

Although historically incorrect,[326] Jeanne d'Arc's

---

[325]The revolutionary personifications of *la Liberté* and *la République* in France--which similarly employ the image of a woman in classical dress, usually with such traditionally masculine attributes as a phrygian cap or a laurel wreath on her head, and a sword or a flag clasped in her hands--has its iconographic origins in the same ancient, deific Greek and Roman women.

[326]As discussed in the Introduction above, contemporary documents show that Joan dressed and wore her hair like a man. For a thorough (if not infallible) attempt to accurately reconstruct the Maid's costume and coiffure, see also Adrien Harmand, *Jeanne d'Arc: ses costumes, son armure, essai de reconstitution* (Paris: Librairie Ernst Leroux, 1929).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mismatched accouterments, like her long hair, were *not*, however, altogether of Gois's invention. Like Schiller, whose heroine differed dramatically from the historic persona he was portraying (despite the author's having carefully researched his subject), the artist looked carefully at his visual precedent in Jeanne d'Arc iconography, and then went on to sculpt an image that deviated from the Maid's well-documented, authentic appearance. The difference between Gois and Schiller, however, is that while Schiller knowingly manipulated the appearance and behavior of his protagonist, Gois's errors may have been unwitting.

Ironically, it was apparently Gois's attentive faithfulness to his (erroneous) iconographic precursors--rather than any overtly willing deviance from his historical sources--that led to the sculptor's fallacious portrayal of the Maid's hair and costume. Venerable (albeit inaccurate) iconographic tradition, rather than artistic license, may be seen in each attribute of Gois's Maid, from her plumed hat, full skirt, and long hair, to her breast plate and sword. Although Gois could have drawn upon more accurate representations of Jeanne d'Arc in seeking inspiration for depicting his subject,[327] much of the traditional Jeanne

---

[327]A number of early illustrations and sculptures of the Maid in essentially correct dress survive from the fifteenth century. Such illustrations and sculptures, portraying the Maid in a more accurate, fully masculine costume (often a full suit of armor), include a bronze statuette of Joan on horseback now in the Musée

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d'Arc imagery that was available to Gois persistently and inaccurately showed her with long hair, a decoratively plumed hat (or crested helmet), and long skirts (with the optional addition of armored plates over her chest, feet, and arms).

This same mismatched and historically incorrect iconographic tradition may be seen, for example, in the images of Jeanne d'Arc that embellished eighteenth and nineteenth century editions (predating, as well as concomitant with, Gois's sculpture) of both Voltaire's poem and Schiller's play dedicated to the Maid. Such illustrations for Voltaire's work include a 1775 print [fig. XXXIV] of the *Pucelle* wearing a plumed helmet and a long dress (with a full skirt and a revealingly tight bodice) flying on the back of her winged donkey; a 1775[328] frontispiece of "*Jeanne dictant a Voltaire son poème «La Pucelle d'Orléans»*" [fig. XXXVI], portraying the Maid in a long dress, with long hair, a plumed hat, and a sword (used

---

Cluny in Paris from the fifteenth century [fig. XXIII]; a manuscript illustration from *Le champion des dames* (1440) of Jeanne compared to the biblical heroine Judith, now in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris [fig. XXIV]; and a miniature illumination from the fifteenth century of Jeanne d'Arc coming to announce the liberation of Orléans to Charles VII [fig. XXV], among others.

[328]Despite the condemnation of Voltaire's "*La Pucelle*" by Rome on January 20, 1775, and the work's subsequent burning in Geneva, numerous printed (as well as manuscript) editions of the poem circulated, and were published and sold throughout Europe during that year. Numerous examples of these editions from 1775 have been preserved at the Bibliothèque National and the Centre Jeanne d'Arc in France.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

here by the Maid to guide Voltaire's pen-and-hand on the page); as well as the pornographic print of Voltaire and the Maid, "*Dors-tu content, Voltaire,*" [fig. VIII], which depicts Jeanne d'Arc wearing a dress and a feathered hat (resembling--not coincidentally [as will be addressed below]--the hat worn by both Gois's Jeanne d'Arc and Voyez's earlier print of the Maid [fig. XI]).

Similarly, in illustrating Schiller's play, artists such as the early-nineteenth century German painter and print-maker Johann Heinrich Ramberg,[329] followed both erroneous convention and the playwright's own stage directions in portraying *die Jungfrau* in the incongruous ensemble of a "woman's attire" with "a helmet and a breast-plate."[330] In his illustration for Act IV, scene I, for example [fig. XXXV], Ramberg's "Johanna" is shown wandering in the woods outside Orléans in a high-waisted, scoop-necked, and long-skirted dress, with a visored helmet surmounted by a large crest of plumes (or horsehair), as well as *vambrace*, *couter* and *besagew* (that is, armor

---

[329]Ramberg (born 1763 and died 1840 in Hanover) was a history and portrait painter, as well as a caricaturist, and an aqua-fortist (Bénézit, vol. 8, p. 591).

[330]In his stage directions at the beginning of Act II, scene IV, Schiller describes the Maid's costume as follows: "Johanna [appears]...in a helmet and breast-plate, otherwise attired as a woman" (Schiller's Work, p. 346).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

shielding the forearm, elbow and upper-arm respectively).[331]

In tracing the specific iconographic sources for Gois's own errors and anachronistic inconsistencies in his depiction of the Maid's appearance, it is clear that the origins for many of his "mistakes" date back to some of the earliest and most widely copied images of the Maid ever produced. For example, the fallacious but persistent convention of depicting Jeanne d'Arc with long hair dates back to her own lifetime: The only known contemporary image of her, penned in ink in the margins of the register of the Parliament of Paris in the Spring of 1429, erroneously endows her with long hair [fig. XIII]. This sketchy, free-hand image, rendered in the margins of the register that announces the defeat of the Anglo-Burgundians at Orléans, portrays Jeanne standing (three-quarter length) in profile, with long, wavy, unbound, and uncovered hair, attired in a low-cut and long, slim-fitting gown. Drawn by the Registrar of Parliament, Clément de Fauquembergue, a man who never actually saw the Maid, this image was neither fully accurate, nor, perhaps, wholly unbiased in its portrayal.

Shown with a scowling expression, loose, uncovered hair, and a low-cut (and amply filled) bodice, Fauquembergue's Jeanne d'Arc may have been deliberately intended to insult the Armagnacs by depicting her--the

---

[331]For an illustrated listing of the parts of an armor, see Vesey Norman, Arms and Armor (London: Octopus Books Limited, 1972): fig. 2, p. 5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

victorious leader of the enemy (recall that Paris, and its Parliament, were held firmly in the hands of the Anglo-Burgundians in 1429)--as an immodestly vulgar woman.[332] In the mid-fifteenth century, all "respectable" women wore their hair bound-up, and covered by a wimple, coif, scarf, or *hennin* (a tall, "steepled" or horned headdress with a long veil attached)--depending upon the woman's rank, geographical region, and personal preference.[333]

The image of loose hair for women in public represented at that time a symbol of loose morals; thus, for example, in an early (pro-Joan) miniature illumination of Jeanne d'Arc chasing two camp followers,[334] "*Jeanne chasse deux ribaudes*" [fig. XXII] from Martial d'Auvergne's *Les Vigiles de Charles VII* [1484], the "ribald" nature of the women being driven

---

[332]I am grateful to Olivier Bouzy, Assistant Director of the Centre Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans, for his suggestion of this idea.

[333]For more information regarding women's hair and head-dresses during the fifteenth century, see, for example, François Boucher, 20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., [1966]): pp. 200-201; or Hilda Amphlett, Hats: A History of Fashion in Headwear (Letchworth, Hertfordshire: The Garden City Press Ltd., 1974): pp. 41-62.

[334]Joan, according to testimony at her trial of vindication, insisted on the high moral conduct of her soldiers (forbidding them to swear, blaspheme, or consort with women illicitly, for example). She was also known to have forcibly driven camp followers away from her men. As the Duke of Alençon testified regarding the same incident (presumably) as is illustrated above: "Joan was chaste and she detested the women who follow soldiers. I saw her once at Saint-Denis, returning from the King's coronation, pursue with drawn sword a girl who was with the soldiers, and in such a manner chasing her she broke her sword" (Pernoud, Joan of Arc, p. 63).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

away from camp by the Pucelle is conveyed by portraying one of the "*ribaudes*" with long, unbound hair. Her loose and fallen hair signals that she is a "loose" and "fallen" woman.

It is, of course, possible that Fauquembergue gave *la Pucelle* long hair and a long dress in his drawing simply to signal her identity in a legible and unambiguous manner--making her gender abundantly manifest, when it might otherwise have been obscured in the artist's faithful portrayal of her aberrant transvestitism, her masculine coiffeur, and her possession of such martial and virile trappings as a sword and a battle flag. (If shown in such unmitigatedly masculine attire, according to this argument, her image might have been misread as that of an ordinary man-at-arms, rather than as a transvestite woman warrior).

If Fauquembergue's only concern, however, was to signify the Maid's gender legibly by dressing her as a woman, there is no reason then why he could not have included any of the habitual--and recognizably gender-specific--hair coverings that respectable woman wore to preserve their modesty (Henri Chapu, for example, included a scarf in his more historically accurate, later nineteenth century sculpture of the Maid, *Jeanne d'Arc en prière* of 1870 [fig. XXXII]). Furthermore, Fauquembergue's inaccuracies in depicting the Maid's costume and hair cannot be attributed solely to ignorance on the artist's part

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

regarding her actual appearance, for his image included two distinctively characteristic details, Jeanne d'Arc's standard and her épée, which offset her incorrect (and perhaps not altogether respectable) dress and coiffeur.[335]

The tactic of denigrating Jeanne d'Arc by depicting her hair, dress, and behavior as vulgar, immodest, or sexually improper was a popular and enduring strategy that both pre- and post-dated Fauquembergue's drawing. In her own day, for example, the Maid's English enemies sought effectively to wound her by challenging her sexual virtue, and on at least one occasion, their insults to her sexual purity drew tears from Jeanne d'Arc (tears, it was said, that the Maid did not shed lightly, even--according to her contemporaries--when pierced in the shoulder by the bolt of a cross-bow).[336] In

---

[335](Images de Jeanne d'Arc, p. 17). Fauquembergue was correct to include the Maid's famous standard and sword in his depiction of her. His actual rendering of the Maid's banner, however, was not altogether precise (although his rendering of her sword appears to be accurate). In Fauquembergue's illustration, the banner is depicted with the simple monogram--"JHS"--the initials in Latin for the Holy Name of Jesus. Historically, however, the design on the Maid's standard was different, and much more detailed. See above.

[336]According to the testimony of her compatriot-at-arms, Dunois, Joan of Arc fought unflinchingly after being "wounded by an arrow which penetrated her flesh between her neck and her shoulder for a depth of six inches" on May 7, 1429, during the strategic battle to take Les Tourelles, the fort on the far side of the bridge into Orléans (Quoted in Warner, Joan of Arc, pp. 109). Yet when confronted by her enemies' verbal affront to her sexual honor, during the same campaign to take Les Tourelles, Joan "broke down and wept." As Marina Warner wrote, "Her confessor, Jean Pasquerel, testified at her vindication that Joan broke down and wept at the insults hurled at her by the English from the fort of Les Tourelles on the bridge at Orleans before the battle. She had sent a letter to the English commander

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a similar manner, throughout the centuries after her death, the Maid's detractors often sought to question her chastity as a powerful means of insulting her and her supporters, or of casting doubt upon whatever her opponents objected to in her historic persona or in her successful accomplishments. As was noted above, Shakespeare, for example, charged that "Joan *la Pucelle*" was a promiscuous witch in his Henry VI, Part I, in order to cast doubt on the virtue of the Maid's military accomplishments as the leader of the Armagnac forces against the Anglo-Burgundians; while in Voltaire's *La Pucelle d'Orléans*, the Maid's honor, and the probity of the institutions with which she was allied--the Monarchy and the Catholic Church in France--were challenged alike by Arouet's satiric and bawdy retelling of her life story.[337]

In any case, whether or not Fauquembergue's intentions in portraying the Maid of Orléans with long, uncovered hair were deliberately insulting, his work was followed by later--independent, as well as iconographically derivative--images of Jeanne d'Arc, with similarly long hair and a woman's dress, by artists with different political sympathies, from other countries, and, indeed, other centuries in the long

---

Glasdale, ordering the English to surrender and leave; they retorted with barrack-room ribaldry at her effrontery, calling her the harlot of the Armagnacs" (Warner, Joan of Arc, pp. 103-104). Joan herself apparently understood and experienced such attacks upon her sexual reputation as powerfully wounding, even more trenchantly grievous, it would seem, than the force of bodily harm.

[337]See above.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

history of Jeanne d'Arc's iconography. Thus, what began, perhaps, as an insult, became in the hands of later artists codified iconographic tradition, and the erroneous convention of portraying the Maid in statuary, graphics, and paint with long, uncovered and (often) unbound hair reigned unchallenged from the late-fifteenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries. During that period, from Jeanne d'Arc's own lifetime down through the ages to Gois and beyond, virtually all artists, supporters and detractors alike, continued to portray Joan of Arc with long hair.

It was only in the early-nineteenth century, when the rise of historiography prompted the re-examination of historic documents (in Joan's case, the trial transcripts, which gave considerable detail as to the Maid's actual appearance and biography) that artists, authors, and playwrights, among others, began to acknowledge Jeanne d'Arc's cross-dressing and masculine hair-cut. From the late fifteenth century until that time, however, even commendatory portrayals of Jeanne d'Arc by artists favorably partial to her--such as André Thevet's profile portrait of "*Jeanne la Pucelle*" [fig. XXX], the earliest known printed representation of Jeanne, in his laudatory 1584 text *Vrais Pourtraits et Vies des Hommes illustres*--depicted her with long, unconstrained, and abundant hair.

She was portrayed thus with long, loose hair in the first sculpture erected to her memory in Orléans in 1502

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[fig. III], as well as in both subsequent variants of this monument re-erected in Orléans in the 1560s [fig. IV (a)], and in 1771 [fig. IV (b)].[338] Peter Paul Rubens, in his depiction (which closely recalls that of the Maid in the Orléanais monument), similarly painted the Pucelle kneeling in armor with ample, unbound hair [fig. IX]. Finally, the anonymous painter who completed the famous portrait of Jeanne d'Arc known as *«Des Échevins»* [fig. XXVI] (or "the Alderman" painting)[339] portrayed the Maid with long, dark tresses flowing down her back and shoulders.

While Gois may have derived some inspiration from any of the notable Jeanne d'Arc images from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries named above (e.g., [fig.s III, IV (a), IV (b), XIII, XXVI, or XXX]), in portraying his Pucelle with relatively conventional women's dress and hair, Gois's dependence upon the "Alderman" portrait of the Maid, in particular, is made manifest by his close replication of the unusual hat worn by Jeanne d'Arc in

---

[338]For a discussion of these early monuments to Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans, see above.

[339]The title "*Échevin*," which has been translated (with only partial accuracy) in English as "Alderman," was used in the Middle Ages (from the twelfth century up to the French Revolution) to designate the position of Assessor of a County Tribunal. This portrait is called "*Des Échevins*" because, according to tradition, it was commissioned by the *Échevins* of Orléans.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

«Des Échevins» in his own *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat*.[340] Derived from a type of plumed hat or béret in felt or silk that was popular for men throughout Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century [fig. XXXVII], this distinctive toque has one of the longest pedigrees in Pucelle iconography.[341]

Inaugurated around 1581 in *«Des Échevins»*, and replicated again and again in Jeanne d'Arc imagery from the sixteenth century down to the head of Gois's Jeanne d'Arc in 1802, this hat may be recognized by its characteristic shape, with its upturned brim[342] decorated with dark rectangular bands set against a white background [fig. XXVI], as well as by its characteristic embellishments, including an array of six white ostrich feather plumes which encircle the hat's crown, and a slender dark ribbon which ties under the chin.

---

[340]This is not to say that Gois could not have derived his inspiration from an intermediary source--such as Voyez's print of Janne Darc [sic], which was itself inspired by *«Des Échevins»*. The point, rather, is that Orléans's "Alderman" portrait was the ultimate prototype for this enduring iconographic detail, which was shared by Gois, Voyez and innumerable other Johannique artists for over two centuries.

[341]Indeed, the painting *«Des Échevins»*, itself, has been called "the model par excellence of Johannique iconography in the centuries that followed" (Images de Jeanne d'Arc, cat. 25, p. 41).

[342]Because the crown of the hat is not shown in the *«Des Échevins»* portrait, its form may be read either as a hat with a sharply turned-up brim that conceals the hat's crown, or alternatively as a structured, brimless béret (not unlike a "pill-box" or a "pork-pie").

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the abundant progeny produced as a result of *«Des Échevins»*'s model, the hat's original form is repeated with few variations. Among these subtle variances are alterations of the width and relative outward flare of the hat's brim (or crown), as well as some changes in the decorative markings and colors on the hat. In later images of Jeanne d'Arc, such as Gaultier's equestrian print *Iohanna Darc* (1612) [fig. XXVIII], for example, the Maid's hat appears to be predominately dark with light trim (rather than predominately light with relatively little dark detailing), and the edge of the hat is slightly scalloped (rather than smoothly concentric as it appears in *«Des Échevins»*).[343] In Heince and Bignon's *Puella Aureliaca* engraving of 1690 [fig. XXIX], or Sergent's *Jeanne d'Arc* colored aquatint of 1787 [fig. X], the hat's shape is rendered more flared and stiff (resembling an upright shallow bowl); in Charles David's early seventeenth century engraving of the Maid [fig. XXVII] and in the anonymous advertisement for *l'eau des heroïnes* [fig. XVIII], the hat's brim is slashed; while, finally, in the anonymous pornographic print of the Maid and Voltaire, *Le songe de la*

---

[343]Similarly, in Gaucher's engraving of *Jeanne d'Arc* (1795) [fig. XII], in the anonymous frontispiece to Voltaire's "Pucelle" *Jeanne dictant a Voltaire son poème* (1775) [fig. XXXVI], and in Voyez's neoclassical engraving of Janne-Darc (late 1700s) [fig. XI], the Pucelle's hat appears to be dark with only a narrow braid of white trim along the upper and lower edges of its brim, as well as in regularly-spaced, white perpendicular bands along the brim's face; and the six feathers portrayed in the "Alderman" portrait of Jeanne d'Arc are reduced to three.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

raison produit des monstres; ou, dors-tu content, Voltaire? [fig. VIII], and in Gois's sculpture, *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* [fig. XX], the toque's smooth crown seems to be trimmed (or inset) with the narrow, dark outlines of regularly spaced coffers. Minor variations aside, however, in sharing this sartorial attribute, all of these images of Jeanne d'Arc may be seen sharing a common iconographic heritage that transcends their many differences in rendering, style, and chronology (distinctions ranging from the adulatory to the pornographic in their treatment of the Maid, spanning stylistically the baroque to the neoclassical, and spreading in time from the sixteenth century to Gois's 1802 *Jeanne d'Arc*).

Beyond simply marking the passage of a single image--a distinctive (and anachronistic) hat--in the long tradition of Joan imagery, what this iconographic redundancy demonstrates is the cogent force of tradition and precedent over documented historical "fact" in the formation of the Maid's image. In addition to the force of momentum perpetuating iconographic precedent, what appears to have furthered the continuation of such outright inaccuracies in the artistic portrayal of Jeanne d'Arc's dress and hair was the enduring weight of societal expectations regarding recognizable--and acceptable--normative female attributes. Conforming to convention rather than historical fact, Artists repeatedly portrayed her in a manner that conformed

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to society's gendered norms of costume and coiffure, ignoring thereby the Maid's own remarkable defiance of contemporary sartorial strictures and socially determined hair styles.

The persistent convention of ascribing long hair to all women (Joan of Arc included), for example, spans the ages back from the mid-twentieth century to the earliest biblical times. Before the latter-half of this century (when, arguably, hair length ceased to be so rigidly gender-bound, and both long and short hair became more generally acceptable for either sex),[344] the distinctively gendered, specifically female lineament of long hair signified not only the "femininity" of its bearer, but also the social and sexual status of the women who wore it, according to an implicit (albeit at times varied and complex) code determined by its arrangement and display or concealment. While conventions of style in arranging and/or veiling women's hair did, indeed, change over the ages in Western society (from coifs and wimples to mobcaps and bonnets, from braids pinned around the ears to chignons coiled at the nape of the neck, for example), the essential custom of women wearing their hair long has persisted in the West, with little variation, down through the ages to the twentieth

---

[344]There have, of course, been times in the past when long hair was acceptable for men, as, for example, during the 1700s. Even during the eighteenth century, however, the clearly marked division of the genders was maintained by the distinctively different styles in which men and women wore their hair.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

century.

In the formation and perpetuation of this custom in history, no one's words on the subject have proven more assiduously influential than Saint Paul's writings on the "glory" of long hair for women. In Chapter 11 of his first letter to the Corinthians, which lays down basic rules for the appropriate behavior of Christian men and women, Paul insists that the sexes wear clearly distinguished hair styles. Long hair, Paul asserts, is appropriate only for women, as is a veil while worshipping; likewise, short hair is appropriate only for men, as is a bare head while "praying or prophesying." This unambiguous demarcation of the genders, according to Paul, rightfully parallels the clear distinctions of behavior appropriate to an unambiguous, patriarchal dissemination of power in Christian society. Thus, in his famous passage establishing the authority (or "headship") of men over women, he wrote:

> I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of every woman *is* the man; and the head of Christ *is* God. Every man praying or prophesying having *his* head covered, dishonoreth his head. But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with *her* head uncovered dishonoreth her head...For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, for as much as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man. For the man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man. For this cause ought the woman to have power on *her* head.... Judge in yourselves; is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered? Doth not even nature itself teach you that if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him? But if a woman have long hair: it is a glory to her, for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

her hair is given her for a covering.[345]

In her trenchant critique of this seminal text in Three Guineas (an exegesis on freedom and equality in society), Virginia Woolf noted that Paul's "love of long hair" is implicitly linked with his insistence (both in this passage, and elsewhere in 1 Corinthians) that women veil themselves, that they keep silent in public, and that they remain chaste. According to Woolf, such binding social norms prescribed by men and imposed upon women may be seen as conjoined to Paul's ultimate, plainly repressive admonition that women subjugate themselves to the authority of men. Thus, in a society informed by Paul's vision, the seemingly benign "love of long hair" and the insistence that women wear dresses may be seen, according to Woolf, as linked not only to a societal insistence upon female chastity, and the social inhibition of women's vocal participation in the public sphere, but also fundamentally to a basic, underlying desire on the part of men to dominate and control the very minds and bodies of women. As Woolf wrote in conclusion:

> Chastity then as defined by St. Paul is seen to be a complex conception, based upon the love of long hair; the love of subjection; the love of an audience; the love of laying down the law, and subconsciously, upon a very strong and natural desire that the woman's mind and body shall be reserved for the use of one man and one only.[346]

The powerful links between patriarchal authority and

---

[345]1 Cor. 11: 3-10, 13-15.

[346]Woolf, Three Guineas: 167.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the conformity (or defiance) of women to pre-determined, and rigidly enforced, standards of dress and hair length are vividly conveyed in the mortal retribution that Joan of Arc received after she refused to renounce her defiantly transgressive life and submit to the law laid down by her captors regarding (among other things) her renunciation of her masculine attire for that of a woman. When Jeanne d'Arc refused to obey her judges' and assessors' orders that she "wear female attire, as befits her sex,"[347] insisting in defiant response that it was "by the will and command of God" that she wore clothes "like those of a man,...with her hair cut..like a man,"[348] her jurors (theologians from the University of Paris) responded first by declaring her a "schismatic" and a "heretic," and then by excommunicating her from the Catholic Church.[349]

---

[347]Testimony of March 28, 1431 (Barrett, p. 156). See also above for further discussion concerning "the marked anxiety produced by Joan of Arc's cross-dressing, in her own day and after."

[348]Testimony of April 5, 1431 (Barrett, p. 230).

[349]Among the first six judgements determined against Joan of Arc on April 29, 1431 were the following two accusations, submitted to the "Holy Father the Pope and the Holy Council General" by the Faculty of Theology in the University of Paris: "I. Firstly, that this woman is schismatic, for schism is an unlawful separation, due to disobedience, from the unity of the Church, and that she separates herself from obedience to the Church Militant, as she has said, etc. / ...III. That this woman is apostate, for the hair which God gave her for a veil she has untimely cut off, and also with the same design has rejected woman's dress and imitated the costume of men" (Quoted in Barrett, p. 292). The latter accusation (number III) borrows directly from Paul's language regarding the appropriate behavior and dress of women.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Only when threatened with torture and death did Joan finally agree to put on the costume of a woman again, acknowledging in her abjuration (signed in the cemetery of St. Ouen in Rouen on May 24, 1431)[350] that she had defied "the decency of nature" and "all the modesty of womankind" in wearing "a dissolute, ill-shaped and immodest dress...with hair cropped round like a man's..[and] also in bearing arms most presumptuously."[351] For her recantation, and the promise that she would obey and submit to the clergy in all things, including the re-adoption of women's dress, she was given the reduced sentence of life in prison. When, however, three days later (on May 27) she was found in her cell wearing men's clothing again,[352] the judgement of the Church authorities was swift: On May 28, Joan of Arc was condemned as a relapsed heretic, sentenced to death, and handed over to the secular arm of justice for execution. On

---

[350]Threatened with immediate execution if she did not sign a confession, Jeanne d'Arc was taken by her captors to the cemetary in Rouen to frighten her with the imminence of her demise if she did not obey the will of her judges.

[351]Quoted from the Maid's abjuration (Barrett, p. 313).

[352]Why Jeanne d'Arc resumed wearing men's clothing, after having sworn that she would not, has never fully been established; and many differing reasons have been proposed. One credible possibility was suggested by a witness at the Maid's trial, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini: Jeanne d'Arc, he asserted, was tricked or forced by her gaolers into men's clothing after her abjuration, in order to provide sufficient grounds for sentencing her to death. Given that Piccolomini later ascended the papal throne as Pope Pius II, his judgement in this regard is especially convincing. (See above; see also Pernoud, Joan of Arc, pp. 218-219).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

May 30, 1431, for her heretical and schismatic disobedience to the Church, as expressly signified by her refusal to wear women's clothing and long hair in accordance with Pauline tradition, Joan of Arc was burned at the stake.

Clearly Joan of Arc's cross-dressing and masculine hair-cut represented a powerfully resonant and complex issue, that transcended, at least in symbolic terms, the mere transgression of prevailing feminine fashion, both for the Church authorities (who devoted an enormous portion of Jeanne d'Arc's trial to addressing the "astonishing and monstrous brazenness" she showed in wearing "garments belonging to the male sex")[353] and for the Maid herself (who ultimately accepted death rather than obey the Church in that matter).

For both the Church and the Maid herself, the adoption of transgressive clothing, and its continued use in the face of express interdictions by the Church prelates, represented obedience to one of two conflicting authorities--the Church Militant or the contradictory command of God as spoken through the direct intervention of angels (which Jeanne insisted was the reason for her cross-dressing). As the Church fathers well understood, Joan's renunciation of long hair and women's clothing represented a powerful challenge to their absolute and hegemonic prerogative to define the

---

[353]Quoted from the opening of the proceedings against Jeanne d'Arc on January 9, 1431 (Barrett, p. 19).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

will of God on earth, as well as to establish binding norms of behavior for both men and women in the spiritual as well as the secular realm. Thus, Joan's defiance of this binding, social stricture--her refusal to bow to "the love of long hair" (in deference, she claimed to the higher authority of God himself)--represented a concomitant refusal on her part to submit to the "laying down [of] the law" by a mundane (rather than divine) patriarchal power structure.[354]

It is significant (and more than a little ironic) that although the full authority of the Church Militant was unable to force Joan to yield to its command by compelling her against her will to adopt (among other things) a dress that they deemed suitable for her, later generations of writers, poets, playwrights, painters, and sculptors--no longer confronted by the stalwart resistance of the Maid's indomitable, personal agency--at last succeeded in making her compliant, dressing her as they wished, and casting her in such uncharacteristic roles as a shy coquette [fig. XII], a voluptuous tart [fig. XIII], or even a matronly dame [fig. XXIX], according to their own needs and desires.

In her afterlife, Joan of Arc's aberrancies of dress and behavior were elided by those who adopted her, making her a more pliable, and socially acceptable tool for their own ends. This insistence upon normalizing and transforming

---

[354]Woolf, Three Guineas: 167.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Joan of Arc, reflected in her enduringly erroneous iconographic tradition, expresses (in no small part) the determined will of those artists, authors, politicians, and clerics, who privileged social convention over a faithfulness to the Maid's authentic appearance when using her image in their work or rhetoric. The recurrent impulse to claim and transform Joan of Arc for the unique use of each man's desire (often in the quest for fame, or political power) has already been demonstrated in the work and words of Schiller, Voltaire, Gois, and Napoleon.

Thus, Woolf's critique of female chastity and subjugation, "the love of long hair," and "the love of laying down the law" may be recognized as very much to the point in Joan of Arc's afterlife in Western society, as in her own lifetime. For, in the forced imposition of traditional, uniform behavioral and sartorial ordinances upon Jeanne d'Arc may be seen (as Woolf wrote of such binding social norms) "the love of an audience" and the "very strong and natural desire that the woman's mind and body shall be reserved for the use of one man and one only" --or rather, in Jeanne d'Arc's afterlife, for the use of *each* man who, in turn, sought to determine and appropriate her image.[355]

At the same time, however, it also should be remembered, that as the centuries progressed after Jeanne

---

[355]Woolf, Three Guineas, pp. 166-167.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d'Arc's death, and the memory of her life passed into legend, many of the factual details of her life (including her actual manner of dress and behavior) were forgotten or obscured, and replaced by the embroidery of human imagination (if not also deliberate human machination). Thus, not all of Jeanne d'Arc's artists in later centuries, Gois included, were necessarily wholly cognizant of their mistake in rendering Jeanne d'Arc with a conventional woman's dress and hair.

Certainly, before Jules Quicherat published his five volume *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La Pucelle*,[356] the first modern translation of the transcripts of Joan of Arc's inquisition and rehabilitation, in 1841 to 1849 (which made, for the first time, the original documents detailing aspects of the Maid's life that had become obscure by then, such as her cross-dressing and manly hair-cut, fully accessible to the public), Joan of Arc's artists and authors may have had some difficulty in obtaining an accurate, primary source of information regarding details of her appearance, not tainted with fallacious iconographic precedent.[357] Consequently,

---

[356]Jules Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La Pucelle*, 5 vols, 1841-49, reprint (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965).

[357]The availability and use of the Maid's trial transcripts as an essential reference for information on Jeanne d'Arc before Quicherat's *Procès* was published, however, is demonstrated by M. Chaussard's direct quote of Jeanne d'Arc's words from the "*procès manuscrit*" of her trial in his study *Jeanne d'Arc: recueil,*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gois's repetition of numerous long-standing iconographic errors may be attributed in part, perhaps, to the artist's dogged faithfulness to reigning, erroneous convention and tradition, rather than his own willful desire to normalize Joan of Arc and "lay down the law" regarding the containment and control of women in society. It is, perhaps, only in the work of later artists, such as J.-A.-D. Ingres's *Jeanne d'Arc au sacre du roi Charles VII, dans la cathédrale de Reims* (1854) [fig. XXXIII],[358] or Denis Foyatier's *Jeanne d'Arc après le combat* (1853) [fig. XIV],[359] that the inclusion of long hair on the Maid could be called a decided act of normalization by artists who deliberately and knowingly transformed Jeanne d'Arc to make her conform to society's expectations regarding a woman's "proper" femininity, as well as, perhaps, their own desires for her appearance.

---

historique et complet, which was published in 1806--only two years after Gois's sculpture was erected in Orléans (Chaussard, footnote 2, p. 500).

[358]Through the exacting depiction of many details described in her trial transcripts, Ingres's *Jeanne d'Arc* betrays a close familiarity with the Maid's historic appearance. Despite the artist's almost pedantic inclusion of numerous accurate attributes specific to Joan of Arc, however, Ingres's image knowingly continues the fallacious tradition of depicting the Maid with long hair.

[359]In replacing Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* in the Place du Martroi in Orléans in 1855, Foyatier depicted the Maid in an essentially accurate suit of armor, but with a wholly inaccurate ponytail down her back, as well as an incongruous (and ahistoric) skirt worn over her lower limbs. (See below, for further discussion of Ingres's and Foyatier's images of Jeanne d'Arc).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nevertheless, even the supposition that Gois may have been unwitting in his erasure of Jeanne d'Arc's defiant aberrancies does not mean that his work was uncomplicitous, ultimately, in the ongoing patriarchal tradition of normalizing and subjugating this most extraordinary of women. Thus, although Gois and his fellow Jeanne d'Arc painters from the early nineteenth century may not be held directly responsible for their reliance upon established--and flawed--iconographic precedent, they may be recognized at least as participants in the ongoing process of controlling and containing the representation of Joan of Arc. Arguably innocent or ignorant in their collaboration, they were collaborators, at least, by virtue of forcing her--in her iconographic afterlife (as in her own life)--to obey the "law" that women must conform to rigid, patriarchical standards of behavior, dress, and appearance.

It is ironic, in any case, that the seeds of both success and failure for Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* lay intertwined, in part, in the artist's perpetuation of this "law" by his unmediated reliance on erroneous iconographic tradition, a reliance which earned him (by turns) first critical praise and then later disapprobation. In 1802, when Gois's sculpture was first displayed at the Salon des Beaux-Arts, C.-P. Landon specifically commended the artist's great precision in rendering the Maid's costume. In his annual review of the Salon, *Annales du musée et de l'école moderne*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

des beaux-arts, Landon wrote (in his two page essay dedicated to "*Jeanne d'Arc, pucelle d'Orléans, par Gois,*" already noted above):

> *L'artiste a parfaitement surmonté les difficultés que présentait le costume, et s'est cependant attaché à le rendre avec la plus exacte vérité.*[360]

For Landon, Gois's rendering of Jeanne d'Arc's costume was praiseworthy because it represented the "exact truth" in the Maid's appearance. Similarly, Alphonse Leroy praised the accuracy (and elegance) of Gois's costume, as well as the artist's admirable resolution of "the obstacles" presented by the Maid's difficult vestments, in his 1802 Salon review in the *Journal des Arts, des Sciences et de Littérature*. There, in a lengthy discussion of Gois's statue, Leroy wrote:

> *Un des avantages de cette statue, c'est que l'artiste a été fidèle aux traits de son héroïne. Il l'a été encore au costume du temps. Sa tête est couverte d'un chapeau semblable à celui qu'elle portait. Il est noble et élégant, et je ne doubt pas que les Françaises, qui mettent dans l'invention de leurs modes tant de grâces, de goût et de fécondité, n'adoptent et ne conservent long-temps les formes de celui-ci.*
>
> *Quant au costume, c'était une des plus grandes difficultés que l'artiste eût à vaincre. Comment s'intéresser pour une jeune fille que recouvre toute entière une lourde armure, que cache encore un jupon? Ces obstacles ont disparu devant le statuaire qui, par un art admirable, a rendu transparens le jupon et l'armure, en sorte que l'on devine l'armure sous le*

---

[360]"The artist perfectly surmounted the difficulties that the costume presented, and yet he was devoted to render it with the most exact truth" (C[harles] P[aul] Landon, "*Jeanne d'Arc, pucelle d'Orléans; par Gois, fils,*" in *Annales du Musée et de l'école moderne des beaux-arts* Vol. 3 (Paris: C.P. Landon, 1802): 120).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

jupon, et le nud sous l'armure.[361]

Citing (ironically) Gois's perpetuation of an iconographically established--and historically incorrect--hat as evidence that Gois was correct in his Maid's clothing, Leroy also noted with admiration Gois's ability to evoke the Maid's nude form beneath her "heavy armor" and "petticoat." Clearly, the standard by which Leroy and Landon measured the successful exactitude of Gois's sculpture's was by its close conformity to the image of the Maid reiterated in the Maid's iconography (as well as, in Leroy's case, his conformity to the practice of portraying young women's bodies in an appealingly revealing manner), not because of any relationship to the Maid's historically documented, actual appearance.

For Gois, unfortunately, a sweeping revision of the Maid's traditional iconography followed the dissemination of her trial transcripts in mid-century. As the general public

---

[361]"One of the advantages of this statue is that the artist is faithful to the traits of his heroine. He has yet a costume from the times. Her head is covered with a hat similar to that which she wore. It is noble and elegant, and I do not doubt that the French women, who put so much grace, taste and fecundity in the invention of their fashions, will not adopt and for a long time conserve the appearance of it. Regarding the costume, it was one of the greatest difficulties that the artist vanquished. How could one interest oneself in a young girl covered entirely by heavy armor, that hides even a petticoat? These obstacles disappeared before the sculptor, who, with admirable skill, rendered the petticoat and the armor transparent in a manner that one can divine the armor under the petticoat and the nude beneath the armor" (Alphonse Leroy, *fils*, "*Sculpture: Aux Rédacteurs du Journal des Arts,*" *Journal des Arts, des Sciences et de Littérature* 232 [20 *Vendémiaire, an 11* (September 12, 1802)]: 100-103).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

became more aware of the Maid's cross-dressing, the demand increased for artists to recognize the Maid's masculine costume, if not (in an oddly inconsistent manner) also her masculine hair cut. Thus, in the latter half of the nineteenth century--within only a few decades after being celebrated for its "exact" rendering of the Maid's attire--, Gois's Jeanne d'Arc came to be regarded as having failed, at least in part because of its incorrect representation of the Maid's costume. In 1855, for example, the author Léonce Dupont criticized the costume of Gois's Maid in his book, *Les Trois Statues de Jeanne d'Arc*, the most lengthy study of Jeanne d'Arc iconography then published to date. As Dupont wrote, mixing praise and criticism for Gois's sculpture:

> *C'était une sorte de virago déchaînée et hors d'elle-même qui ne maquait pourtant pas d'une certaine coquetterie dans son désordre martial; ses cheveux bouclés tombaient avec grâce...; mais [la pose] n'était pas vraisemblable, et ce qui est encore plus affligeant elle n'était pas vraie...Ce n'est pas--j'ai hâte de le dire--que je veuille déprécier ici l'oeuvre de Gois; je trouve que ni moi n'aucun habitant d'Orléans n'avons le droit aujourd'hui de médire de ce bronze qui fut longtemps le seul monument qu'eut parmi nous notre libératrice....De plus,...il y a du mérite dans ce bronze. Ce visage a de l'énergie et quelque beaux reflets....Les mouvements des bras et des jambes ont une souplesse féminine qui perce à travers l'acier de la cuirasse. L'ensemble, vu de profile, est remarquable; il serait même parfait si ce n'était cette invraisemblance du costume et cette façon mythologique d'exprimer la plus chrétienne des physionomies.*[362]

---

[362]It was a sort of furious virago [despite] her not lacking, however, a certain coquetry in her martial disorder; the curls of her hair tumbled with grace...; but the pose was not credible, and, what is more distressing, it was not true....It is not--I hate to say it--that I might wish to deprecate here the work of Gois; I find that neither I nor any inhabitant of Orléans has the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dupont's comments reflect not only his belief that Gois's sculpture would have been more estimable if the sculptor had been more "probable" and accurate in his portrayal of the Maid's clothing; but also--of equal note, perhaps--Dupont's critique expresses the notion that Jeanne d'Arc should be portrayed as a pious, religious figure, rather than as a "mythological" [read: secular] heroine. Implicitly, in his praise of the sculpture's "coquetish" charm, 'gracefully' curled hair, "feminine suppleness" of limbs, and "glimmer of beauty" in her "visage," Dupont's critique also calls for the display of a certain femininity in the Maid's image, while at the same time back-pedaling the representation of her fierce defiance, as "a sort of furious virago."[363]

---

right today to cast aspersions on this bronze which was for a long time the only monument that our liberator had among us. Moreover, ...there is some merit in this bronze. This visage has some expressiveness and some glimmer of beauty....The movements of the arms and of the legs have a feminine suppleness which breaks through the steel of the cuirass. The ensemble, viewed in profile, is remarkable; it would even be perfect if not for this improbability of the costume and this mythological fashion of expressing the most Christian of physiognomies (Léonce Dupont, *Les trois statues de Jeanne d'Arc* [Paris: Pesty, 1855]: pp. 42-44).

[363]Although Dupont's insistence that Jeanne d'Arc should be at once coquetish and sexy, and piously Christian may seem contradictory, these attributes have proven to be far from antithetical in religious art of the West. One especially prominent example of this may be seen in images of Mary Magdalene, which were particularly abundant during the Renaissance and the Baroque periods. (Indeed, Titian's images of the Magdalene blurred the boundaries of the erotic and the religious). Similarly, in the nineteenth century, the Salons des Beaux-Arts in France were filled with paintings of Old and New Testament accounts that offered both the "edification" of a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Similarly (although with less praise and more disapproval for the sculpture), the author Desnoyers also later challenged both the lack of piety (as has already been noted above), and the inappropriate dress of Gois's monument to the *Pucelle* in his 1891 study *L'Iconographie de Jeanne d'Arc*:

> *Assurément, Gois était un artiste habile;...il a donc fait savamment une guerrière animée par le feu du combat et entraînant ses soldats à l'assaut des Tourelles. Oui, c'est bien une impétueuse guerrière, et on semble la voir regardant sans peur ces murailles qui vomissent les balles, les flèches, les pierres, et s'élançant vers elles sans calculer le danger; mais Jeanne était plus qu'une guerrière: elle était l'inspirée de Dieu et de la patrie, et Gois l'a oublié. Tout est là militaire, belliqueux; la fille des champes, la messagère du ciel, ne se voient pas sur cette figure au type grec; et puis, pourquoi cette toque emplumée quand on monte à l'assaut? C'est la coiffure d'un salon et non celle d'une bataille. Jeanne était casquée, puisqu'elle portrait le costume des chevaliers. Pourquoi également cette robe qui flotte jusqu'aux pieds? Monter à l'assaut ainsi costumée, n'est-ce pas mentir au bon sens et à l'histoire?* [364]

---

biblical subject and the (often orientalizing) titillation of a sexual encounter. (See, for example, Horace Vernet's *Rebecca à la fontaine* [1835], or his *Thamar et Jeda* [1843]). For an incisive study of religious painting from the last century, see Michael Paul Driskel, Representing Belief: Religion, Art and Society in Nineteenth-Century France (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992). For a brief discussion of the bare-breasted Magdalene in art, see Anne Hollander, Seeing Through Clothes (New York: Penguin Books, 1978): pp. 198-199.

[364]"Assuredly, Gois was a skillful artist; he therefore knowingly made a female warrior animated by the fire of combat, leading her soldiers to the assault of Les Tourelles. Yes, it is indeed an impetuous soldier, and without fear [she] appears there to be regarding those high walls which are spewing forth balls, arrows, stones, and dashing towards them without reckoning the danger; but Jeanne was more than a warrior: she was inspired by God and by patriotism, and Gois forgot that. Everything there is warlike, bellicose; the country girl, the messenger from heaven,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Desnoyers's criticism of Gois's work (though flawed in its ignorance of iconographic tradition in the sculpture's costume) *was* accurate in reflecting the widespread critical sentiment that the costume worn by Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* was "nonsensical" and anachronistic. In propounding a more pious and rustic image of the Maid, Desnoyer's comments also echoed the increasingly popular religious and regional demands in the nineteenth century that Jeanne d'Arc be portrayed as both a patently religious heroine, and as a humble country girl from the countryside of Lorraine.

At stake in Dupont's and Desnoyers's criticism of the relative inaccuracy of Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* is the issue of what might (or might not) properly constitute an "accurate" image of the Maid. Clearly, the issue of accuracy in the representation of Jeanne d'Arc transcended the purely sartorial, taking into consideration other factors, such as the religious, regional, political and sexual attributes of Gois's sculpture.[365] As Dupont's and Desnoyer's criticism

---

cannot be seen in this Grecian-type of figure; and moreover, why this feathered toque when one is mounting an assault? Jeanne was helmeted, since she wore the costume of a knight. Why as well this gown which falls almost to [her] feet? Charging in fancy dress like that, does that not belie common sense and history?" (F.E. Desnoyers, *L'Iconographie de Jeanne d'Arc* (Orléans: H. Herluison, 1891): p. 11).

[365]Jeanne d'Arc's geographical roots became a much debated topic in the later nineteenth century, especially after Jeanne d'Arc's native region, the Lorraine, was lost--along with the province of Alsace--in the Franco-Prussian War [see, for example, E. Misset, *Jeanne d'Arc Champenoise: étude critique sur la véritable nationalité de la Pucelle, d'après les documents officiels de son époque et les plus récentes publications* (Paris:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

makes clear, politics and social "values" left their mark on the representation and reception of Jeanne d'Arc's image in nineteenth century France (as perhaps, it may be argued, they have marked the illustration and reception of all signal figures in art).

In general terms, the influence of prevailing socio-political attitudes in French society may be seen in the complex transformation of Jeanne d'Arc's representation between the French revolution and the late nineteenth century, and the subsequent praise and criticism that her images accrued: Witness, for example, the transformation of the Maid's persona as a religious figure between the last years of the eighteenth- and the first decades of the nineteenth-century. In the 1790s, when Revolutionary anti-clericism was running high, Jeanne d'Arc became a suspect figure precisely *because* of the religious, as well as pro-monarchical, aspects of her personal biography (as has been noted above). Consequently, during the Revolution, the longstanding Orléanais monument of Jeanne d'Arc (kneeling before a pietà with Charles VII) became controversial, and was elected for destruction in 1792.

When the Church's fortunes in France began to turn for the better, however, in the early nineteenth century (beginning with Napoléon's *Concordat* with the Vatican in 1801, and accelerating with the Restoration of the

---

Honoré Champion, 1895)]).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Monarchy), the Maid's religious convictions became celebratory rather than suspicious attributes. Thus, increasingly thereafter, the representation of Jeanne d'Arc began to emphasize the piety, spirituality, and religious convictions of the Maid, as can be seen, for example, in such ensuing prints, paintings and sculptures of her as Le Brun de Charmette's *La Pucelle en habit de religieuse écoutant sa sentance de mort* (1817) [fig. XXXVIII], Marie d'Orléans's *Jeanne d'Arc* (1837-1844) [fig.s XXXIX and XL], Chapu's *Jeanne d'Arc en pière* (1870) [fig. XXXII], and Gustave Jacquet's *Jeanne d'Arc* [late 1800s] [fig. XLI]).

Clearly, a shift in the popular conception not only of the Maid's costume, but also of Jeanne d'Arc's political and religious affiliations may be marked in the Maid's appearance in art of the nineteenth century, as well as in the rhetoric surrounding the production of such oeuvre then.

In the specific case of Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat*, a close consideration of the sculpture's criticism from the 1820s onward (gaining momentum in the 1830's, '40's and '50s), reveals that the rising censure of the "inaccuracies" of Gois's sculpture had as much to do with a shift in prevailing aesthetics, artistic style, and political and social change, as it did to prevailing notions of the Maid's proper vestments and coiffure.

Again and again, later critics of Gois's sculpture from the Restoration, the July Monarchy, and after reproved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat in terms that had direct religious, social and political implications. Many of Gois's later critics even went so far as to locate the "failure" of his work in the sculpture's "failed" political context, as if Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* was somehow tainted (for later opponents of the Revolution and Napoléonic rule) by its relative (and, in some instances, arguable)[366] association with the Directory, the Consulate, and the First Empire.

For example, a critic in *Le Journal du Loiret*, on May 9, 1830, described Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* as being (among others things) too "restrict[ed]..to the epoch from which it was made":

> *«Figurez-vous mon ami, au fond d'une grande place, une petite statue de chambre montée sur un petit piédestal, entourée d'une petite grille, tout cela mal tenu, les dalles du pavé cassées et disjointes par l'herbe qui les encadre de tous côtés: voilà le monument. Cette statue dans un musée, pourrait être d'un joli effet. Elle a de l'expression, du monument, trop même et un mouvement trop violent. Cette statue se ressent de l'époque où elle a été faite, elle date des dernières années de la Révolution et ressemble un peu à une Liberté de ce temps là...»*[367]

---

[366]While, for example, it may have been possible, as numerous critics from later regimes alleged, for Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* to have manifested some of the lingering aesthetic and social values of the Directory (1795-1799) during its creative inception between 1801 and its final incarnation in 1804, it would be wholly anachronistic to read any direct influence from the First Empire (1805-1814) in this sculpture.

[367]"Imagine my friend at the base of a large square, a little room-sized statue mounted on a little pedestal, surrounded by a small railing, everything there badly maintained, the flagstones of the pavement broken and disjointed by the grass that surrounds them on all sides: voilà the monument. In a museum, this statue

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Writing from the vantage point of the July Monarchy, Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc*, for this anonymous critic, was too small, too shabby, too expressively overwrought in its "emotion" and "violent movement," and above all, perhaps, too dated as the clear product of "the last years of the Revolution."

Similarly, in 1840, the critic Hippolyte Barbier caustically dismissed Gois's monument, sarcastically likening the Maid's "decked-out" costume to that of a "*Merveilleuses du Directoire.*"[368] As Barbier wrote:

> *Ce monument révèle fort peu de génie et de magnificence....Jeanne portait le chapeau à plumes dont l'avaient affublée les peintre de l'époque classique et la jupe collante des Merveilleuses du Directoire.*[369]

Furthermore, on November 19, 1845, another anonymous critic in the *Journal du Loiret* levied harsh criticism against the sculpture in directly political terms, calling the statue (among other slights):

> *Cette méchante caricature de l'Empire, sorte de Murat en jupon, ce sabreur femelle que nous avons la mauvaise*

---

might be able to have a pretty effect. She has [however] too much expression, [too much] movement, and [this] movement [is] too violent. This statue restricts itself to the epoch from which it was made, it dates from the last years of the Revolution and resembles somewhat a Liberty from that time..." (Jean Le Maire, "*La 'Jeanne d'Arc' de Gois,*" Program for the *Fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc*, Orléans, May 8, 1956 [Centre Jeanne d'Arc: 8215-ORL-GOI]).

[368]"A fop from the last revolutionary regime" (Quoted in Michel Lelait, "*La Statue de Jeanne d'Arc de Gois,*" *Cercle des Cartophiles du Loiret* [June 1992]: p. 19).

[369]"This monument displays very little genius and [very little] magnificence...Jeanne wore the plumed hat which had rigged-out painters of the classical era and the close-fitting skirt of the dandies of the Directory" (Lelait, p. 19).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

habitude de nommer la Pucelle.[370]

In calling Gois's Pucelle a "sort of Murat in a petticoat," the author makes reference to one of the more controversial figures from the Napoléonic era--Joachim Murat (brother-in-law to Napoléon Bonaparte, and Marshal in the army of the First Empire).

Historically, Murat's legacy was mixed: Known as an intrepid and successful soldier,[371] Murat was also remembered for having presided over one of the most brutal confrontations in the expansion of the Empire, the infamous *Dos de Mayo* in Spain (later immortalized by Goya),[372] as well as for betraying Napoléon in 1814, after the Empire's fortunes had begun to turn.[373] Thus, by likening Gois's

---

[370]"This nasty caricature from the Empire, a sort of Murat in a petticoat, this female swordsman that we have the bad habit of calling *la Pucelle*" (Quoted in *"La Jeanne d'Arc de Gois retrouvera-t-elle un piédestal?,"* Republique du Centre [September 4, 1953]: n.p.).

[371]Murat played, for example, a key role in leading calvary troops in 1805 at the Battle of Austerlitz, one of Napoléon's most spectacular and decisive military victories.

[372]In the course of one bloody day--May 2, 1808--, known as the "*Dos de Mayo*," hundreds of Spaniards (as well as scores of occupying French mercenary troops) were lost in Madrid in the suppression of a popular insurrection against the Napoléonic forces in Spain. In 1814, Goya painted a diptych commemorating the tragic events of The Second of May, 1808 (Prado, Madrid), when the Spanish resistence was crushed, as well as the bloody reprisals that followed on The Third of May, 1808 (Prado, Madrid), when Murat's troops shot all of the Spaniards suspected of complicity.

[373]In signing an alliance with Metternich in January 1814 (agreeing to support the Prussian, Austrian, and Russian Allies against the French), Murat ruined Napoléon's chances in the campaign of 1814, leading to France's defeat and Napoléon's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jeanne d'Arc--"this nasty caricature from the Empire"--to a petticoated Murat (a figure evocative of some of the most controversial, bloody, and treacherous elements of the Napoléonic Empire), the anonymous critic in the *Journal du Loiret* pokes scornful fun at Gois's sculpture, mocking at once the odd, feminine costume of the statue, and the dubious politics of the regime whence it (supposedly) came.[374]

Hence, it becomes clear that although Gois's critics, from the 1820s onward, overtly devoted much of their criticism to his "incorrect" depiction of the Maid's costume and demeanor, their critiques often (implicitly) located the sculptor's ultimate failings not in his deviance from Jeanne d'Arc's historically documented appearance, but rather in Gois's overly close (in their opinion) association, politically and stylistically, with a bygone--and, by then politically debased--era. The political--rather than purely sartorial--nature of Gois's offending "inaccuracies" for these mid-century critics is made manifest in the very language that they used to denounce his sculpture--too much,

---

ultimate abdication.

[374]At the same time, however, in evoking the image of a masculine cross-dresser and a strong (if highly controversial) military figure, this caustic characterization of Gois's Maid as a traitor in drag may also be read, perhaps, as a sign that Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* succeeded (despite her long skirts and long hair) in problematizing the representation of the *Pucelle*'s gender, and in signalling her radical transgression of social norms of dress and demeanor both as a transvestite, and as a woman military leader.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as they wrote, like "the epoch from which it was made...[in] the last years of the Revolution," too like "one of the dandies of the Directory," or too like "a nasty caricature from the Empire."

Perhaps it was inevitable that Gois's sculpture would be criticized in political terms after the fall of the Napoléonic regime, for in its very incarnation during the Consulate, Gois's sculpture sought to embrace--and be embraced by--the ideals of the Napoléonic era. As Anatole France wrote, regarding the perpetual adaptation and transformation of such prominent figures in history and literature over time, in his biographical account of the Maid's life, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc* (1908):

> Characters from poetry and history can only live on in human thought by ceaselessly transforming themselves. No age or culture would ever take interest in anyone from olden times without endowing that person with its own sentiments and its own passions.[375]

For Gois, participation in this ceaseless transformation reaped a distinct (albeit ephemeral) success, that was supported and informed by the Napoléonic regime. When the regime fell, his sculpture began its steady, relentless decline.

By 1855, Gois's sculpture was taken down, and replaced in the place du Matroi in Orléans by Denis Foyatier's *Jeanne d'Arc après le combat* (1853) [fig. XIV]. Rather than

---

[375]Quoted in Nadia Margolis, Joan of Arc in History, Literature and Film (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990): p. xi from Anatole France, *La Vie de Jeanne d'Arc* [1908].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

destroying Gois sculpture (as Orléans had done with its last sculpture of the Maid in 1793), or giving it to another city from Jeanne d'Arc's history (such as Tours, Beaugency, or Patay--towns where she won her first victories), as the Orléans considered for a time in 1855, it was decided that Gois's sculpture would be relocated to the far banks of the Loire River.

There, on the site where the historic fortress of Les Tourelles once stood,[376] today a modest and untrafficked roundabout on the wrong side of the river from Orléans, Gois's statue stands as a weathered and forgotten relic of a bygone era. Thus, in the heated flux of aesthetic, political and social change between the fall of the Revolution and the Restoration of the Monarchy, Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* was caught like an insect in amber (to return to Heine's analogy), rendered at once both moribund and immortal.

---

[376]The fortress of Les Tourelles, on the southern bridgehead of Orléans, was the stronghold of over seven hundred Anglo-Burgundian forces, before *la Pucelle* lifted the seige of Orléans in 1429.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 8

A Tiger's Leap: Jeanne d'Arc and the Restoration of the Monarchy

> "History is the subject of a structure whose site is not homogeneous empty time, but time filled by the presence of the now. Thus, to Robespierre ancient Rome was a past charged with the time of the now which he blasted out of the continuum of history. The French Revolution viewed itself as Rome incarnate. It evoked ancient Rome the way fashion evokes costumes of the past. Fashion has a flair for the topical, no matter where it stirs in the thickets of long ago; it is a tiger's leap into the past."
>
> Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosphy of History," XIV[377]

With the collapse of the Empire after the defeat of the Grand Army and the allied invasion of France in 1814, the imperial Senate filled the vacuum left by Napoléon's deposition by declaring on April 6, 1814, that "the French people freely call to the throne Louis-Stanislas-Xavier, brother of the last King."[378] Thus, the comte de Provence,

---

[377]Walter Benjamin, Illuminations, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969): 261.

[378]Quoted by François Furet, Revolutionary France, 1770-1880, trans. Antonia Nevill (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1992): p. 270. In "freely" legislating the return of the monarchy, the Senate and the Legislative Body voted to reject Napoléon and replace him with a constitutional king, whose rights and privileges were established in the constitutional Charter of 1814. Proclaimed on June 4, this Charter established a bicameral government, consisting of a Chamber of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies led by the King, who alone had the right to propose and sanction law. While the charter codified the reestablishment of authoritarian, monarchical rule under the Bourbons in France, it did not herald the simple restoration of the *ancien regime*. It also made many liberal concessions, including the establishment

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the eldest surviving brother to Louis XVI, ascended the throne of France as Louis XVIII, heir to the restored Bourbon monarchy and the revolution alike. His inheritance was the ruins of a defeated and occupied nation. Yet, however desperate France's fortunes may have been in the Spring of 1814, for Louis the fall of Napoléon's empire offered the auspicious opportunity to claim the throne and assume the role of savior to the French people in the wake of war and defeat, the Terror, and the collapse of the last revolutionary regime.

In the years of his reign between 1814 and 1824 (interrupted briefly in 1815 by the Hundred Days of Napoléon's short-lived return to power),[379] Louis XVIII

---

of civil equality, freedom of worship and of the press. Thus, in the beginning, the Restored Monarchy seemed to offer a somewhat moderate and expeditiously familiar governmental alternative for the French people, who were weary of the war and social unrest they had come to know during the Revolution, the Directory, the Consulate, and the Empire.

In the account that follows of Jeanne d'Arc's "*fortune iconographique*" during the Restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy, this dissertation will endeavor to relate the vast scope of her rising cult at that time without needlessly duplicating the efforts of Norman D. Ziff, whose article "Jeanne d'Arc and French Restoration Art" did much to establish this significant (and theretofore ignored) phenomena when it was published in 1979. I acknowledge my indeptedness to Ziff, especially in tracking down representations of many of the now-lesser-known images of Joan of Arc from the Restoration.

[379]In a daring coup, supported by those still nostaglic for the revolution, and those who stood to gain the least from the Restoration, Napoléon took power in March 1815, having escaped from exile in Elba and rallied his forces while marching from the Golfe-Juan through the Alps and the center of France to Paris. His rise to power again took but three weeks (only twenty days passed between his landing on the Côte d'Azure with 1,050 troops on March 1 and his triumphant return to the Tuileries on March

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

endeavored (with only partial success, later undone by his more reactionary successor, Charles X) to forge a unified nation, reconciling two historically opposed, political forces in early nineteenth century France--the republican heirs to 1789, who supported democratic principles of liberty and equality, and the descendants of Louis XIV, who supported an aristocratic and counter-revolutionary monarchy. In this effort, the subjective re-telling of French history was one of the basic tools employed by both the pro-monarchical right and the pro-republican left in the struggle for political sovereignty during the Restoration of the Monarchy.

As a pliable construct, history was recalled and manipulated to support the Bourbon claim to the throne. Especially during the Bourbons's first years back in power, it was used to give a semblance of continuity and legitimacy to the new regime. The preamble to *le Charte de 1814*, for example (the constitutional text that established the rules and titles of Louis XVIII's new government), declared the King to be in the nineteenth year of his reign, implying that Louis XVIII had reigned--if not ruled--since 1795, the year that his young nephew (the dauphin, named Louis XVII

---

20). His fall was to be equally abrupt. On June 22, 1815, a mere four days after the resounding defeat of the French forces against the allies at Waterloo, Napoléon abdicated the imperial throne of France for the second and last time.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

following the execution of Louis XVI) died in captivity.[380] In the hands of the new Bourbon authorities, history was molded and remade brazenly so that the Revolution itself was elided, as if the monarchy had never ceased to exist in France.

The Restoration government did not hesitate to attempt the forceable erasure of history when the past proved inconvenient, reespecially when it concerned troubling moments from France's revolutionary history. Article II of the Charter of 1814, for example, legislated that "All research into opinions and votes issued up to the Restoration is prohibited. Courts and citizens are equally commanded to forget."[381] What the French people were being told to obliterate from their memory, in a peace-making gesture, were both the promises and the mistakes made by prior governments under the *ancien régime*, the Revolution, and the Empire.

As history was effaced and rewritten, at times, to serve the restored monarchy, it was also deployed as a tool by their opposition. For republican historians and political activists, such as Adolphe Thiers and François-Auguste Mignet, the French revolution was used as a vivid illustration of the power of the Third Estate. In writing their accounts of the revolution, Thiers (*Histoires de la*

---

[380]Furet, p. 271.

[381]Quoted by Furet, p. 271.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Révolution français [1823-27]) and Mignet (*Histoire de la Révolution français depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1814* [1824]) both endeavored to use history to provide proof that the aristocracy must perforce fall and give way to political freedom and civic equality. In the process, these republican historians, like their opponents on the Right, also manipulated their retelling of the past. Practicing a kind of selective amnesia, they celebrated the glorious successes of 1789, while eliding the terrible events of 1793 in their account of the Revolution and its historic legacy.

It is not surprising that history "experience[d] a remarkable revival, almost amounting to a rebirth, under the Restoration," as the historian Cobban later wrote.[382] Fostered by the rise of romantic literature that celebrated the historic--above all medieval--past in Europe,[383] this revival was expressed further in the publication of numerous texts retelling the history of France. These accounts of French history included Amable Guillaume de Barante's immensely successful *Histoires des ducs de Bourgogne de la*

---

[382]Cobban, vol. I, p. 84.

[383]Among the many prominent authors who turned to history as a fecund source for their romantic literature in the early- to mid-nineteenth century are Walter Scott (whose literature was translated and read widely in France), François René Chateaubriand, Alphonse de Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, and Stendhal, among others.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

maison des Valois, 1364-1477 (1824-6),[384] François Guizot's *Essais sur l'histoire de France* (1823), and Augustine Thierry's *Lettres sur l'histoire de France* (1820), as well as Thiers's and Mignet's works.

This revival also took plastic form in the fine arts, with the steady rise of history painting during the Restoration. An enormous, state-supported phenomena,[385] paintings of history--both recent and long past--were propagated by artists as stylistically diverse as Théodore Géricault, Eugène Delacroix, J.-A.-D. Ingres, Paul Delaroche, and Pierre-Henri Révoil, whose work reflected such heterogeneous movements in French painting as Romanticism, Neoclassicism, and the "Troubador style."

With the revival of French historical writing, the rise of history painting, and the romantic celebration of the Middle Ages, it was perhaps only natural that the image of Jeanne d'Arc enjoyed its own renaissance during the

---

[384]Through his sympathetic and dramatically engaging account of Jeanne d'Arc's life (which was also, admittedly, somewhat superficial and inaccurate) in his *Histoires des ducs de Bourgogne*, Barante contributed to the rise of favorable interest in la Pucelle, in the face of Voltaire's still-famous poem during the first decades of the ninteenth century. (For the relevant passages on Jeanne d'Arc, see Amable Guillaume Prosper de Barante, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois, 1364-1477* [Paris: Robert Laffont & Le Club Français du Livre, 1969]: 319-355).

[385]The rise of history painting under the Restoration has been well documented by G. and J. Lacambre in their thorough study "*La politique d'acquisition sous la Restauration, les tableaux d'histoire*," Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de l'art français (1972-1973).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Restoration. As Norman Ziff wrote: "In many ways, Jeanne and the Restoration were made for one another."[386] Indeed, as a heroine who helped to bring a disinherited French king to the throne, Jeanne d'Arc seems an almost inevitable candidate for royal favor under the new Bourbon monarchy, all the more so as a warrior credited with turning the tide in the Hundred Years war. She offered the Bourbons and the French people a bright image of how to restore a King to the French throne, while vanquishing an occupying enemy.

Furthermore, as a fervent believer, who credited her military successes to divine intervention, Jeanne d'Arc offered a vibrant and winning image of faith for the Catholic Church and the royal State, who sought together to consolidate and renew their strength through the old tried-and-true, pre-Revolutionary alliance of Throne and Altar. The many sermons and *panegyriques* spoken in Jeanne d'Arc's honor, year after year during the Restoration, offer vivid testimony to Jeanne d'Arc's appeal as a tool of the Church and monarchy alike.

As Abbé Bernet pronounced, for example, in the opening lines to his "*Panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc: prononcé le 8 mai 1817, dans l'Eglise cathédrale d'Orléans*":

> *Je vais donc essayer de vous prouver que la protection de ce grand Dieu s'est montrée d'une manière spéciale & surnaturelle dans les triomphes de l'immortelle Jeanne d'Arc, & que ses succès ont été sur-tout la récompense de la foi de nos pères. ...Je m'efforcerai...de vous*

---

[386]Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc and French Restoration Art," p. 37.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *convaincre que ce n'est qu'en imitant la foi de nos pères & l'héroïsme chrétien de Jeanne d'Arc, que nois pourrons mériter & obtenir encore cette même protection que Dieu jadis a signalée par elle.*[387]

In its fervant royalist appeal for faith on behalf of the French people that God might grant prosperity through the Restoration of the monarchy, Bernet's sermon affirms how suitable Jeanne d'Arc was as a mascot for the new Christian King and his enthusistic cohorts in the Church.

This same legitimist and pro-Catholic spirit also inspired numerous theatrical productions devoted to *la Pucelle* during the Restoration, including J. Avril's *Le Triomphe des lis*, which was published in 1814.[388] While openly derived from Schiller's drama, Avril's play ended with a new royalist twist at the end. In the last scene (Scene XII), set in Reims Cathedral, Jeanne d'Arc is shown standing by the altar holding *"son drapeau blanc"*[389] in her hand as the Archbishop places the crown upon the King's

---

[387]"I will try to prove to you then that the protection of this great God is shown in a special and supernatural manner in the triumphs of the immortal Jeanne d'Arc, and that her successes were above all recompense for the faith of our fathers. I will endeavor...to convince you that it is only in imitating the faith of our fathers and the Christian heroism of Jeanne d'Arc, that we will be able to merit and obtain again this same protection that God in days of old signaled by her" (Bernet, *Panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc: prononcé le 8 mai 1817, dans l'Eglise cathédrale d'Orléans* [Orléans: Rouzeau-Montaut, 1817], p. 6).

[388]J. Avril, *Le triomphe des lis, Jeanne d'Arc ou la Pucelle d'Orléans, drame en cinq actes et en vers, imité de la tragédie allemande de Schiller* (Paris: Bacot, Dubray, 1814).

[389]"Her white standard" (quoted from Avril, by Jacques-Henri Bauchy, *Une fête pas comme les autres (550 ans de fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc)* [Orléans: Imprimerie nouvelle, 1978], p. 48).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

head. (By introducing the white standard of the Bourbons at the coronation of Charles VII, Avril draws an implicit parallel between the restoration of the disinherited Valois prince in 1429, and the contemporary restoration of the disinherited Bourbon heir Louis XVIII, who readopted "*le drapeau blanc*" of the *ancien régime* when he assumed the throne in May 1814).[390] Having brought the French King successfully to his coronation, Jeanne then declares her mission finished. She says farewell to Charles VII and, in an inexplicable deus ex machina, ascends to heaven in a cloud, having given her life in Reims's Cathedral (not on the battlefield, as in Schiller's drama, and not at the stake, as happened in history) to deliver France to its royal (not military) salvation.

Jeanne d'Arc's story, as told in *Le Triomphe des lis*, offers a tale of legitimacy and divinely inspired destiny that likens the beneficence of the medieval restoration of Charles VII with the nascent, modern restoration of Louis XVIII. Written during the last days of the Empire, at a time when the question of who would replace Napoléon was

---

[390]Avril's use of "*le drapeau blanc*" is deliberately anachronistic--the "white standard" was the flag of the modern Bourbon monarchy, not Joan of Arc and not the Valois King. The King's personal standard (which was unique to Charles VII--in the Middle Ages, the royal standard varied with each reign), has been described as follows: "*[il] représenta un saint Michel terrassant le dragon sur un fond rouge semé de roses d'or*" ("it depicts St. Michael defeating the dragon on a field of red sown with roses of gold" [Harmand, *Jeanne d'Arc: ses costumes, son armure*, p. 307]). For the Maid's own description of her banner (which, in fact, she held during the coronation at Reims), see above, and [fig. XXXI].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

being asked throughout Europe,[391] *Le Triomphe des lis* promotes the benefits of placing a rightful heir on the French throne by implying that, if the King's recall to the throne was accepted by the French (whether in the Middle Ages or in contemporary times), their monarch would--as Charles VII swears to the people in Avril's play--"*promets...de faire constamment le bonheur des français!*"[392]

As is illustrated by Bernet's sermon and Avril's play, Jeanne d'Arc's image was made to conform to the values of the Bourbon Restoration. Politicians, playwrights, and priests alike, from the earliest days leading up to the new regime until its downfall in 1830, adopted the Maid of Orléans as a suitable image of faith and monarchical nationalism. Yet, however readily adaptable the Maid's image proved to be in the rhetoric of the Restoration, in the visual arts the iconographic image of the Maid as a martial figure, fostered during Napoléon's years of conquest, showed some surprising staying power through the

---

[391]Avril completed his play on March 30, 1814--one day before the capitulation of Paris (Pierre Lanéry d'Arc, *Le Livre d'or de Jeanne d'Arc: bibliographie raisonnée* [Paris: Techner, 1894], p. 813; and Nadia Margolis, Joan of Arc in History, Literature and Film [New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990], pp. 308-309).

[392]"promise...to work constantly for the well-being of the French."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

early demilitarized years of Louis XVIII's reign.[393] In fact, ironically perhaps, the quintessential Napoléonic Pucelle--Gois's bellicose *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat*--continued to be recycled by Restoration artists for many months. An early example of the enduring influence of Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc* may be seen in an aquatint frontispiece by Mlle. Vallet of *Jeanne au fort des Tourelles* [fig. LIX] from 1815,[394] that depicts Joan of Arc in a manner that closely recalls Gois's Maid. Vallet's *Jeanne*, like Gois's, is shown striding vigorously forward in battle, wielding a sword and standard, while wearing a long dress and a plumed hat.[395] As late as 1820, Gois's sculpture was replicated in an official capacity on the recto of a commemorative silver coin that also featured the head of Louis XVIII on the verso, carved by "Gayard F." and cast by the town of Orléans in honor of *la Pucelle*.[396]

During the first months of the Restoration especially, artists expediently used and modified (rather than replaced)

---

[393]Peace in France, during this time, was enforced as much by the public's weariness with war, and the exhausted coffers of the former Empire's war chest, as by the occupation of allied troops in France from 1815 to 1818.

[394]Lanéry d'Arc, p. 154, no. 227.

[395]The hat employed by Mlle. Vallet in her illustration of Jeanne d'Arc was derived--like Gois's chapeau--from the famous sixteenth century *Portrait des échevins* [fig. XXVI] of Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans.

[396]P[hilippe] Mantellier, *Notice des collections composant le Musée de Jeanne d'Arc* [Orléans: H. Herluison, 1880], cat. 95, pp. 70-71.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Napoléonic precedent in their representations of the Maid.[397] One of earliest Restoration images of Jeanne d'Arc, a hand-colored engraving entitled *Le serment des amazones françaises au pied de la statue de Jeanne d'Arc* [fig. LII] began as a Napoléonic image of Jeanne d'Arc produced during the Hundred Days. In its original incarnation (as evidenced by an early impression of this print from April 1815), the flags and plumes in the colored print were rendered red, white, and blue, the colors of the revolutionary *tricolore* [fig. LIII].[398] The print remained in circulation for months, and was simply recycled after the change of power in France by an artful alteration in the coloration that was applied to the reprinted image. By leaving the flags and plumes white, the "*amazones français*" appear to be a crowd of royalist women rallying around a

---

[397]During that conservative and unsettled time, Napoléonic iconography of all sorts remained surprisingly undisturbed in the royal court. Napoléon's emblems, for example (his ubiquitous N's, bees, eagles, and laurel-, oak-, and olive-sprays), remained fixed on the furniture and decor of the royal palaces for months. As Monsieur d'Arblay of the Garde du corps wrote to his wife, regarding Louis XVIII's seeming indifference to the Napolénic emblems that continued to decorate his palaces in August 1814: "[It] is as it was six months ago, sprinkled with bees, N's, and eagles, which could at least have been removed from the throne on which his majesty was sitting" (quoted by Philip Mansel, The Court of France, 1789-1830 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], p. 102). Louis XVIII, in fact, continued to use Napoléon's imperial throne until 1822 (Mansel, p. 102).

[398]Anonymous, *Le serment des amazones françaises au pied de la statue de Jeanne d'Arc* (April 22, 1815), engraving, hand-colored. Département des estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris [Cote Qb 1815; cliché no. 751369562].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc, wearing hats adorned with white plumes in honor of the Bourbons and waving the royal "*drapeau blanc*." Thus, conveniently, the print was made to be pro-Bourbon rather than Bonapartist.

The art historian Norman Ziff (presumably on the basis of having seen a later copy of this print dated June 1815),[399] mistakenly described *Le serment des amazones françaises* as "showing patriotic sword-wielding French women gathered around a statue of Jeanne d'Arc (which resembles the Gois) vowing to resist the invaders" who "marched into France...shortly after Waterloo."[400] Ziff is correct in identifying the sculpture in the print as recalling Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* in its militant stance and demeanor; however, his interpretation of the engraving as representing a post-Waterloo battle cry is not entirely the case, since (as has already been noted above) a copy of the print dated April 22, 1815--two months *before* France's defeat at Waterloo--exists in the collections of the Biblothèque Nationale.[401]

While the reissuance of this print in June 1815 may have been intended as just such a defiant and combative response to Waterloo, the earlier edition of this print in

---

[399]Ziff, " Jeanne d'Arc and French Restoration Art," p. 44.

[400]Ziff, " Jeanne d'Arc and French Restoration Art," p. 41.

[401]The battle of Waterloo took place on June 18, 1815, fifty-seven days after the Bibliothèque Nationale's copy of the print was made.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Bibliothèque Nationale's *Département des estampes* could not have been produced as a heartening response to France's decisive defeat by the allies. Nonetheless, it does seem clear that when *Les serments des amazones françaises* was issued in April 1815, it was meant to offer a vigorous and encouraging image of French military strength. At that time, Napoléon was trying to rally a divided and reluctant nation to battle in confronting an unsought and inopportune war imposed by the allies.[402] In the face of open opposition to renewed war from his subjects, Napoléon was forced to wait until June to reinstate the hated conscription, while the English, Belgian, Dutch, and Hanvoverian forces grew to 220,000 strong along the Belgian frontier (with more Russian and Austrian troops on the way).[403]

In promoting the image of Jeanne d'Arc encouraging a spirited troop of women, Napoléon, and the printmaker in his service, may have been endeavoring to encourage the French people to recall the miraculous example of an unlikely heroine who rallied the beleagered forces of the Armagnacs

---

[402]At the Congress of Vienna in mid-March 1815, before Napoléon even had arrived in Paris on his return from Elba, the allies threw down their gauntlet before their old enemy, pronouncing "Buonaparte" anathema and promising that he would be "delivered to public vengence" (Quoted by Markham, Napoleon, p. 228).

[403]Napoléon was badly outnumbered by that time. In early June, Napoléon's striking force numbered only 130,000 (Markham, p. 229).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and, against all odds, delivered her people from the combined forces of the Burgundians and British through the strength of her spirited determination four hundred years before. At the same time, the print may have been intended to suggest not only that French women should rally to the cause, but also that the men of France should join up and do their part, lest their courage be bettered by a more vigorous response from the "weaker sex."

After the almost inevitable defeat of his forces at Waterloo, Napoléon was forced to abdicate for a second time on June 22, 1815. While Napoléon was sent into exile at St. Helena (where he was to remain until his death in 1821), Louis XVIII returned from Ghent, where he had fled three months earlier. He resumed the throne with the same indefatigable sense of divine right that had prompted him to respond to a courtier's congratulatory pronouncement a year earlier--"Sire you are the King of France" (after Napoléon's first abdication)--with the reply: "Have I ever ceased to be?"[404] Thus, the Restoration government took its place again in Paris,[405] assuming the authority of the government,

---

[404]Quoted by Cobban, p. 71.

[405]It did not, however, pick up where it had left off three months before. Rather, the Restored Monarchy resumed the throne with a new and bitter impetus--the taste for revenge setting the course for the Bourbon government, which only twelve months earlier had returned to power under the moderate guise of general reconciliation. Fueled by a thirst to punish those who had betrayed the monarchy yet again, a repressive ultra-royalist party was born, which took the monarchy on an ever more extreme turn to the right, especially after the death of Louis XVIII in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and taking with it the power to encourage and control the production of art works (both literary and pictorial) that supported the aims of its regime.

Among the subjects adopted and promoted by the second Bourbon Restoration was, of course, that of Jeanne d'Arc. Evoking an historic past in the service of their new regime, and thereby suffusing, as Benjamin wrote, history with the redolent "presence of the now,"[406] the Bourbons summoned Joan of Arc as a witness to the divine right of French Kings to rule, and as a symbol of the faith of the French people in their God and His chosen King. Thus, the tiger "stirring in the thickets of long ago,"[407] leapt yet again, wresting Jeanne d'Arc from Napoléon's grasp to serve as a compelling image of fealty and faith on the behalf of those who had succeeded the Emperor in power.

The process of taming and transforming the iconographic representation of Joan of Arc for the restored Bourbon monarchy was not instantaneous. As has already been demonstrated, the process of fashioning a unique Restoration iconography that could replace that of the Empire took

---

1824 (a man more moderate than his successor, Charles X, and most of the nobles in the Chamber of Peers). [For further discussion of the Restoration Monarchy and its politics under Louis XVIII and Charles X--especially the relationship between the conservative pro-monarchist "ultras" and pro-republican liberals, see Cobban, A History of Modern France, vol. 2, pp. 71-93, and Furet, Revolutionary France, pp. 269-325].

[406]Benjamin, Illuminations, p. 261.

[407]Benjamin, Illuminations, p. 261.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

months, even years. Nevertheless, neither Louis XVIII, nor Charles X after him, hesitated to foster the rise of a "*culte de Jeanne d'Arc*" in France. Both monarchs directly commissioned images in her honor during their successive reigns; and, even more often, both Kings supported and promoted the use of her image and life-story when the opportunity presented itself.

Louis XVIII, for example, opportunistically sought to encourage interest in Joan of Arc by purchasing copies of Philippe-Alexandre Le Brun de Charmettes's extensive history on the life of Jeanne d'Arc, *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc surnommé la Pucelle d'Orléans*, when it was published in 1817.[408] These copies were distributed by the Minister of the Interior to public libraries in France in order to foster the "esteem" and "interest" of the public in Joan of Arc, and (by extension) to encourage a greater sense of public patriotism.[409] Charmettes's thorough, four volume history--the first complete historical account of Jeanne

---

[408]Philippe-Alexandre Le Brun de Charmettes, *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc surnommé la Pucelle d'Orléans, tirée de ses propres déclarations, de cent quarante-quatre dépositions de témoins oculaires et de manuscrits de la Bibliotèque du Roi et de la Tour de Londres, ornée du portrait de Jeanne d'Arc et de sept jolies figures* 4 vol.s (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1817).

[409]"Departement de la Meuse, *Le Narrateur de la Meuse* No. 1082 (August 2, 1818): p. 72. In addition to his history, Chaumette also wrote a poem dedicated to the Maid, entitled *l'Orléanide* (1819), which was patently royalist in sentiment. Chaumette, it might be noted, came from a noble family that lost many of its members by execution during the Revolution (Marot, "*De la réhabilition à la glorification de Jeanne d'Arc*," p. 124).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d'Arc's life based on her trial transcripts--remained an important and influential source of information on Jeanne d'Arc's life throughout the nineteenth century, influencing, among others, the famous historian Jules Michelet, who, in 1841, wrote his own widely-read study on the Maid.

However accurate Charmette's account of the Maid's life may have been, though, the illustrations to his text perpetuated the traditional, inaccurate iconographic precedent of portraying Jeanne d'Arc in the costume of a woman, rather than in her chosen, cross-dressed apparel. An example may be seen in an especially erroneous and inventive woodcut-engraving by Charles-Abraham Chasselat and Louis-François Couché, in the last volume of Charmette's history (vol. IV, Book XIII), which illustrates Joan of Arc dressed as a nun, kneeling as she receives her sentence of death in her Rouen prison cell, *La Pucelle en habit de religieuse écoutant sa sentence de mort* [fig. XXXVIII]. The strange inaccuracy of this image was noted aptly in the entry for this image in the exhibition catalogue *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*:

> *Cette représentation est assez surprenante, compte tenu des dépositions des témoins de cette scène, qui ne furent pas des juges mais des moines, et compte tenu du fait que Jeanne fut condamnée pour avoir porté des vêtement d'homme et qu'aucun témoin ne l'a vue habillée d'un tel vêtement.*[410]

---

[410]"This representation is surprising enough when one considers the depositions of the witnesses of this scene, who were not judges but [rather] monks, and when one considers the fact that Jeanne was condemned for having worn the clothing of a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Having pored over the Maid's actual trial transcripts in preparing his own study of Jeanne d'Arc's life and death, Charmette certainly knew that Jeanne d'Arc refused to wear women's clothing (secular or religious) during her last days in prison, and that her refusal to obey the explicit command of the Church that she do so constituted one of the very reasons for her mortal condemnation as a heretic. Thus, the portrayal of her in the costume of a nun in an illustration for Chaumette's text cannot be dismissed as an error of ignorance, but must be recognized rather as a purposeful misrepresentation, designed to emphasize the Maid's piety, while also, perhaps, soliciting the support of the Church (a powerful ally of the royal State) by likening, arguably, her martyrdom to the persecution of the clergy under the Revolution.

At the same time, by representing Joan of Arc in the patently gendered gown and wimple of a nun, Chaumette's illustrators, Chasselat and Couché, gendered and sexualized her image as surely as Voltaire did in his poem *Pucelle*. With their print, the wheel of representation came full turn: A promiscuous harlot with a taste for masturbation and buggery in the hands of the anti-clerical poet and his illustrators in the eighteenth century [fig.s VI, VIII, XVII], Jeanne d'Arc was recast in the quintessentially

---

man and that not a single witness saw her dressed in such clothing" (*Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, cat. 98, p. 78).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

virginal persona of a nun by pro-Catholic royalists during the Restoration.[411] Thus, the Maid's sexuality was used yet again for political gain, and her personal aberrancies as a cross-dresser and as a woman-warrior were contained and altered to fit a new socially prescribed role for Jeanne d'Arc--that of a woman-religious.

The Bourbon regime rewarded not only authors and illustrators who represented Joan of Arc in a manner that suited their political needs, but also painters who represented Jeanne d'Arc in an expedient manner. Thus, for example, the Restoration authorities responded to the appearance of Jeanne d'Arc's image in two paintings by Jean-Antoine Laurent and Alexandre-Louis-Robert-Millin Duperreux at the Salon des Beaux-Arts of 1817 by rewarding both artists with the acquisition of their work. Laurent's *Jeanne d'Arc se dévouant au salut de la France devant une statue de saint Michel*[412] was purchased by the Ministry of the Interior, and installed, in 1820, in the historic

---

[411]It should be reiterated, perhaps, that in this study the persistent concern for Joan of Arc's virginity (her sexual experience or lack thereof) is posited not as a denial of the Maid's fundamental sexuality, but rather as an expression of an enduringly focal (and arguably excessive) concern for her erotic persona, her sexual life, and her gendered body.

[412]"Joan of Arc devoting herself to the well-being of France before a statue of St. Michel," Paris, Salon of 1817, no. 360 (Arthes, p. 6).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"*maison de la Pucelle*" in Domremy;[413] and Duperreux's *Vue de l'entrée de la ville de Vaucouleurs*[414] [fig. LIV] elicited a commission for a second painting of Jeanne d'Arc by the artist. These works received such official approbation because they promoted an image of the Maid that was able to serve the interests of the Restoration in fostering support for the throne and the Catholic Church.

Laurent's *Jeanne d'Arc se dévouant*, now lost (no images remain), depicts (as the title would suggest) the Maid praying for the salvation of France before a statue of Saint Michel, the patron saint of France who was one of Joan of Arc's "voices." (As Joan testified in her trial, it was the voice of Saint Michel that first conveyed to her the will of God when she was a child in Domremy).[415] For the Restoration government, Laurent's work offered not only an

---

[413]"home of the Maid." For a contemporary description of Laurent's painting and references to its purchase and installation in the home of Jeanne d'Arc in Domremy, see "*Inauguration à Dom-Remy, de la statue de Jeanne d'Arc, et d'une École de filles dans sa maison, le 10 septembre prochain,*" *Le Narrateur de la Meuse* no. 1244 [August 27, 1820]: p. 104; and "*Fete de Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy, village du département des Vosges, éloigné d'un quart de lieue, environ, de celui de la Meuse,*" *Le Narrateur de la Meuse* no. 1248 [September 15, 1820]: p. 139; see also Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 40.

[414]"View of the Entrance to Vaucoulers," Paris, 1817, No. 305 (Émile Arthes, *Liste chronologique des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure & lithographie concernant Jeanne d'Arc, qui ont été admis aux expositions annuelles de Paris* [Orléans: H. Herluison, 1895], p. 6).

[415]In her trial testimony on March 1, 1431, Joan gave the names of the saints who spoke to her--St. Michel, St. Catherine and St. Margret, stating that St. Michel "was the first voice which came to her when she was about thirteen" (Barret, p. 69).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

appealing representation of a patriotic peasant dedicated to the monarchy, but also a patently religious image of pious devotion. Such scenes of religious art, cast in an historical context, were highly favored during the reigns of both Louis XVIII and Charles X.[416]

Duperreux's small-scale and finely detailed troubadour-style painting of Jeanne d'Arc (now lost, and known only by a print after the original),[417] in the Salon of 1817, depicted the Maid on horseback with a company of men before the gates of Vaucouleurs (a fortified town loyal to the Armagnacs near Joan's native village of Domremy).[418] There, Joan of Arc is shown receiving a sword from Robert de Baudricourt while saying farewell before her departure for Chinon, where she will seek to win the confidence of the Charles the dauphin. The historic moment from Joan of Arc's life that Duperreux portrays came in February 1429, at the start of the Maid's mission, when Baudricourt, the governor of Vaucoulers, offered Jeanne d'Arc not only the support and

---

[416]As Robert Rosenblum wrote of the upsurge in such religious paintings, presented in an historical guise during the Restoration: "the return of the Bourbons, first with Louis XVIII and then, in 1824, with his brother Charles X, stimulated what was virtually a revival of religious art, although often in the disguised form of French national history and genre" (Robert Rosenblum, "Painting during the Bourbon Restoration, 1814-1830," in French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975], p. 232).

[417]Ziff, p. 39. According to Arthes, Duperreux's *Vue de l'entrée* entered the collection of the Musée d'Orléans (Arthes, p. 6).

[418]Pernoud, Joan of Arc, p. 35.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

protection of an escort--shown on horseback behind the Maid in Duperreux's painting--but also his own sword, the Maid's first weapon as a soldier.[419] As Emile Arthes describes the scene (quoting from the Salon *livret* for 1817--and misdating the year of Joan's departure by one year):

> *Jeanne d'Arc, en 1428, part de Vaucouleurs pour aller joindre Charles VII. Le sire de Baudricourt, la voyant à cheval et prête à partir, lui donna son épée, en lui disant: «Va et advienne tout ce qui pourra».*[420]

Duperreux's representation of a nobleman's early and vital support for Jeanne d'Arc and her royal mission offered an historic affirmation that loyalty to the crown engenders success. The State responded to the image favorably by offering Duperreux (as compensation for his own loyalty to the Bourbon regime) a commission for a second painting depicting a scene drawn from Jeanne d'Arc's life, Vue du Château de Loches [fig. LV], which was exhibited at the following Salon des Beaux-Arts in 1819.[421]

Chosen, presumably, by the *Ministre de l'Intérieur* to promote popular sentiment in support of the Restoration government, the subject for this commission offered an apt image of French triumph and humble fealty. The scene of

---

[419]For details of Baudricourt's support of Jeanne's mission, see Pernoud, Joan of Arc, p. 34, and Barrett, The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc, p. 56.

[420]"Jeanne d'Arc, in 1428, leaves Vaucouleurs to go join Charles VII. Lord Baudricourt, seeing her on horseback and ready to depart, gives her his epee, saying: 'Go and come all that may'" (Arthes, p. 6).

[421]Paris, Salon of 1817, no. 408 (Arthes, p. 7).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Duperreaux's second painting is set at the Château de Loches, where Jeanne d'Arc went to see Charles the dauphin on May 9, 1429, to tell the prince that she had raised the siege of Orléans on his behalf, and hence cleared much of the way for his coronation at Reims cathedral. In the painting, she is shown outside the château genuflecting before the dauphin as she proclaims (as was quoted in the *livret* for the Salon de 1819):

> *«Grand Dauphin, voilá le siège d'Orléans levé, qui est la première chose dont j'ai eu commandement de la part du Roi du Ciel pour le bien de votre service. Reste maintenant à vous mener à Reims en toute sûreté, pour y être sacré et couronné, dont vous supplie Jeanne la Pucelle»*[422]

Painted with exquisite, miniaturistic detail, and a relatively close attention to historic fact,[423] Duperreux's

---

[422]"Great Prince, there, the siege of Orléans is lifted, that is the first thing that I was commanded on the behalf of the King of Heaven for the good of your service. Now, all that remains is to conduct you to Reims in all safety, to be consecrated and crowned, for which Joan the Maid entreats you" (Quoted by Arthes, p. 7, and Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 40). According to Arthes, this painting entered the collection of the Musée de Tours (Arthes, p. 7).

[423]An historic account of Joan of Arc's stay at the château de Loches was given by Dunois, the "Bastard [Count] of Orléans," at the Maid's second trial in 1455-56. According to Dunois (who fought with Jeanne d'Arc at Orléans and accompanied her to Loches), the Maid burst into a council of war being held at the château by Charles and his captains, in which they were debating how best to press the Armagnac's current advantage in the wake of their recent victory at Orléans. They were wavering between deciding whether to attempt to take Normandy, which would strengthen the Armagnac's chances of later regaining Paris, or turn their efforts towards taking the cities of Meung and Jargeau on the route to Rheims, where the Kings of France were traditionally crowned. Throwing herself on her knees, Joan begged Charles to "go to Rheims as soon as possible to receive a fitting crown" (quoted by Pernoud, Joan of Arc, p. 110). The

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vue du Château de Loches combined the popular pictureque and exotic "*style troubadour*" with a propagandistic image of respect and reverence for the French crown.

In 1818, the Restoration government was again drawn into supporting and promoting the image of Jeanne d'Arc, when (in a distinct, upward turning point in Jeanne d'Arc's popularity during the Restoration) the home believed by tradition to be that of the d'Arc family in Domremy--"*la maison de la Pucelle*"--was bought after much controversy by the Département des Vosges.[424] Located in the small village

---

King and his council were swayed by Joan's impassioned pleas. As Dunois later testified, "All rallied to her opinion" that "once the King should be crowned and anointed, the strength of his adversaries would go on declining" (quoted by Pernoud, Joan of Arc, p. 109). Duperreaux's painting was somewhat incorrect in portraying the Maid on her knees outside the châteaux (rather than inside, at a council meeting of the King and his captains, where her supplication actually took place); however, his portrayal of the Maid's personal appearance with short, shoulder-length hair and men's clothing was essentially accurate.

[424]The supposed "*maison de la Pucelle*" was first identified as Jeanne d'Arc's home in historic documents in 1586, when, according to Marot, it was sold as such by a private individual (whose name remains anonymous) to Louise de Stainville, comtess de Salm, dame de Domremy (Pierre Marot, *Le pays de Jeanne d'Arc* [Paris: Éditions Alpina, 1951], p. 32). Documents relating to the home and its ownership become obscure after 1733. The home did not attract further public attention until 1815. However, after the sale of the home to the Département des Vosges, it became an ever more prominent tourist attraction. By 1878, signatures in the visitor's book at the home in Domremy, "*Le Livre d'Or*," numbered over 4,500 for that year alone (Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 259).

The Département de Vosges, it might be explained, was one of over eighty administrative territories in France in a system of regional authority (headed by a prefect, and further subdivided into local municipalities) that was established as a revolutionary reform in December 1789. These departments were carved out of France's native geography; the Département de Vosges was located in the North-Eastern province of Lorraine.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of Domremy in the Meuse valley in the Champaigne-Lorraine marches near the German boarder [fig. XLII], "*la maison de Jeanne d'Arc*" was occupied in the early nineteenth century by a vineyard keeper named Nicolas Gérardin, who was a descendant of one of Joan's godsons.[425] In 1815, Gérardin was offered 5,000 francs for his home by a Prussian count.[426] Gérardin--a wounded veteran of the Napoléonic wars (he fought as a dragoon in ten Imperial campaigns)[427]--patriotically refused to sell to a foreigner. "Shamed"--as Warner wrote--by "the interest of a Prussian" into making its own offer to buy "*la maison de la Pucelle*,"[428] the Département des Vosges offered to pay Gérardin the more modest sum of 2,500 francs.[429] In return for his decision to sell his home to the French people for half what a German

---

[425]Warner, p. 258.

[426]Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 37.

[427]Marot, Le pays de Jeanne d'Arc, p. 28.

[428]Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 258.

[429]Warner incorrectly cited the amount paid for the home by the government as "1,800 *francs*" (Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 258). In an official account published in *La Narrateur de la Meuse* in August 1818, it is reported that the *Conseil général* of the *département* decided to acquire *"la maison où naquit en 1412, et où fut élevée l'héroïne qui sauva la France par ses conseils et par sa valeur, comme elle édifia le monde par ses vertus...pour le prix principal de 2500 fr., payable dans l'année et sans intérêt..."* ["the home where the heroine, who saved France by her advice and by her valor, as she edified the world by her virtues, was born in 1421, and where she was raised. This acquisition is done for the principal price of 2,500 fr., payable during the year and without interest..."]("*Département de la Meuse*," Le Narrateur de la Meuse No. 1082 (August 2, 1818), P. 71).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nobleman offered, the old soldier was hailed as a loyal patriot. He was invited to remain as the custodian of the historic home;[430] and "steps were taken to permit his children to attend royal schools."[431] The wounded veteran's self-sacrifice was celebrated also--and made even more famous--by two plays that were written and produced in 1818, both entitled *La maison de Jeanne d'Arc*, by René Périn and Michel-Nicolas Balisson de Rougemont respectively. Both plays feature a protagonist named "Gérard," and both--playing on post-Waterloo, anti-British sentiments in France--feature an English antagonist who tries unsuccessfully to buy "*la maison de Jeanne d'Arc.*"[432] Finally, Gérardin's

---

[430]As was noted in *La Narrateur de la Meuse* in August 1818, the *Conseil général* of the *département* agreed to purchase "*la maison [de] l'héroïne...sous la condition que le sieur Gérardin, vendeur, et qui passe pour être l'un des parens de Jeanne d'Arc, restera gardien du monument qu'on se propose d'y élever à la glorieuse mémoire de celle-ci*" ["the home (of) the heroine... under the condition that the seller Mr. Gérardin, who is looked upon as being one of the relations of Jeanne d'Arc, will remain guardian of the monument that is proposed to be raised there to the glorious memory of her]("*Département de la Meuse,*" *Le Narrateur de la Meuse* No. 1082 (August 2, 1818), P. 71).

[431]Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," pp. 37-38.

[432]In Périn's *comédie anecdote*, which enjoyed a successful run at the Théâtre Favart in Paris, the efforts of the Englishman "Belfort" to purchase the Maid's historic home from the impoverished "Gérard" are foiled by the villagers of Domremy, who from the richest to the poorest all contribute money to keep the house in the possession of their village (Michel Leymarie, "*Jeanne d'Arc au théâtre: contribution à l'étude de l'exploitation dramatique et thématique de l'image de Jeanne d'Arc dans le théâtre français de 1800 à 1830,*" M.A. thesis, Université de Nancy, 1972, p. 66; and Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 43).

In Rougemont's *anecdote-vaudville*, which opened at the Théâtre du Vaudville in Paris, the Englishman "Milord Arthur"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

patriotism was rewarded by a medal from the city of Orléans, as well by *la croix de la Légion d'honneur* (one of the highest honors of the French nation) from the government of Louis XVIII.[433]

Inspired by the sale of Jeanne d'Arc's home by Gérardin, the government of Louis XVIII decided to contribute its own support to the preservation and commemoration of the historic site at Domremy. As the royalist Charles Haldat du Lys wrote:

> "*Les ministres d'un monarque, dont les pensées ne sont pas moins dirigées vers la prospérité publique que vers la gloire du nom français, ne se contentèrent pas d'applaudir au voeu éminemment patriotique du département des Vosges; ils le présentèrent à S.M. qui voulut concourir avec ses sujets à la conservation de la glorieuse chaumière et à l'érection d'un monument local depuis si longs-temps réclamé par la*

---

offers 24,000 francs to buy the property from "Gérard," with a plan to demolish the house and "*faire transporter le tombeau de Jeanne d'Arc pour [son] cabinet des curieux*" ("To transport the tomb of Jeanne d'Arc to his curio cabinet" [quoted by Leymarie, p. 67, and Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 44]). Arthur's lucrative offer is tempting (despite his outrageous intention to put the body of la Pucelle in his curio cabinet), because Gérard needs to raise money for the marriage of his godson, to whom he owes not only a sentimental and religious duty, but also to whom he owes his life--his godson, Victor (who is refused permission to marry his true love, Georgette, unless a thousand francs are raised to restore the home of his prospective father-in-law) saved him once on the battlefield. With noble and patriotic self-denial, Gérard refuses Arthur's offer, accepting instead the radically more modest amount of 3,000 francs from a French colonel, on the condition that the maison Jeanne d'Arc be properly cared for, and that his godson be allowed to marry Georgette. The Colonel Franville agrees, insisting further that Gérard remain as custodian of the historic home. The play ends with "the old soldier" Gérard inviting Milord Arthur to spend a month in Domremy to "receive a lesson in French gaiety" (Leymarie, p. 67-68).

[433]Marot, *Jeanne la bonne Lorraine*, p. 92.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reconnaissance."[434]

To be specific, Louis XVIII granted a credit of 20,000 francs for the restoration of "*la maison de Jeanne d'Arc*," and for the erection of a monument to honor the Maid in her village. The King also contributed an additional 8,000 francs for the establishment of a free girls' school in Domremy.[435]

The restoration and renovation of the house was made under the direction of Henri-Prosper Jollois, the chief engineer for Bridges and Highways for the département des Vosges (a "*polytechnicien*" with an interest in design, archaeology and historic preservation).[436] Jollois restored *la maison de Jeanne d'Arc* to «*son état primitif*», and took down some of the smaller, adjacent buildings that flanked

---

[434]"The ministers of a monarch, whose thoughts are no less directed towards public prosperity than towards the glory of the French name, were not satisfied with applauding the eminently patriotic resolution of the département des Vosges; they presented this to His Majesty, who desired to collaborate with his subjects in the conservation of the [Maid's] glorious thatched cottage and the erection of a local monument that has been so long in need of recognition" (Charles Nicolas [Alexandre] Haldat du Lys, *Relation de la fête inaugurale: célébrée à Domremy, le 10 septembre 1820, en honneur de Jeanne d'Arc; suivre de deux dissertations sur l'authenticité de la maison de l'héroïne et sur les monuments anciennement érigés à sa gloire dans la province de Lorraine* [Nancy: Cl.-J. Hissette, (1820)], p. 4).

[435]Marot, *Jeanne la bonne Lorraine*, p. 92 and Haldat, *Relation de la fête*, p. 4.

[436]Marot, *Jeanne la bonne*, p. 92. According to Marot, Jollois went to study and document the monuments of Egypt as a member of the *l'Institute d'Egypte*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the historic home in order to establish a garden.[437] He also had a hand in designing the base for the memorial sculpture to Jeanne d'Arc erected in Domrey in 1820.

Carved by the sculptor Jean-François Legendre-Héral (a professor at the École des Beaux-Arts in Lyon),[438] this monument took the rather eclectic form of a bust sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc with long hair and a plumed toque, inspired by the renaissance portrait *«des Échevins»* in Orléans[439] [fig. LX], set atop a fountain designed by Jollois to recall a Greek temple. Although modestly scaled and rather undistinguished, Legendre-Héral's sculpture constituted the first and only sculptural monument of Jeanne d'Arc to be

---

[437]Marot, *Le pays de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 29-30, and Marot, *Jeanne la bonne*, p. 92.

[438]Stanislas Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculptures de l'école française du XIXe siècle*, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Champion, 1914-21, reprint; Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1970), p. 286.

[439]The "*portrait des échevins d'Orléans*" was still considered accurate by those, in 1820, less familiar with Jeanne's historically well-documented appearance, than with the traditional (and inaccurate) Johannique iconography of the Maid with long hair and a feathered hat. As the Johannique enthusiast (and supposed descendant of the Maid) Charles Haldat du Lys wrote of the Domremy sculpture by "Mr. Le Gendre Héral" [sic], and its traditional iconographic inspiration in the paintings of those who lived closer to the Maid's own lifetime: "*De longs cheveux flottent sur ses épaules, et sa tête est couvert de cette toque à panache avec laquelle elle a été représentée par les artistes qui ont réçu à l'époque où ses traits étaient encore présens à la memoire de ses contemporains*"
("Long hair flows on her shoulders, and her head is covered by this feathered toque with which she was represented by the artists who [learned] from the epoch when her traits were still present in the memory of her contemporaries," Haldat, Relation de la fête inaugurale, p. 11).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

commissioned and completed under the Restoration, and its inauguration with Jeanne d'Arc's newly restored home in 1820 was met with much fanfare. It was hailed at the time as a sculpture of public utility (set, as it was, in a public fountain), as well as an image of benign moral influence, offering the emulative figure of a heroine who was a "*martyre de son dévouement à la patrie.*"[440]

In supporting the promotion of Joan of Arc's memory in Domremy with a memorial fountain, a school, and the restoration of Jeanne d'Arc's home, Louis XVIII was not just endeavoring to recall to public memory a faithful martyr to "*la patrie,*" he was also attempting to win public support for his regime by fostering the image of a charitable and beneficent monarchy that cares for even its most remotely provincial and humble subjects, while also promoting an alliance between *le peuple*, *le Roi*, and *l'Église catholique*. The moralizing and politically propagandistic motivation behind the King's promotion of Joan of Arc's memory was made manifest above all, perhaps, by the King's establishment of *l'école gratuite de jeunes filles* in Domremy, the free school for girls (from Greux, the parish in which Jeanne d'Arc's village was located).[441]

Built near *l'église de Domremy* on a newly constructed

---

[440]"martyr to her devotion to the Fatherland" (Haldat, Relation de la fête inaugurale, p. 11).

[441]Marot, Le pays de Jeanne d'Arc, pp. 25-26.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

esplanade between the recently renovated *maison de Jeanne d'Arc* and Legendre-Héral's memorial fountain [fig. LXI], the school, which was organized and administered by the religious order of the Sisters of *la Providence de Portieux*,[442] was established with the stated purpose of providing a sound moral and religious training for young women. An unstated but equally compelling motive, however, behind the donation of royal funds for the establishment and upkeep of a free, religious education for girls was to reward and secure the support of the King's *croyant* subjects in the Lorraine, a region of France that was strong in its patriotic and pro-Catholic sentiments.[443] As Haldat wrote tellingly regarding the King's efforts to foster patriotism, "Christian virtue," and royalist support by establishing the school:

> *Pour donner plus d'éclat à sa munificence, à côté du monument matériel [par Legendre-Héral], Sa Majesté ordonna l'érection d'un monument moral, en fondant une école destinée à répandre l'instruction et à développer le germe des vertus parmi les jeunes filles de la*

---

[442]Marot, Jeanne la bonne Lorraine, p. 92. According to Warner, the Sisters of Portieux ran the school until 1888, when its administration as a public school was turned over to secular authorities (Warner, p. 258 and endnote 10, p. 327).

[443]A lasting reminder of the Louis XVIII's patronage of the school was established by the placement of a bust sculpture of the King in the school during its inauguration by the Prefect of the Loiret, who also placed (during the same ceremony) Jean-Antoine Laurent's pious painting of Joan of Arc praying, Jeanne d'Arc se dévouant au salut de la France devant une statue de saint Michel, in the "*maison de Jeanne d'Arc*" ("*Inauguration à Domremy, de la statue de Jeanne d'Arc, et d'une École de filles dans sa maison, le 10 septembre prochain,*" Le Narrateur de la Meuse [August 27, 1820], p. 104).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

patrie de Jeanne.[444]

This theme of the King's royal patronage in Domremy, demonstrating beneficent concern for his humbler subjects was taken up again and again during the speeches that were given on September 10, 1820, at the inaugural festivities held to celebrate the completion of the new monument, the girl's school, and the renovation of Jeanne d'Arc's home in Domremy. In his "*Éloge de Jeanne d'Arc*," for example, Haldat du Lys (a Jeanne d'Arc enthusiast who claimed to be a descendant of the Maid) surmised that the King's establishment of the free school would foster pro-royalist sentiments in the countryside: "*Les jeunes filles auxquelles la bienfaisance du monarque prépare une instruction solide....chériront un Prince auquel la pompe du trône n'a pu faire oublier les intérêtes des champs.*"[445] While le duc de Choiseul emphasized in his speech that by honoring Joan of Arc, the King was celebrating the memory of a poor and simple peasant--"*une jeune fille, pauvre, obscure*"--whose miraculous and faithfully loyalist life story proved that

---

[444]"To give more éclat to his munificience, in addition to a material monument, His Majesty ordained the erection of a moral monument, in founding a school destined to spread the education and to develop the seeds of virtue among young girls from the birthplace of Jeanne" (Haldat, Relation de la fête inaugurale, p. 4).

[445]"The young girls for whom the beneficence of the King is preparing a solid eductation...will cherish a Prince to whom the pomp of the throne did not make forget the interests of the countryside" ([Charles Nicolas Alexandre] Haldat [du Lys], *Éloge de Jeanne d'Arc, Pucelled'Orléans, prononcé à Domremy les 10 Septembre 1820* [Neufchateau: Beaucolin, (1820)], p. 30).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"rien n'est impossible à l'amour de la patrie, à la fidélité envers le Roi et à la confiance que Dieu inspire."[446]

By all accounts, Louis XVIII's efforts to inspire pro-royalist support through patronage of projects celebrating *la Pucelle* in Domremy were successful. In *Le Narrateur de la Meuse*'s account of the inauguration of the monument to Jeanne d'Arc in Domremy, for example, it is noted that when Legendre-Héral's bust was unveiled, "*les cris de vive le roi! honneur à Jeanne d'Arc! sont unanimes et réitérés.*"[447] Similarly, an anonymous account of the inaugural festivities, *Fête pour l'inauguration du monument élevé à la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc, à Domremy, Département des Vosges (10 septembre 1820)*, estimated that ten thousand spectators from all over France crowded into the streets of Domremy to attend the sculpture's inauguration, admire the ephemeral triumphal arch (surmounted by a figure of Jeanne d'Arc) that was erected near the Meuse river, and listen to the National Guard play martial music as well as to the speeches given by

---

[446]"It is to honor the memory of a young, poor, obscure girl, who had only her heart, her courage, and her virtue, a simple peasant girl!...nothing is impossible with patriotism, fidelity to the King, and the confidence that God inspires" ("*Departement de la Meuse, Le Narrateur de la Meuse* No. 1249 [September 20, 1820], p. 151).

[447]"the cries of 'long live the King! honor to Joan of Arc!' are unanimous and repeated" ("*Fête de Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy, village du département de Vosges, éloigné du'un quart de lieue, environ, de celui de la Meuse,*" *Le Narrateur de la Meuse* No. 1248 [September 15, 1820], p. 134).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Haldat, Choseuil, and others.[448] These spectators voiced their royalist enthusiasm and unanimous "satisfied" response, according to one account, "*aux discours qui étaient prononcés par le cri national de VIVE LE ROI! VIVENT LES BOURBONS!*"[449] The royalist tone to the festivities was capped officially, near the close of the ceremonies in the evening, by a fireworks display that first took the shape of the words "*Vive le Roi!*," and then burned to form the shape of a fleur-de-lis.[450] Obviously, the King's patronage of Joan of Arc's memory in Domremy won support for the Bourbon Restoration.

However, in their celebratory monuments and congratulatory prose, what the King, the Church, the Bourbon authorities, and their loyal supporters ignored in adopting *la Pucelle* as an emulative image of moral rectitude was Jeanne d'Arc's concomitant subversive potential to represent

---

[448]Fête pour l'inauguration du monument élevé à la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc, à Domremy, Département des Vosges (10 septembre 1820) (Neufchâteau: Beaucolin, 1820), p. 2. Contemporary prints of the inaugural festivities corroborate the immensity of the crowds that attended the events in Domremy on Sept. 10, 1820. See, for example, Saule and Pauquet's *Vue de la place au moment de l'inauguration du monument* (aquatint, Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans [cliché no. 89D49]), which shows the village center of Domremy so packed that spectators are forced to take to the roof tops and far shores of the Meuse river to find a place to view the inaugural events.

[449]"to the speeches that were pronounced by the national cry of 'Long live the King! Long live the Bourbons!'" (*Fête pour l'inauguration*, p. 2)

[450]"*Fête de Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*," *Le Narrateur de la Meuse*, p. 136.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the defiant rejection of convention and official authority. No one apparently paused to consider, for example, the irony of adopting a cross-dresser (who defied her parents by refusing to marry and by leaving home without their permission, just as she defied the Church prelates by refusing to resume women's clothing and to submit to their authority) as a commendable image of piety, patriotism and fealty suitable to inspire little girls and humble peasants alike to obey the will of the Church and State.

In the hands of the Restoration government, the image of Jeanne d'Arc was made to leap yet again, to borrow Benjamin's analogy, like a trained tiger through the hoop of Bourbon exigencies: now made to kneel as a prayerful and supplicatory virgin, now ordered to smile accommodatingly as an ornament for a public fountain, now commanded to stand (like a rampant tiger on her hind paws) as a victorious champion for her King in the paintings, prints and sculptures of the last Bourbon regime.

Yet, like a tiger trained to perform tricks, her persona could not be wholly tamed nor fully controlled by the Bourbons. Although her image proved operative and malleable when carefully deployed, the artists in the service of the Restoration never were able to erase fully the lingering traces of social transgression left by the Maid's anomalous life upon the history of her portrayal. Thus, no matter how persistently her aberrancies of dress

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and behavior were ignored or normalized, the ultimately indelible marks left by her defiance of convention and authority remained legible (if muted) in the representation of her image. These transgressive markers had to remain--even if only subtly-- if Jeanne d'Arc was to be identified as the historically unique individual she was.

The conventional representation of Jeanne d'Arc carved by Legendre-Héral, for example, portrayed the Maid with her long-standing iconographic attribute of a man's plumed hat. (The hat itself served to identify Jeanne d'Arc, in the absence of other recognizable attributes--such as her banner, sword and armor--in this bust sculpture). Although this marked transvestism went unmentioned in the contemporary praise of the sculpture's inspirational appearance, perhaps because of its derivation from the portrait *«des Échevins»* (the patina of iconographic tradition having given the luster of unquestioning social acceptability to the Maid's defiant transgression as a cross-dresser), the truth remained undeniable in the monument's portrayal; Jeanne d'Arc was--among other things--a defiant transvestite, who defied the authority of the Church (to her mortal doom) by refusing to wear women's clothing. Thus stubbornly unconventional in her own lifetime, Jeanne d'Arc's refusal to conform to the norms of the Church and society lived on in her afterlife, despite the best efforts of those who sought to normalize her image.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Because any one image of Jeanne d'Arc always evokes other, sometimes unwelcome images and associations from the past and present, Jeanne d'Arc's representation could never be controlled wholly by the Bourbons (as before and after their reign). Nevertheless, those who sought to use Jeanne d'Arc's image in an official capacity around 1818-1820 in Domremy attempted to manipulate and contain the reception of her image by (among other things) offering not one, but many images of the Maid at once, as if the sheer multiplication of her representation in their hands might help to predetermine the public's received image of her. Thus, not only did Louis XVIII's government fund all at once not just a sculpture, a school, and a renovated historic residence devoted to the Maid's memory in Domremy, it had, for example, the Maid's home embellished with Laurent's painting of the Maid praying (reiterating the moralizing intent behind the crown's support for the Maid), and it had a copy of two recent, popular fictional publications on Jeanne d'Arc placed in the foundations of her memorial fountain there. These two works were Casimir Delavigne's (then) famous elegiac poems "*La vie de Jeanne d'Arc*" and "*La morte de Jeanne d'Arc,*"[451] which mourned not only the life and death of Jeanne d'Arc but also France's defeat at the fall

---

[451]Published first in Delavigne's collection of poems *Deux Messéniennes* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1819), an expanded edition of these poems, *Trois Messéniennes, élégies sur les malheurs de la France* (Paris: Ladcocat, 1820), was reissued in numerous editions throughout the ninteenth century.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the Empire, and Marie-Charles-Joseph Loeillard d'Avrigny's pro-ecclesiastic and anti-British play *Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen*.[452] By sealing Delavigne's and Avrigny's writings in the base of Legendre-Héral's monument to Jeanne d'Arc, the Restoration government sought to make clear just exactly what it hoped to evoke when it called forth the Maid's visage. Clearly, the governmental authorities were seeking to make distinct associations between the Maid and self-sacrificing royalist loyalty and the observance of the Catholic faith, while also fostering contemporary anti-British, anti-revolutionary, and anti-Napoléonic sentiments.[453]

The royal patronage of Jeanne d'Arc's image at Domremy, following the purchase of "*la maison de la Pucelle*" by the *Conseil général des Vosges* in 1818, incited other artists, musicians and playwrights to take up the subject of Jeanne d'Arc in their work. The increasingly widespread interest in this subject around 1818 to 1820 may be seen in a vast array of artistic expressions then, ranging from the decision of the *Académie royale des beaux-arts* to choose a cantata on the subject of "Jeanne d'Arc" for its *grand*

---

[452]Marie-Charles-Joseph Loeillard d'Avrigny, *Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen: Tragédie en cinq actes et en vers, représentée pour la prmière fois par les comédiens ordinaires du Roi le mardi 4 mai 1819* (Paris: Lavocat, 1819).

[453]Marot, "*De la réhabilitation à la glorification de Jeanne d'Arc*," p. 124.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

concours de composition musicale in 1818,[454] to the publication of numerous novels, plays, poems, and histories on Jeanne d'Arc produced during that time, including Jean-Henri Dupin, Armand Dartois and Pierre-François-Adolphe Carmouche's humorous theatrical parody entitled *Le Procès de Jeanne d'Arc; ou le jury littéraire*, which featured the comic trial of not one woman, but four--Jeanne d'Arc, Jeanne-Chapelain, Jeanne-Schiller, and Jeanne-Flonflon,[455] and M.-T. Perroux d'Albany's moralizing novel *L'Amazone française* (1819). The year 1819 also saw the publication of Avrigny's immensely successful play *Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen*, and Casimir Delavigne's poems on Jeanne d'Arc from his Messéniennes (as has been noted above). The enduring popularity of Delavigne's tragic and melodramatic poems inspired other artists and musicians to produce their own subsequent works on the Maid of Orléans.[456]

Finally, in 1819, Pierre Caze published his controversial two volume history on Jeanne d'Arc, *La vérité sur Jeanne d'Arc, ou éclaircissemens sur son origine*, which introduced the original theory that *la Pucelle*'s miraculous

---

[454]Quatremère de Quincy, *"Séance publique annuelle du Samedi 3 Octobre 1818, programme et ordre de la séance, Académie royale des beaux-arts, Institute royal de France"* (Paris: Didot, 1818), p. 7.

[455]Jean-Henri Dupin, Armand Dartois, and Pierre-François-Adolphe Carmouche, *Le Procès de Jeanne d'Arc; ou le jury littéraire, parodie-vaudeville en un acte* (Paris: Barba, 1819).

[456]Margolis, p. 313.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

exploits were due not to divine intervention, but rather to her royal lineage as the illegitimate progeny of Charles VII's wife, Isabelle of Bavaria, and his brother, Louis of Orléans.[457] According to Caze, the bastard child was given to the care of a humble peasant family--the d'Arcs--in Domremy, to be raised in obscurity until the moment was propitious to introduce her as a messenger of God sent to deliver France and the French throne from the Anglo-Burgundians. Caze's inventive theory, which had no apparent basis in historic fact, offered a compelling explanation for why a humble peasant girl was given a royal audience at Chinon, and why Charles entrusted her with his army. (It also, arguably, represented a throughly Restoration retelling of the Maid's story--no longer was Jeanne d'Arc hailed as a peasant girl sent by God; she was, rather, re-cast as a royal offspring, whose exploits were due to her royal blood and her royal connections). In any case, Caze's creative theories bred a long line of later texts, published throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, that have argued for "the bastardy theory" of Jeanne d'Arc's successes.

The burgeoning "*culte de Jeanne d'Arc*" during these years was manifest in the visual arts as well. At the Salon of 1819, no less than ten paintings, including Duperreux's

---

[457]Pierre Caze, *La vérité sur Jeanne d'Arc, ou éclaircissemens sur son origine* (Paris: Rosa, 1819 and London: Treuttel et Wurtz, 1819).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vue du Château de Loches [fig. LV], featured the exploits of Jeanne *la Pucelle*.[458] Among these works, three paintings attracted particular critical attention--Pierre-Henri Révoil's *Jeanne d'Arc prisonnière à Rouen* [fig. LVI], Fleury-François Richard's *L'Ermitage de Vaucoulers* [fig. LVII], and Auguste-Jacques Regnier's *Paysage* [fig. LVIII]. Not all of the works were deemed artistically successful. Regnier's work, especially, was criticized at the Salon as an aesthetically mediocre work. Yet all of them successfully promoted--if not embodied--the ideals of the Restoration, as images of pious faith (and)/or stalwart loyalty to the French monarchy, and consequently, all three of them succeeded in becoming acquisitions of the State (the most prestigious fate for an art work in France during the nineteenth century).

Regnier's "landscape" (also called simply *Jeanne d'Arc* in some Salon reviews)[459] was made on commission for *le*

---

[458]Marie-Pierre Foissy-Aufrère, *La Jeanne d'Arc de Paul Delaroche: Salon de 1824, dossier d'une oeuvre*, exh. cat. (Rouen: *Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen*, 1983), p. 36. According to Arthes, only seven paintings on Jeanne d'Arc were exhibited at the Salon of 1819. These were as follows: Berthon, *Portrait en pied de Mlle. Duchesnois, dans le rôle de Jeanne d'Arc* [no. 85]; Duperreux, *Vue du Château de Loches* [no. 408]; Le Sage *La morte de Jeanne d'Arc* [no. 761]; Mongin, *Jeanne d'Arc fait prendre l'épée de Charles Martel dans le forêt de Fier-Bois* [no. 845]; Regnier, *Paysage* [no. 932]; Révoil, *Jeanne d'Arc prisonnière à Rouen* [no. 944]; and Richard, *L'Ermitage de Vaucoulers* [no. 951] (Arthes, pp. 6-8).

[459]C.P. Landon, for example, refers to this painting in his review of the Salon of 1819 as "*Jeanne d'Arc; tableau de M. Regnier*" (C[harles] P[aul] Landon, *Annales du Musée et et de l'école moderne des Beaux-Arts; Salon de 1819*, vol. 2 [Paris:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ministère de la maison du Roi for "*la nouvelle galerie de Diane, au Château de Fontainebleau,*"[460] a redecorated hall that was being hung with a new series of paintings representing glorious figures from the history of the French monarchy, including, according to Ziff, "scenes from the lives of Clovis, Charlemagne, Saint Louis, François I^{er} and Henri IV."[461] Despite the monarchical theme of the new gallery for which Regnier's canvas was commissioned, however, the subject of his *Paysage* was neither (as might have been expected) overtly royalist, nor was it--as the painting's title might suggest--a pure landscape (although the romantic, wooded setting of the painting is given prominent attention by its author, an artist who specialized in landscapes). Rather (in a scene that makes no overt reference to Jeanne d'Arc's allegiance to the French throne, or her role in bringing Charles VII to Reims for his coronation), the Maid is shown standing alone in prayer in a sheltered valley, darkly overshadowed by tall trees and steeply surrounding hillsides.

In the center of the dark forest glen, marked only by an elevated statue (presumably a pilgrimage shrine) devoted to the Virgin Mary, Joan is illuminated dramatically by a

---

Imprimerie Royale, 1820], pl. 30, p. 47).

[460]Landon, Salon de 1819, p, 47 and Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 40.

[461]Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 40.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stark and narrow halo of light. Shown in profile, facing up to the left towards the shrine, while clutching the shaft of her sword so that its hilt takes the form of a crucifix,[462] Jeanne d'Arc's raised face and hands express the fervency of her supplication to the Virgin Mary. In costume--dressed in a long gown, a plumed hat, and a sword belt--Regnier's Maid recalls Gois's Napoléonic sculpture, which may have suggested also the striding pose of the painting's protagonist. In subject, however, the scene in Regnier's *Paysage* suggests the influence of Laurent's successful, pious Restoration painting of 1817, representing *la Pucelle* praying before a religious statue of Saint Michel.[463] That Regnier's Maid is seeking some sort of intervention or blessing from the Holy Virgin seems clear; the precise concern of the Maid's empassioned prayer would be obscure, however, without the critic Landon's explanation that (like Laurent before him)--"M. Regnier *a voulu representer Jeanne d'Arc se dévouant au salut de la France devant la statue de la Vierge.*"[464]

Having explained the painting's meaning, the prominent critic noted the feebleness of Regnier's composition, which

---

[462]Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc and French Restoration Art," p. 40.

[463]Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 40.

[464]"M. Regnier wanted to represent Joan of Arc dedicating herself to the well-being of France before the statue of the Virgin" (Landon, "Salon de 1819," p. 47). Arthes offers the same explanation (Arthes, p. 7).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

he described as "*un peu maigre*," and the weak proportions of Jeanne d'Arc, "*[qui], isolée dans un grand espace, attire et soutient faiblement l'attention du spectateur.*"[465] Landon further criticizes Regnier's lack of an engaging title, and even this master of landscape painting's rendering of his forest setting as too "*idéal*" and unrelated to the historic subject at hand.[466]

Clearly, the success of Regnier's painting as an accepted royal commission rested not upon the artist's composition and execution, but rather upon the welcome that his popular and compelling subject--Jeanne d'Arc in prayer--received. This supposition seems to be supported by the parallel success that met a similarly pious painting of Jeanne d'Arc at the Salon of 1819, Fleury-François Richard's *L'Ermitage de Vaucoulers* [fig. LVII]. Like Regnier's *Paysage*, Richard's *L'Ermitage* was criticized as being poorly composed and conceived; for its suitably pious and historical subject, however, it was rewarded similarly by the State through official acquisition "*par le ministère de la maison du Roi.*"[467]

---

[465]"a little meager," "[that], isolated in a large space, weakly draws and supports the attention of the spectator" (Landon, "Salon de 1819," p. 47).

[466]Landon, "Salon de 1819," p. 47.

[467]"by the ministry of the royal household" (Landon, "*Salon de 1819*," [1820], p. 34). It might be noted that Ziff asserts that Richard's canvas was not acquired by the government until 1821, the year after Landon wrote that the oeuvre was designated to be purchased by "*la maison du Roi*" (Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In Richard's relatively small, modest canvas, now hanging in the Sully galleries of the Louvre,[468] Joan is shown in the costume of a shepherdess kneeling (in mid-ground) before a hermit, who is seated at left in an especially dark corner, beside a table (or altartop) bearing a sculpture of the Virgin Mary and an open book (presumably the Bible).[469] In the distance, to the right, beyond the entrance to an open portico, a luminous and fertile landscape can be seen traversed by a river; and, in the near ground, a small herd of sheep can be seen patiently awaiting their shepherdess by the sunlit path leading into the hermitage.[470] Smoothly painted and richly detailed, Richard's canvas--like that of Regnier or his fellow Lyonnais painter Pierre Révoil (who also exhibited a small-scale and historically detailed canvas of Jeanne d'Arc at the Salon of 1819)--offers yet another prime example of the

---

French Restoration Art," p. 40).

[468]Sully, Salle 57, Musée du Louvre, Paris (as of 5-93).

[469]The Maid's classicial Davidian profile reveals the lingering influence of Richard's early study with Jacques-Louis David.

[470]As had been pointed out by the Louvre's Département des Peintures, the landscape portrayed is an amalgam of two different actual sites, "*le cloître Notre Dame de l'isle à Vienne, et une vue de l'isle Barbe à Lyon*" (see the Louvre Richard *dossier* and the museum's wall-lable text, see also Ziff, p. 47, endnote 27).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

popular *style troubadour*.[471]

The painting portrays a young Jeanne d'Arc, before she left her home, consulting the hermit of Vaucouleurs about the mission that her voices are irresistably calling her to accomplish--that is to deliver Orléans, and bring Charles VII to his coronation.[472] (This subject was, apparently, invented by Richard).[473] Landon notes in his criticism of the canvas, however, that although "*ce petit tableau*" is attractive, "*harmonieux*," and finely rendered (with the scrupulous, smooth brushwork that characterizes such troubadour style oeuvre), the painting suffers because its central figures are difficult to discern.[474] The hermit and Jeanne d'Arc are almost lost in shadow. Indeed, according to Landon, the subject of the painting was considered so indecipherable that Richard had to defend the work's title at the Salon:

> *La figure de Jeanne d'Arc et celle de l'ermite y tiennent si peu de place, et sont même si peu apparentes, cars elles sont relégué dans l'ombre, que le peintre a fait preuve de goût en se contenant du*

---

[471]Lyon, the home to Richard and Révoil, was the center of a new, and increasingly popular school of painting in the 1820s, known today as the "Troubadour Style," that was characterized by its small scale and carefully detailed, romantic portrayal of medieval life. See below, for a discussion of Révoil's *Jeanne d'Arc prisonnière à Rouen* (1819).

[472]See Landon, "Salon de 1819," pp. 31-32; and Arthes, p. 8.

[473]See the Louvre Richard *dossier* and the museum's wall-lable text; see also Ziff, "*Jeanne d'Arc*," p. 40 and p. 47, endnote 27.

[474]Landon, "*Salon de 1819*," p. 33.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

titre d'Ermitage de Vaucouleurs.[475]

Yet, however illegible its subject, the painting nevertheless incited favorable attention at the Salon by offering a delicately painted representation of a moment from Jeanne d'Arc's life, as Landon concludes (noting further the remarkable popularity of Jeanne d'Arc as a favoured subject at the Salon that year):

> *Au surplus, M. Richard était bien sûr d'intéresser doublement les amateurs de son pinceau, toujours fin et gracieux, en leur offrant un trait de la vie de Jeanne d'Arc; et l'on a pu remarquer que d'autres artistes ont eu la même idée: l'héroïne français figure dans pluieurs morceaux de la même exposition.*[476]

For Richard, and the nine other painters who rode the crest of a rising Restoration *culte de Jeanne d'Arc*, the Maid's visage guaranteed the "doubly certain" interest of the Salon-going public in 1819.

Among the most prominent of the many painters who successfully adopted Joan of Arc as a subject at the Salon that year was Pierre-Henri Révoil, an artist who specialized in painting small-scale, meticulously detailed, and historically erudite canvases of life in the Middle Ages.

---

[475]"The figure of Joan of Arc and that of the hermit occupy so litle space, and are indeed so little apparent because they are isolated in shadow, that the painter had to give proof of the justice of using the title Hermitage of Vaucouleurs to designate his painting" (Landon, "Salon de 1819," p. 33).

[476]"Moreover, M. Richard was doubly certain of the interest of the enthusiasts of his always fine and gracious brush in offering them an episode from the life of Jeanne d'Arc; and it might be noted that other artists had the same idea: the French heroine figures in many pieces in this exhibition" (Landon, "*Salon de 1819*," p. 33).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Révoil, an "avid student and collector of Medieval and Renaissance art objects,"[477] prided himself on his attention to historic detail, which Landon duly praised in 1819, when he wrote:

> *M. Révoil avait déjà fait preuve [au Salon de 1810] d'un talent très-distingué et sur-tout d'un genre d'esprit et de goût, ou, si l'on veut, d'érudition, assez rare, même parmi les artistes dont les études ont été le plus soignées.*[478]

As if to document (as well as explain) the historic basis of his works, Révoil's paintings at the Salon were often accompanied by careful, explanatory texts. In 1819, Révoil inserted just such a lengthy statement in the Salon *livret*, explaining the exact historical subject of his painting *Jeanne d'Arc prisonnière à Rouen*.[479] In summary, the scene (as Révoil explained it) was drawn from the testimony of Raymond de Macy at the Maid's *procès en nullité* of 1455-56. As Macy testified then, Jeanne d'Arc was visited in prison in Rouen in the winter of 1431 by the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Stafford (or "Scanffort," as Révoil misnames the constable of France on the English side),[480]

---

[477]Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 43.

[478]"M. Révoil has already given proof [at the Salon of 1810] of a very distinguished talent and, above all, of a kind of intellect and taste, or, if you will, of erudition, rare enough, even among artists whose studies have been the most careful" (Landon, "Salon de 1819," p. 36).

[479]For a complete rendition of Révoil's text, see Landon, "Salon de 1819," pp. 35-36.

[480]Quoted by Landon, "Salon de 1819," p. 35.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jean de Luxembourg (the Count of Ligny, who was then holding Joan in captivity, and who subsequently handed her over to the British), the Count of Ligny's brother (the bishop of Boulogne), and--presumably--Macy himself (who was a servant of Jean de Luxembourg). In Révoil's canvas, this formidable company of men (rightly described by Warner as "a gathering of the most eminent and the most powerful men" in occupied France)[481] may be seen surrounding the slight, bare-footed and chained--but cooly imperturbable--figure of Jeanne d'Arc, who is shown leaning on her straw palette in a stark, brilliant shaft of light.

According to Macy (as Révoil reiterated in the Salon *livret*), the comte de Ligny (shown at left, in the canvas, gesturing with his hand raised, forefinger extended) offered to ransom Jeanne d'Arc on the condition that she would swear never to take arms against the Anglo-Burgundians again. When the Maid refused, saying with bold defiance:

> *Hé, mon Dieu!, vous vous riez de moi, car je sais bien que vous n'en avez ni le pouvoir ne le vouloir...Je sais bien que ces Anglais me feront mourir, croyant après ma mort gaigner le royaume de France; mais...ils n'auraient pas ce royaume;*[482]

Stafford, in anger, impulsively drew his sword to strike

---

[481]Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 106.

[482]"Hey, my God! You laugh at me, because I know well that you have neither the ability nor the desire [to ransom me]...I know well that the English will kill me, believing after my death to win the realm of France; but...they will never have this realm" (Quoted by Landon, "Salon de 1819," pp. 35-36; quoted also by Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 43, and Arthes, pp. 7-8).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ligny's impudent captive. In the canvas, he is shown being restrained forcibly by Warwick, as Macy watches the dramatic events unfold from behind the partially open prison door at the far right.

As was characteristic of his painting style, Révoil rendered his scene with almost pedantic attention to detail, as if by carefully describing the stitched seams of the men's hose and the bowl-like cut of their Norman *coupe des cheveux rondis,*[483] he could persuade his audience of the historical veracity of the portrayed moment by the sheer plethora of exotic, medieval details that fill and cover the surface of his canvas. Yet, however minutely he described his subjects, Révoil was not as scrupulously accurate in his portrayal as he might have been. Jeanne d'Arc's hair, for example, which was described explicitly in her trial transcripts as short and "cut round above her ears" in the masculine Norman style, is shown to be below shoulder-length and parted on the side. Although the Maid's hair surely grew during her incarceration, it is unlikely that it would have been able to grow, during the no more than six months that she was held by Jean de Luxembourg, at least seven to eight inches (from shaven above her ears, as was stated in her trial, to below her clavicle, as Révoil pictures it), as

---

[483]The prevailing masculine haircut among young Norman men during Jeanne d'Arc's day was unparted, and cut short and high above the ears, with the neck and temples shaven, in a coiffure that took the shape of an inverted bowl.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

would be necessary for this portrayal to be accurate.[484]

Admittedly, how much Jeanne d'Arc's hair might have grown in prison is debatable; clearly, however, Révoil pushes his representation of Jeanne d'Arc's coiffure to its most factually possible extreme. While the additional length of Jeanne d'Arc's hair may seem a minor detail, it is an embellishment that distinguishes Jeanne d'Arc from the men portrayed in Révoil's canvas, as does her hat (derived from the portrait *«des Échevins»* [fig. XXVI]), which further identifies her as the Maid of Orléans. At the same time, the lengthened depiction of her hair also emphasizes Jeanne d'Arc's femininity, an exaggeration that can be seen as well in the painter's description of Jeanne d'Arc's costume and physique. Although she is shown dressed in masculine clothing, not unlike that worn by her male captors, her thin, light-weight tunic and coat are open and pulled back to her undertunic, revealing (not uncoincidentally) the taunt, thinly veiled contours of her breasts. (The men, by contrast, are shown wearing thick, pleated outergarments--overtunics, coats and *huques*[485]--loose and fastened to the throat in a manner that reveals little of the actual

---

[484]Captured by Jean de Luxembourg at Compiègne on May 23, 1430, Jeanne d'Arc was handed over to be tried (to Cauchon, the bishop of Beauvais) on November of the same year.

[485]The *huque*, a short outer garment slit at the sides and the front (worn over armor or civilian costume, sometimes with a belt and/or fur trim) was popular in France at the beginning of the fifteenth century (Boucher, 20,000 Years of Fashion, p. 197)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

contours of their upper bodies).

The prominence of Jeanne d'Arc's raised and ample breasts makes clear that the central protagonist of the painting, whether dressed in men's clothing or not, is emphatically a woman. They also, arguably, give a small sexual charge to the scene, drawing attention to the fact the chained captive is a young and desirable woman surrounded by a host of men, whose aggressive, male energy is emphasized by their thrusting swords and pointing fingers. It also might be relevant to note that Raimond de Macy (the witness upon whose testimony Révoil relied in painting this scene) testifed--in a famous passage in the Maid's rehabilitory trial transcripts--that he once tried to caress Jeanne d'Arc's breasts while she was a prisoner of the comte de Ligny. Her emphatic efforts to repel him were repeated at the trial (and often later, by her biographers) as evidence of the Maid's firmly resolved chastity. As Raimond de Macy testified:

> I saw Joan for the first time when she was shut up in the castle of Beaurevoir for the lord count of Ligny. I tried several times, playfully, to touch her breasts, trying to put my hand on her chest, the which Joan would not suffer but repulsed me with all her strength. Joan was, indeed, of decent conduct, both in speech and act.[486]

Révoil may have been inspired by this well-known anecdote to enhance the prominence of the Maid's female physique in the company of Macy and the other men, in order to make her

---

[486]Quoted by Pernoud, Joan of Arc, p.155.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

captivity seem all the more dramatically perilous in the hands of her English enemies.

Purchased by the comte de Artois (the brother and successor of Louis XVIII),[487] Révoil's *Jeanne d'Arc prisonnière à Rouen* incited other painters to represent Jeanne d'Arc in prison, including three at the Salon of 1824, by Louis Ducis (*Capivité de Jeanne d'Arc* [fig. LXII]),[488] Louis Crignier (*Jeanne d'Arc en prison*),[489] and Paul Delaroche (*Jeanne d'Arc interrogée par le cardinal de Winchester* [fig. LXIII]). Playing on the same anti-British sentiments that Révoil's canvas was probably intended to inspire, these paintings also further developed the feminization and sexualization of Jeanne d'Arc's image, by emphasizing the peril to her modesty and purity in prison, or, more subtly, by representing her as a weak and vulnerable woman cowering on her bed in the company of her enemies.

The subject of both Louis Crignier's and Louis Ducis's paintings was Jeanne d'Arc's dress in prison--specifically, the complicated relationship between her cross-dressing in

---

[487]Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 43. The comte de Artois ascended the throne as Charles X after the death of his brother, Louis XVIII, in September 1824.

[488]Paris, Salon of 1824, no. 557 (Arthes, p. 8). Ducis exhibited a painting under the same title, and with the same legend at the salon in 1831 (Paris, 1831, no. 643 [Arthes, p. 9]).

[489]Paris, Salon of 1824, no. 557 (Arthes, p. 8). Present whereabouts unknown.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

prison, the preservation of her virginity there, her brief re-adoption of women's clothing after her abjuration in May 1431, and the role of her captors in all of the above. In Crignier's painting, Jeanne d'Arc is shown in prison weeping at being forced to surrender her arms and armor, which (as the artist explains in the Salon *livret*) "*défendait sa vie et protégeait sa pureté.*"[490] Her tears grieve not only for the humilitiating loss of her arms and her standard, but also for the frightening privation of that which protects her prized virtue against the assaults of her captors. Thus Jeanne d'Arc's cross-dressing is explained in Crignier's canvas as a sign *not* of Jeanne d'Arc's defiance of social norms and Church authority, but rather as a shield that *la Pucelle* must cling to in order to preserve her precious virginity.

In Ducis's canvas [fig. LXII], Jeanne d'Arc's captors threaten her by forcibly removing the female apparel she had agreed to resume wearing when she recanted and submitted to the authority of the Church in May 1431. As the scene was described in the Salon catalogue:

---

[490]"defended her life and protected her purity" (Quoted by Arthes, p. 8, and by Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," endnote 44, p. 48). The artist's complete entry is as follows: "*Jeanne d'Arc, prise au siège de Compiègne, fut conduite en prison. Obligée de livrer ses armes, elle se dépouille de l'armure qui défendait sa vie et protégeait sa purité; elle ne quitta son étendard qu'après l'avoir arrosé de ses larmes*" ("Joan of Arc, taken at the siege of Compiègne, is conducted to prison. Obliged to surrender her arms, she is deprived of the armor that defended her life and protected her purity; she leaves her standard only after having watered it with her tears" (Arthes, p. 8).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *Les persécuteurs de Jeanne d'Arc lui ayant arraché la promesse de ne plus porter d'autres habits que ceux de son sexe, substituèrent dans sa prison, pendant son sommeil, des vêtements d'homme et des armes aux vêtements de femme qu'elle avait repris; elle se trahit, comme Achille, à la vue d'un casque et d'une épée.*[491]

Both Crignier's and Ducis's images turn on the dressing and undressing of Jeanne d'Arc in apparel that was forced upon her by her captors. Both canvases also suggest a

---

[491]"The persecutors of Joan of Arc, having extracted the promise [from her] to no longer wear other dress than that of her own sex, substituted men's clothing and arms, in her prison, during the night, for the women's clothing that she had [agreed to] take back; like Achilles, she appears looking at a helmet and a sword" (Quoted by Arthes, p. 8).

In likening Jeanne to Achilles, Ducis was refering to one of the most common--and least heroic--of the Achillean tales, in which, during the Trojan wars, the legendary Greek hero was disguised in the dress of a woman and sent away in hiding to the isle of Scyos by his mother, who knew that her son was fated to die before Troy if he went to battle there. Meanwhile, having been drawn reluctantly into combat against Troy himself, Ulysses sought to enlist other Greek chieftains in the war effort, including Achilles, the most illustrious Grecian warrior. Having heard that he was hiding in the court of King Lycomedes on Sycos, Ulysses followed him there disguised as a merchant offering female ornament to the King's daughters. Laying a heap of jewels and fine clothing--intermingled with a sword, spear, and shield--before the ladies of the Sycosian court, Ulysses trapped Achilles by sounding a trumpet, which (upon hearing what sounded like a martial call-to-arms) caused the warrior-*en-travesti* to instinctively seize the weapons and thus betray his identity. In comparing these cross-dressed warriors, Ducis implies that both Achilles and Jeanne d'Arc were drawn to their arms instinctively; neither soldier could deny their martial calling. However, the artist's comparison between their transvestitism is not wholly apt. Jeanne d'Arc's defiant cross-dressing (which she undertook when she went to war to deliver France, and maintained in prison, even though it ultimately sealed her doom) represented, by Jeanne d'Arc's own account, the Maid's mortal submission to the will of God rather than the Church Militant, while Achilles's transvestitism represented simply a more mundane (and arguably selfish) endeavor on the part of Achilles and his mother to save the young man's life by helping him evade military service at a time when Greece was preparing to face its then-most powerful enemy, the Trojans, in war.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

controversial issue in Jeanne d'Arc's history; that is, why Jeanne d'Arc wore men's clothing, and why--after she repudiated her cross-dressing--she subsequently re-adopted masculine dress while in prison in Rouen.[492] In the years following the Maid's death at the stake on May 30, 1431, two explanations have surfaced as to why Jeanne d'Arc resumed her cross-dressing after foreswearing it, and how she was able even to obtain men's clothing while being held as an isolated captive in an enemy prison.

One explanation was proposed by Jean Massieu, a contemporary witness at the Maid's rehabilitory trial in 1455-1456. Massieu suggested that Jeanne d'Arc was forced to resume wearing men's clothing by her jailers, who took away her female dress and left only masculine attire, in order to seal her doom by making it appear that she had relapsed as a heretic.[493] This theory inspired Ducis's canvas.

Other witnesses at the Maid's *procès en nullité*

---

[492]This controversy (which continues to the present among Johannique scholars) dates back to the last days of Jeanne d'Arc's life, when (on May 24, 1431) she signed the *cédule*, or document, repudiating her voices and agreeing to obey the Church Militant. Upon pain of death then, Joan of Arc swore to accept women's clothing and to grow her hair long; she was consequently given the dress of a woman, and sentenced to life in prison. Within three days, however, she was found to be wearing men's clothing again in her cell; and the following day (on May 28, 1431) she was condemned as a relapsed heretic, and sentenced to death.

[493]Pernoud, Joan of Arc, p. 219. This theory was propounded also by no less than Pope Pius II in his Memoires (see above).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

testified that Jeanne d'Arc herself choose to resume wearing men's clothing in order to safeguard her sexual purity from the soldiers holding her captive.[494] (Their testimony, however, does not make clear exactly how wearing masculine attire might serve to protect the virtue of an otherwise unarmed woman, such as Jeanne d'Arc in prison. One can only assume that their theory held that such cross-dressing might serve to prevent or discourage unwanted sexual overtures by either somehow physically impeding a sexual assault--the joined fabric of a man's hose posing a modest barrier not offered by the open skirt of a woman--or, perhaps, by presenting a visually repelling dissuasion to the Maid's jailors by making Jeanne d'Arc appear unappealingly masculine).[495] Crignier's entry in Salon *livret* of 1824 makes reference to this latter theory that wearing a man's attire "protected [Joan of Arc's] purity."[496]

---

[494]Numerous witnesses, including Pierre Cusquel, the burgher of Rouen (who did masonry work at the castle where Joan was held, and who consequently met the Maid in prison), testified that she "resumed man's clothes...in order not to give herself to the soldiers with whom she was" (Quoted by Pernoud, Joan of Arc, pp. 219-220).

[495]It might be noted, however, that women's cross-dressing has been regarded, at various times throughout history, as alluring and sexually charged, rather than to the contrary. In the nineteenth century, especially, "erotic art was," as a sartorial historian recently wrote, "filled with images of women in trousers...The sexual appeal of women in male attire was--and remains--very powerful, since such cross-dressing violates some of our culture's most strongly held taboos" (Valerie Steele, Paris Fashion: A Cultural History [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 164).

[496]Quoted by Arthes, p. 8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Like a serious, rather than satiric, retelling of Voltaire's *Pucelle* (in which Saint Denis struggles through twenty-one cantos to preserve Jeanne's maidenhood), in Crignier's and Ducis's paintings, the Maid's life and sexual purity are threatened by her persecutors. However, while in Voltaire the bawdy narrative turns on whether or not Jeanne's virginity can be saved from her suitors, in these canvases, it is the Maid's clothing now (rather than Saint Denis) that determines Jeanne d'Arc's fate in the face of mortal and sexual peril. In Ducis's canvas, for example, the sexual tension of the scene is enhanced by the artist's portrayal of the Maid's costume--Jeanne d'Arc is shown partially *en déshabillé*, with her thin shift loosely slipped down to reveal both her shoulders and the voluptous curve of the top of her right breast. This tension is enhanced further by the predatory voyeurism of her captors (who appear, by their rich clothing and advanced age, to be her judges, rather than simply her jailors). Hidden behind a pillar (at left) in her prison cell, they watch eagerly as she discovers the masculine clothing they have left her to put on, waiting with pen-in-hand to sign their captive's doom as a relapsed heretic. Thus, dressed or undressed, by turns, in masculine attire, Jeanne d'Arc's sexuality, in the guise of her threatened sexual purity and modesty, is privileged in Crignier's and Ducis's images of her in prison.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Like Ducis, Paul Delaroche also portrayed Joan of Arc in prison in women's clothing in his immensely successful canvas *Jeanne d'Arc malade est interogée dans sa prison par le cardinal de Winchester. Ce prélat, irrité de ses réponses la menace des peines éternelles* [fig. LXIV].[497] However, while the subject of Ducis's canvas deals with the reasons for Jeanne d'Arc's cross-dressing, Delaroche's depiction of Joan of Arc being interrogated by the Cardinal of Winchester does not contextualize Jeanne d'Arc's transvestism, and it does not address how she came to be in women's clothing in prison. Rather, the dramatic moment (apparently fictional)[498] in Delaroche's canvas concerns the supposed meeting between Jeanne d'Arc and the British prelate, in which the Cardinal--ignoring the Maid's ill health--attempts to bully her into compliance with the Anglo-Burgundians by threatening her with eternal damnation if she refuses. Meekly cowering upon her bed, with her

---

[497]"Joan of Arc, ill, is interrogated in her prison by the Cardinal of Winchester. This prelate, irritated by her responses, threatens her with eternal suffering" (Paris, 1824, no. 457 [Arthes, p. 8]).

[498]As Ziff has pointed out, there is no known historical source for Delaroche's canvas, although, as Ziff notes further, one historically documented incident "comes close" (Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," endnote 51, p. 48). When Jeanne d'Arc fell ill in prison, on one occassion, the Cardinal of Winchester and the Count of Warwick summoned doctors to attend to the prisoner, in order to prevent her from possibly dying a natural death, and thereby preventing their master, the King of England (who paid for Jeanne's captivity), from enjoying the cruel satisfaction of seeing Jeanne d'Arc brought to "justice" (Quoted from Le Brun de Charmettes's *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc* by Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," endnote 51, p. 48).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

small hands folded and her huge eyes raised as if in prayer, Delaroche's Maid seems a feeble match for her thundering and determined nemesis.

While the Maid's feminine (and inaccurate)[499] costume may have no immediate bearing on the painting's subject at hand (as in Crignier's and Ducis's canvases), it does serve an important role in establishing Jeanne d'Arc as a sympathetic figure. By suppressing her transgression of social and sartorial norms, and eliding her refusal to obey the Church authorities regarding her clothing, she is made to appear a wholly innocent victim of her enemies. Furthermore, by silhouetting the iron chains on Jeanne d'Arc's wrists against the soft, diaphanous folds of a low-cut dress, the Maid's feminine vulnerability before the forbidding and hard-featured British clergyman is magnified, making her plight, as she lies trembling on her bed, all the more dramatic.

As Marie-Pierre Foissy-Aufrère wrote aptly regarding

---

[499]Although it is possible--despite the lack of historic records to support the event's occurrence--that Joan of Arc was visited by the Cardinal of Winchester in prison, it is illogical to assume that such an interrogation took place after Joan signed her confession and abjuration in May 1431, when she agreed to cooperate with the Church authorities and resume wearing women's clothing. If this scene took place before her abjuration, however, Delaroche's portrayal of Joan of Arc in women's clothing would be wholly inaccurate, as the Maid of Orléans stoutly refused to give up her masculine attire during the many months of her captivity before then. Similarly, it is unlikely that Jeanne d'Arc's hair, which curls abundantly down and across her shoulders in Delaroche's canvas, could have grown to such length (from her chosen, short masculine coiffure before her captivity) while the Maid was in prison.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the effective, soft and feminine appeal of Delaroche's heroine, in his 1983 study on *La Jeanne d'Arc de Paul Delaroche*:

> *...il choisit de la représenter couchée et malade, donc en apparente position de faiblesse;...elle apparaît toute douceur et courbes féminines.*[500]

This soft and feminine Maid was specifically praised by contemporaries of Delaroche's painting, such as the anonymous critic of the ultra-conservative periodical *Le Drapeau blanc*, who described the protagonist of *Jeanne d'Arc interogée dans sa prison* as *"un parfait modèle d'innocence, de doucer et de résignation."*[501]

Indeed, critics of virtually all persuasions (politically royalist, Bonapartist, or liberal, aesthetically romantic or neoclassical), praised Delaroche for the force and truthfulness of his Jeanne d'Arc. While this praise was not unadulterated, Delaroche's canvas was, as Ziff wrote, "of all Restoration Jeanne d'Arc paintings...certainly the best received."[502] Landon, a partisan of Davidian neoclassicism, for example, praised the veracity of Delaroche's dramatic retelling of this

---

[500]"He chooses to represent her lying [on her pallet] and sick, thus in an apparent position of weakness; she seems all soft and feminine curves" (Foissy-Aufrère, *La Jeanne d'Arc de Paul Delaroche*, p. 38).

[501]"a perfect model of innocence, of softness [or meekness] and of resignation" ("F.," "Beaux-Arts. - *Exposition de 1824*," *Le Drapeau blanc* No. 257 [September 13, 1824], p. 3).

[502]Ziff, "Jeanne d'Arc," p. 46.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

historical scene. "*Nous disons la verité des caractères, et nous insistons sur ce point*," he wrote (despite the fact that Jeanne d'Arc refused to wear women's clothing until her brief abjuration, and despite the fact that it is doubtful that the Cardinal of Winchester ever actually visited Jeanne d'Arc in her prison cell).[503] In the *Journal des débats* (the most popular paper in France during the Restoration),[504] Delécluze similarly described the work as "*bien composé...d'une vérité frappante. Enfin, la pensée de ce tableau est juste et forte.*"[505] A. Barginet, a critic for *Panorama des nouveautés parisiennes*, noted the popularity of Delaroches's canvas at the Salon, "*On doit [citer avec éloge] à M. De Laroche jeune [sic], une Jeanne*

---

[503]"We affirm the truth of these characters, and we insist on this point" (C[harles] P[aul] Landon, "*Jeanne d'Arc interrogée dans sa prision; tableau de M. Delarcche*," in *Annales du musée et de l'école moderne des Beaux-Arts; Salon de 1824* [Paris: C. Ballard, 1824], p. 52). Landon also went on to note that although Delaroche's Jeanne d'Arc might be found lacking in sufficent dignity, or profundity of expression, such qualities might be attributed to the fact that Joan of Arc has been represented historically "*comme un modèle de simplicité, de candeur, de résignation que l'on retrouve ici assez bien exprimé pour que l'on ne soit pas tenté de désirer autre chose*" ("a model of simplicity, of candor, of resignation that one finds here so well expressed that one is not be tempted to desire another thing" [Landon, *Salon de 1824*, p. 52]). Thus for Landon, Jeanne d'Arc represented an image of (arguably) childlike simplicity, openness, and resigned obedience, an image that he recognized in Delaroche's canvas.

[504]Mansel, The Court of France, p. 171.

[505]"well-composed...and with striking truth. Finally, the idea of this painting is accurate and strong" ([Étienne-Jeanne] D[elécluze], "*Exposition du Louvre*," *Journal des débats* (Sept. 8, 1824), p. 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d'Arc devant laquelle les curieux s'arrêtent avec plaisir...M. De Laroche est dans la bonne route,"[506] while the critic for the conservative, royalist *Oriflamme* praised the nobility, candor and innocence of Delaroche's Maid, concluding with unbridled enthusiasm, "*Enfin...ce tableau est précieux pour la beauté de la couleur et le charme du clair-obscur!*").[507] Although the approbation of the *Oriflamme*'s anonymous critic for Delaroche's pathetic image of Jeanne d'Arc might have been predictable, it is notable that even the critic for the satiric journal *Le Diable boiteux* listed Delaroche's *Jeanne d'Arc* among "*les compositions le plus remarquables*"[508] at the Salon of 1824, admitting further (in a second article) that "*Il y a une grande énergie dans ce tableau de M. Delaroche.*"[509]

A critical and popular success, Delaroche's *Jeanne d'Arc interogée dans sa prison* did much to promote a new, more vulnerable, and feminine image of Jeanne d'Arc in

---

[506]"One should [cite with praise] M. Delaroche's Joan of Arc before which the curious pause with pleasure...M. Delaroche is on the right track" (A. Barginet, "*Beaux-Arts: L'ermite au Salon de 1824,*" *Panorama des nouveautés parisiennes* 11 [Sept. 11, 1824], p. 346).

[507]"Finally...this painting precious for the beauty of its color and the charm of its chiaroscuro" ("*Exposition de 1824,*" *L'Oriflamme*, p. 392).

[508]"the most remarkable compositions" ("*Ouverture du Salon,*" *Le Diable boiteux* No. 241 [August 28, 1824], p. 3).

[509]"there is a great energy in this painting by M. Delaroche" ("*Salon de 1824: Mm. Schnetz, Delaroche, Steube, Gaissies, Mauzaisse, Rouget, Ingres et Belloc,*" *Le Diable boiteux* No. 257 [Sept. 13, 1824], p. 3).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

French art. The artist's contribution to the development of Jeanne d'Arc's image in the nineteenth century has been described by Foissy-Aufrère as a "*vision nouvelle, tout à la fois charnelle et spirituelle.*"[510] While it may be an exaggeration to assert that Delaroche's celebrated canvas alone fostered the rise of Jeanne d'Arc's image as a weak and womanly victim (for Crignier's and Ducis's images also contributed to the development of this new iconography), it can be argued convincingly that, together, Crignier's, Ducis's, and Delaroche's seminal paintings of Jeanne in prison offered influential--if not, indeed, prototypical--examples of the Restoration's ultimate contribution to Jeanne d'Arc's iconography.[511] Their paintings promoted and popularized the image of Jeanne d'Arc as a victim, as well as a vulnerable, and at times seductively desirable feminine figure.

This iconographic conception of Jeanne d'Arc as an

---

[510]"new vision, at once carnal and spiritual" (Foissy-Aufrère, *La Jeanne d'Arc de Paul Delaroche*, p. 39).

[511]While the image of Jeanne d'Arc as a victim of her enemies (as a captive in prison, or at the stake) was not invented by these Restoration artists, such images were relatively rare before the 1820s. Among such comparatively few earlier images of Jeanne d'Arc as a victim is an early miniature of *Jeanne d'Arc sur le lieu du supplice* [fig. LXV], that survives from the Sixteenth Century. Also pre-dating Delaroche's, Ducis's and Crignier's canvases is A.-E. Fragonard's drawing (reproduced in a popular lithograph by G. Engleman) of *Jeanne sur le Bûcher* from 1822 [fig. LXVI], a dramatically pathetic (and arguably somewhat seductive) image of the Maid bound to the stake before a storm-tossed sky, barefoot, in a light shift with long, unbound hair that swirls about her and clings to her slight form in the wind.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

imperiled and feminine victim appeared in an increasing number of paintings and sculptures at the Salons des beaux-arts during and after the reign of Charles X.[512] It was also taken up in literary and theatrical works produced during the Restoration, such as Nicolas-Jean-Charles, the comte d'Hédouville's "*tragédie en cinq actes*", *Jeanne d'Arc, ou la Pucelle d'Orléans* (1829), which offered a romantic portrayal of Jeanne d'Arc's last days in prison in Rouen.[513]

---

[512]Such images continued to rise in popularity during the reign of Charles X (1824-1830), and his successor Louis-Philippe (1830-1848). Images of Jeanne d'Arc as a weak and feminine victim of her enemies in prison, at her trial, or at the stake from the Bourbon Restoration and the July Monarchy, include Jacquand's painting of the Maid as a prisoner of the English, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Salon of 1827, no. 585); Eugène Deveria's *La morte de Jeanne d'Arc* (Salon of 1831, no. 577); Mme. L. Thurot's representation of her inquisition *Jeanne d'Arc* (Salon of 1831, no. 1991); A.-E. Fragonard's *Jeanne d'Arc montant au bûcher* (Salon of 1831, no. 2741); Debacq's scene of the confrontation between Jeanne d'Arc, Jean de Luxembourg, Stafford and Warwick *Jeanne d'Arc* (Salon of 1831, no. 3116); and Mlle. A. Martin's rendition of the same scene *Jeanne d'Arc* (Salon de 1835, no. 1524); Debois's *Jeanne d'Arc dans sa prison* (Salon of 1835, no. 512); Jules Jollivet's *Procès de Jeanne d'Arc* (Salon of 1835, no. 1131); Souchon's *Supplice de Jeanne d'Arc* (Salon de 1837, no. 1684); Casimir de Balthazard's *Jeanne d'Arc dans sa prison à Rouen, visitée par le sire de Luxembourg et les comtes de Warwick et de Stafford* (Salon of 1840, no. 32); Laurent Detouche's *Supplice de Jeanne d'Arc* (Salon of 1841, no. 561); Alphonse Dulong's *Sainte Catherine et Sainte Marguerite consolant Jeanne d'Arc dans sa prison* (Salon of 1841, no. 618); Edouard Diron's *La mort de Jeanne d'Arc* (Salon of 1844, no. 561); and Jean-Jacques Feuchère's marble statue of *Jeanne d'Arc sur le bûcher* (Salon of 1845, no. 2097) [Arthes, pp.9-14].

[513]N.-J.-C. Hédouville, *chevalier de Saint-Louis et de la Légion d'honneur, Jeanne d'Arc, ou la Pucelle d'Orléans, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Adrien Leclère, 1829). In Hédouville's drama, both Joan of Arc's compatriot Dunois and her enemy Bedford (in whose captivity she is being held) are in love with the Maid. Because of his amorous interest in her, Bedford refuses to free Joan, despite Dunois's efforts to attain her release. Jealous of Dunois, Bedford hands his prisoner over to her judges, who--

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

By welcoming the portrayal of *la Pucelle* as a pious and long-suffering ally of the Crown, the Monarchy, perhaps, was seeking to promote a 'kinder and gentler' face for royalism. At the same time, by promoting her representation as a weak and sensual woman, the conservative forces of patriarchal authority appear to have been seeking to reinscribe Jeanne d'Arc into the normative mold of what women were held to be during the first decades of the nineteenth century--that is, weak and sexed.

In her comprehensive study of prevailing medical, philosphical, and literary conceptions of women and sexual difference from 1800-1820, in relation to the patriarchal hegemony of French society, Geneviève Fraisse has demonstrated that during the first decades after the French Revolution, through the Empire and Restoration of the Monarchy, democratic principles of individual freedom and equality (never fully realized for men) were denied women altogether on the grounds that women were constructed as different and "Other" than the brotherhood of man. Weaker, ruled by "their sex," women were deemed incapable of higher reasoning or true greatness by prominent doctors and philosophers, such as Julien-Joseph Virey and Pierre Cabanis. "In woman," Cabanis wrote (in his 1802 essay, *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme*), "the cerebral

---

against the remorseful wishes of Bedford--send Joan to a horrible death at the stake (Leymarie, "*Jeanne d'Arc au théâtre,*" pp. 192-209, and Margolis, no. 1201, p. 315).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

matter shares the softness of the other parts [of a woman's body]."[514] Similarly, Virey wrote (in his 1801 study *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*):

> Consider whether weakness and the delicate softness of these organs [i.e., the brain and the uterus] are capable of great work. Shall her soft and tender hand arm itself with a heavy sword, like the fabled Bradamante? Shall her lively and gay mind delve into the darkness of science and mathematics? Shall it undo the maze of politics and metaphysics?[515]

These rhetorical questions were answered resoundingly in the negative in Virey's later text, *De la femme, sous ses rapports physiologique, moral et littéraire* (1823). In a passage that seems peculiarly apropos the patently gendered and feminine representation of Jeanne d'Arc evidenced in Ducis's, Crignier's and Delaroche's paintings of this time, Virey wrote:

> Never has a woman raised herself, by learning and education, to the highest conceptions of genius in science and literature, which seem to be the most sublime conquest of the human mind. Women who were most distinguished in their careers have often deserved the epithet *masculina*, which Horace gave to Sappho: for many women of letters have been noted for their more erotic constitution, in comparison with other women.[516]

Like Virey's educated women, who were posited freakishly as either too virile or too sensual, Jeanne d'Arc's historic aberrancies (her cross-dressing, her refusual to have sexual

---

[514]Quoted by Geneviève Fraisse, Reason's Muse: Sexual Difference and the Birth of Democracy, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 85.

[515]Quoted by Fraisse, p. 85.

[516]Quoted by Fraisse, p. 88.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

her "soft and tender hand"--all so threatening to patriarchal social order) were denied and subsumed back into the reigning and essentializing sexual paradigm of masculine strength vs. feminine vulnerability in these pivotal Restoration paintings of Jeanne d'Arc in prison. Thus, under the Restoration, the ultimately prevailing representation of the Maid as a feminine, weak, and humble figure (usually with pious and/or anti-British overtones) came to replace the aggressively combative, masculine, and militant image of the Maid promoted during Napoléon's years of imperial conquest.

A vehicle, by turns, of Enlightenmment anti-clericism, Napoléonic imperialism, and Restoration royalism alike, Joan of Arc was made finally into a suffering and vulnerable victim of her sex. Yet, in the hands of each of these successive political forces, Jeanne d'Arc was essentialized and engendered consistently, given again and again the dress and/or demeanor of the "Other," "weaker sex." Under the Bourbon Restoration, this engenderment simply took a new, distinctive course. And so the tiger "stirring in the thickets of long ago," leapt yet again, wresting Jeanne d'Arc from the past, not to stand defiantly as a triumphant warrior, but rather to languish with distinction as an alluring martyr for the cause of the Restored Catholic Monarchy in France.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"WHAT HONOR FOR THE FEMININE SEX": A CULTURAL STUDY OF JOAN OF ARC AND THE REPRESENTATION OF GENDER, RELIGION, AND NATIONALISM IN FRENCH NINETEENTH-CENTURY PAINTING, PRINTS, AND SCULPTURE

by

NORA M. HEIMANN

Vol. II

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1994

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 9

La Pucelle on the Barricades: Dying Grandly and Other Heroic Roles for the Maid during the July Monarchy and Beyond

> "Woman, sister -- there are some things which you do not execute as well as your brother, man; no, nor ever will. Pardon me, if I doubt whether you will ever produce a great poet from your choirs, or a Mozart, or a Phidias, or a Michael Angelo, or a great philosopher, or a great scholar... If you *can* create yourselves into any of these great creators, why have you not?
>
> "Yet, sister woman, though I cannot consent to find a Mozart or a Michel Angelo in your sex, cheerfully, and with the love that burns in the depths of admiration, I acknowledge that you can do one thing as well as the best of us men, a greater thing than even Milton is known to have done, or Michael Angelo,--you can die grandly, and as goddesses would die, were goddesses mortal."
>
> Thomas de Quincy, "Joan of Arc" (1847)[517]

As a icon firmly allied with the Bourbons during their years back in power under the Restoration, one might assume that Jeanne d'Arc was neglected under the Orléanist regime, known as the July Monarchy, that succeeded them. This assumption may explain, in fact, why Jeanne d'Arc's iconography from that era has been so critically ignored. Even in recent years (when there has been no dearth of literature on the Maid of Orléans, and revisionist art history has flourished), no Jeanne d'Arc or art historical scholar has noted the pervasive official and popular

---

[517]Thomas de Quincey, "Joan of Arc, in Reference to M. Michelet's History of France," in Joan of Arc and the English Mail-Coach, 1-26. The Riverside Literature Series (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), pp. 20-21.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sanction given Jeanne d'Arc between the years 1830 and 1848. In the catalogue of the comprehensive exhibition *Images de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1979), for example, the Maid's image under the July Monarchy received no more attention than did her critically overlooked image during the Napoléonic era. Indeed, Bruno Foucart, in his essay "*Jeanne d'Arc au XIX^e^ et au XX^e^ siècle*" in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, essentially ignored the Maid of Orléans's image in the entire first half of the nineteenth century.[518]

Though ignored in the Jeanne d'Arc and art historical scholarship, the image of the Maid of Orléans did not languish, however, during the July Monarchy. Paintings and sculptures of the Maid appeared in virtually every Salon held between 1831 and 1848. In all, a total of thirty-one works portraying the life and death of Jeanne d'Arc were shown during those years at the Salon des beaux-arts.[519] In addition, the new King Louis-Philippe commissioned numerous paintings and sculptures of the Maid from a number of the

---

[518]While a few sculptures from the July Monarchy (including Marie d'Orléans's *Jeanne d'Arc* [c. 1837] [fig. XXXIX] and *Statue équestre de Jeanne d'Arc* [1835] [fig. LXX]) were included in the comprehensive Johannique exhibition *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, Bruno Foucart's essay for that catalogue on "*Jeanne d'Arc au XIX^e^ et au XX^e^ siècle*" focused particular critical attention only on her image in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially after France's humiliating defeat in 1870 in the Franco-Prussian War (see Bruno Foucart, "*Le temps de l'histoire: Jeanne d'Arc au XIX^e^ et au XX^e^ siècle*," 85-90, *Images de Jeanne d'Arc* [1979]).

[519]Arthes, pp. 9-14.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

leading artists of his day, including Paul Delaroche,[520] James Pradier,[521] Henri Scheffer,[522] and François Rude.[523] While only one of these commissioned works--Henri Scheffer's *L'Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans* (1837-1843) [fig. LXXI]--was completed during Louis-Philippe's reign, the request for such pieces reflects, nonetheless, the July Monarchy's interest in promoting the image of the Maid of Orléans. In fact, Louis-Philippe's own daughter, the Princess Marie d'Orléans, sculpted two images of the Maid that received

---

[520]In 1834, Paul Delaroche was commissioned by Louis-Philippe's government to paint an image of the *Levée du siège d'Orléans*, or "one of the more glorious victories of Jeanne d'Arc," for the significant sum of 12,000 francs. The commission (for reasons unknown) was never completed (Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, *Jeanne d'Arc: Images d'une légende*, exh. cat., ed. Anne Jardin [Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1979], p. 72).

[521]On July 2, 1835, for the sum of 4,000 francs, the sculptor James Pradier received a commission for a sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc for the new historical museum at Palais de Versailles from *la Maison du Roi*. The sculpture was never completed; and on November 16, 1835, the State granted permission for Pradier to complete instead a sculpture of *le Comte de Beaujolais* (the brother of the King), for the same price (James Pradier, *Correspondance*, vol. 2: 1834-1842, ed. Douglas Siler [Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 1984], p. 96).

[522]See below for further details on Scheffer's painting of Jeanne d'Arc from 1843.

[523]On November 11, 1835, Rude received a commission to carve an unspecified sculpture in marble for the Jardin du Luxembourg for 12,000 francs; according to Fourchaud, this comission resulted in Rude's sculpture of *Jeanne d'Arc écoutant les Voix* [fig. IC], which was completed and exhibited at the Salon in 1852 (after the fall of the July Monarchy) (Louis de Fourchaud, *François Rude, sculpteur, ses oeuvres et son temps (1784-1855)* [Paris: Libraire de l'art ancien et moderne, 1904], p. 353).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

national attention and were widely copied.[524]

During the July Monarchy, the pervasive popularity of Jeanne d'Arc's image exceeded even the *culte de Jeanne d'Arc* of the Restoration--a time well recognized for its official and popular predilection for imagery of the Maid. Between the years 1830 to 1848, for example, Jeanne d'Arc's image not only increased dramatically at the Salon des beaux-arts;[525] it also was promoted in numerous prominent historical studies, literary publications, and theatrical productions. Among these are, notably, Jules Michelet's famous multi-volume *Histoire de France* (1841), which included an extensive essay on "Jeanne d'Arc" (later published separately as an enduringly popular book, entitled Jeanne d'Arc (1412-1432) [1853]);[526] Jules Quicherat's

---

[524]During Louis-Philippe's reign, for example, replicas of the Princess's sculpture of *Jeanne d'Arc en prier* [fig. XXXIX] were erected in Orléans and the new museum devoted to French history at Versailles. (See below for further discussion of Marie d'Orléans sculptures, and Louis-Philippe's Musée Historique de Versailles).

[525]The number of Johannique oeuvre displayed between 1830 to 1848 was over 40% larger than the number shown between 1815 and 1830. (During the Restoration, eighteen paintings in all were exhibited at the Salon. Even allowing for the greater longevity of the July Monarchy, which lasted three years more than the Restoration, the number of Johannique oeuvre displayed during Louis-Philippe's years on the throne was still over 40% larger than the number shown during the combined reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X).

[526]Jules Michelet, "Jeanne d'Arc," in *Histoire de France*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1841); and Jules Michelet, Jeanne d'Arc (1412-1432) (Paris: Hachette, 1853). As a book, Michelet's study on Jeanne d'Arc remained in publication throughout the second half of the nineteenth century; it was re-issued in 1856, with a second edition in 1863, and a third edition in 1873 (re-issued 1875, 1879, 1890). Two editions (a luxury, illustrated edition and an edition with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc (1841-1849), an extensive and highly significant modern republication of the documents related to the Maid's trials (which remained the definitive source on Jeanne d'Arc's inquisitions throughout the nineteenth century);[527] Alexandre Dumas *père*'s romantic novel *Jehanne la Pucelle (1429-1431)* (1842), which remained in publication for over forty years;[528] and Alexandre Dumas's and Franz Liszt's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* (Paris, February 1846), a dramatic, operatic romance devoted to the tragic conclusion of Jeanne d'Arc's life that teamed two of the leading artists of the day in a musical and theatrical collaboration.[529]

Unlike the case in the Napoléonic and Restoration regimes, however, the Maid of Orléans's image did not proliferate during the July Monarchy in an essentially unified and coherent manner. During Napoléon's years in power, the Maid's image was fostered almost exclusively in

---

critical commentary) were also published by Hachette in Paris in 1888 [Margolis, p. 128].

[527]Jules Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite la Pucelle. Publiés pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliotèque Nationale, suivis de tous les documents historiques qu'on a pu réunir et accompagnés de notes et d'éclaircissements*, 5 vols. (Paris: Crapelet, 1841-1849).

[528]Alexandre Dumas *père*, *Jehanne la Pucelle (1429-1431)* (Paris: Magen et Comon, 1842; enlarged edition Michel Lévy, 1862, 1866; Calmann-Lévy, 1883; etc.) [Margolis, p. 314].

[529]Franz Liszt (composure) and Alexandre Dumas (lyrics), *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher (Paris: Bernard Latté, ed., February 1846) [Huet, Jeanne d'Arc et la musique*, pp. 179-180].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the guise of Gois's combative Maid, as a stirring image of patriotism, courage, and military might. During the Bourbon Restoration, a few distinct and coherent types emerged again and again from the many Jeanne d'Arc images produced--reiteratively, she was cast as a loyal handmaiden of the Lord and his divinely chosen King,[530] or as a victim of her enemies.[531]

During the July Monarchy, by contrast, Jeanne d'Arc's image took many distinct and even contradictory forms, reflecting, at least in part, the disparate and often conflicting political and social forces that arose during the turbulent years between the fall of the Bourbon Restoration in 1830 and the rise of the Second Republic in 1848. As will be demonstrated, the impress of the many different political forces then jockeying for power may be seen in the eclecticism of Jeanne d'Arc's iconography at that time, as political forces from all sides--Orléanist supporters, proponents of the Catholic Church and anti-clericists, Republicans, legitimists, and Napoléonic opponents of the July Monarchy from the Left, Right, and Center--all sought to claim Jeanne d'Arc as a political symbol.

Able to stand as a symbol for conflicting sides in even

---

[530]See, for example, Duperreux's, [fig. LV], Richard's [fig. LVII], and Regnier's [fig. LVIII] paintings.

[531]See, or example, the oeuvre of Révoil [fig. LVI], Ducis [fig. LXII], and Delaroche [fig. LXIII].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the most extreme political opposition (representing at once, for example, the ultimate power of the people, as well as the divine right of kings),[532] Jeanne d'Arc's image proved more readily adaptable than ever to the political exigencies of the day. However, the eclecticism of Jeanne d'Arc's iconography during the Orléanist Monarchy may be attributed to more than simply the ultimate instability and failure of the "*juste milieu*" (or middle-of-the-road) political compromise upon which Louis-Philippe's government was based. It was also the sheer proliferation of her personae in French culture--a steadily growing phenomena from the time of Voltaire to the present--that prevented any single dominant power from claiming and controlling her on-going representation (if indeed any hegemonic individual or regime ever enjoyed such control).

The relative plasticity of Jeanne d'Arc's image then demonstrates how widely regarded and thoroughly accepted the the Maid of Orléans's image became in French society by mid-century. It is, thus, the growing eclectism of the Maid's iconography during the July Monarchy that will be the subject of this chapter, as an illustration of how increasingly disparate, ubiquitious, and thoroughly entrenched her figure became in the French cultural

---

[532]As will be detailed below, Joan of Arc was adopted not only as a mascot of the pro-Bourbon royalists on the Right; she was also employed by the Republican Left as an oppositional image of the power of the people.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pantheon.

At the same time, it also should be noted that although Joan of Arc's image proved politically malleable and eclectic, her representation remained relatively stable in at least one regard during the July Monarchy: Sexualized and "engendered" throughout the mid-nineteenth century, the Maid of Orléans continued to be feminized in her iconography. As before, she was given then the normative attributes of women in contemporary society, including long hair and feminine attire, and a passive, weak, emotionally sensitive, and even (at times) seductive and alluring demeanor. Thus, the sexual politics of Jeanne d'Arc's image remained essentially stable, even if the effects of other political forces from the Left and Right varied in her "*fortune iconographique*."

In detailing Jeanne d'Arc's ultimate "arrival" in French culture, this account will begin with a brief consideration of Louis-Philippe's ascendancy, because his regime did much to sponsor the Maid's image officially, and also because the development of her iconography at that time (as ever) reflects the distinct impress of the political forces of the day. In this process, it will be shown how Jeanne d'Arc's image was constructed and reconstructed in the name of "truth," as the varying factions during the July Monarchy set about to mold the Maid of Orléans to meet their differing political agendas, rescripting her in a supposed effort to at last portray the "real" Jeanne d'Arc--as a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"true" image of patriotic sacrifice, for example, or as a "true" martyr to her faith--even while displaying (at times) relatively little regard for the actual details of the Maid's documented historic existence. Let us consider, then, what happened when the Bourbon Monarchy was overthrown for the second and last time, and Louis-Philippe, the former duc d'Orléans, took the throne of France.

On the face of things, little--and yet everything--changed in the late summer of 1830, when one constitutional king replaced another on the throne. A revolution took place in late July that year,[533] but with the fall of one king came the ascent of yet another. A mere two days separated Charles X's abdication and the ascension of his

---

[533]The events leading up to the brief, but fiercely fought revolution that finally brought down the Bourbon dynasty once and for all in July 1830 began when Charles X and his fervent, ultra-conservative minister Polignac attempted to suppress growing political opposition in France by issuing the incendiary Four Ordinances on July 25, 1830. These statutes suspended the freedom of the press; dissolved the Chamber of Deputies (which had just been freely elected); restricted the franchise to the wealthiest 25 per cent of the existing electors; and called upon the electoral colleges to choose a new Chamber (Cobban, p. 90). This reactionary effort to consolidate the power of the monarchy by leashing the forces of resistence sealed Charles X's doom--and that of the Bourbon monarchy itself. By July 27, thousands of people in Paris had taken to the streets, rioting in its opposition. With many of France's best troops abroad fighting in Algiers, and the King and his government unprepared for this spontaneous and virulent uprising, Paris was swiftly taken by the rioters (Furet, p. 556). To prevent the government from falling to extremists, a provisional government was approved by the deputies on July 29. In just three days of street fighting--"*les trois glorieuse*"--the restored monarchy was finished. On July 30, the King, in a last futile effort, rescinded the ordinances. Three days later, on August 2, Charles X abdicated. He went into exile the following day.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cousin, as Louis-Philippe I.[534]

The changes that did (and, in some respects, did *not*) take place in the governance and political ideology of France in July 1830 may be seen in the early symbolic gestures employed by the July Monarchy in an effort to establish its new regime as a legimate power with a popular, as well as royal, claim to the throne.[535] With a new, supposedly more democratic twist, Louis-Philippe was declared a royal man of the people--not "*le roi de France,*" but rather--"le *roi des français;*" and in a move designed to distance the July Monarchy from the legitimist and conservative Bourbon regime that had preceeded it, Louis-Philippe's investiture to the throne took the form not of a coronation, but rather of an oath sworn on August 9, 1830,

---

[534]Louis-Philippe's hasty appointment to the throne was born of expediency, "for want of anything better and for fear of anything worse," as de Tocqueville wrote [quoted by Bezucha, "An Introduction to the History," Art of the July Monarchy, p. 18; see also Cobban, p. 91]. Specifically, it was feared that if a Republic was re-establised in France, the horrors of 1793-1794 would also revisit its citizens. As the heir to the cadet branch of the French royalty, whose liberal, regicide father was elected to the Convention as Philippe-Egalité, and who himself eagerly fought with the victorious Revolutionary army in 1792, the duc d'Orléans offered (with his oxymoronic royal yet revolutionary pedigree) a moderate alternative to those who objected to both the ultra-conservatism of the Bourbon Restoration and the true revolutionary republicanism of the Left.

[535]It is said that when Louis-Philippe entered revolutionary Paris in July 1830, he was greeted with an anti-monarchical public outcry--"*À bas les Bourbons!*," to which the duc d'Orléans's promoters Thiers and Mignet responded by producing a placard, that countered--"*C'est n'est pas un Bourbon, c'est un Valois*" (Cobban, p. 97). As Cobban has rightly pointed out, "This was nonsense: his ancestry was nothing to the point. [Louis-Philippe's] *raison d'être* was to stand between France and a republic" (Cobban, p. 97).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

before the Chamber of Deputies. There he vowed to "observe faithfully the Constitutional Charter;...to govern by the laws and according to the laws,...and to act in all things uniquely for the interest, happiness and glory of the French people."[536]

In his early days in power, Louis-Philippe acknowledged his debt to the men and women of the barricades (*le peuple*--the common folk--and the bourgeoise, who, with the disaffected National Guard, had fought and died by the hundreds in the streets of Paris to overthrow the Bourbon monarchy)[537] by playing down his royalism, and playing up his role as the bourgeois "Citizen-King" of the Revolution. He replaced the royal *drapeau blanc* and *fleur de lis* of the Bourbons with the tricolor--the flag of the 1789. He wore a tricolor cockade on his hat, and cultivated the modest demeanor of an ordinary citizen, walking through the streets of Paris, unattended, in a business suit with an umbrella under his arm.[538]

The iconography produced in the early days of the July Monarchy bears further witness to the (all-too-ephemeral) populist promise of the July Revolution and the new constitutional monarchy that it engendered. Inspired by the

---

[536]Quoted by Bezucha, The Art of the July Monarchy, p. 22.

[537]Furet, p. 323.

[538]Bezucha, p. 18 and Victor Hugo, *Les Miserables*, trans. Charles E. Wilbour (New York: Random House), p. 702.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stirring memory of "*les trois glorieuses*," painters and printmakers commemorated the unlikely brotherhood of shop keepers and students, manual workers and members of the Institute, who fought on the barricades in late July 1830. In the process, they commemorated the birth of the new regime, which sought to present itself as for, if not *of*, the people by celebrating the image of Liberty as a personification of "*la force populaire*."

Glorified in the earliest days of the July Monarchy (as she was before, following the revolution of 1789), the allegorical image of Liberty was portrayed by a beautiful (and often partially unclothed) young woman, usually bearing the standard of her cause--the *tricolore* of the 1789 Revolution--and wielding an unsheathed sword. As a powerful, sword-bearing and standard-waving woman of the people, the allegorical image of Liberty was an iconographic sibling, if not alter-ego, to Jeanne d'Arc. (Indeed, in her earliest manifestation during the July Revolution, Joan of Arc was celebrated in the guise of Liberty, as will be demonstrated below). For this reason, the critique of Joan of Arc's image during the July Monarchy, will begin with an account of the rise--and fall--of Liberty's image during the Orléanist regime, in order not only to make manifest how truly short-lived the populist promises of the July revolution were, but also in order to introduce the artistic and political milieu in which Jeanne d'Arc's image was

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reborn during the July regime.

The most famous image of Liberty produced in the wake of 1830 is, of course, Eugène Delacroix's July 28: Liberty Leading the People (Salon of 1831), which celebrated (and mythologized) *le peuple* and the bourgeois battling together shoulder-to-shoulder in the streets of Paris to bring liberty over tyranny.[539] The fate of Delacroix's canvas during the July Monarchy reflects how truly tenuous the alliance was between the People, the bourgeois, and the "Citizen-King." For although Delacroix's canvas was purchased at the Salon by Louis-Philippe "as a gesture to the Left," the painting never again was exhibited during his reign.[540] Since the King regarded the painting as a dangerous reminder of the power of the people, the canvas remained hidden in storage until after the July Monarchy was overthrown and replaced by the Second Republic in 1848.

Nevertheless, in the first heady months of Louis-Philippe's reign, the image of Liberty, and the still-viable revolutionary alliance of the People and their *Roi-Citoyen*[541] were the subject of numerous prints. In Le

---

[539]For a trenchant critique of Delacroix's Liberty Leading the People, see T[imothy] J. Clark, The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 17-20.

[540]T.J. Clark, The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 20.

[541]Citizen-King.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

peuple au 27 juillet [fig. LXVII], for example, Louis-Philippe is shown modestly holding his hat (decorated with *une cocarde tricolore*) before a poor, barefoot, but proud revolutionary. With a deferential shrug of the shoulders, Louis-Philippe asks him: "*Pourriez-vous me dire, citoyen, ce qu'est devenue la liberté?*"[542] The print's image implies that in July 1830 the duc d'Orléans looked to the people--here represented by a bold and defiant common man--to find the revolutionary ideal of Liberty. The distinct deference of the Duke (who would soon become King) before a humble citizen also serves as a reminder that Louis-Philippe came to power through the direct intervention of his subjects, as the only French monarch ever to gain the throne in a popular uprising.

The image of Liberty, herself, as an allegorical figure allied with the July Monarchy, was celebrated in a print dated August 9, 1830 (the date that Louis-Philippe took the oath of office) [fig. LXVIII]. Represented by a naked woman, clad only in a phrygian cap and a tricolored sash (that conveniently blows across her groin as a modest and impromptu veil), Liberty crushes the discarded robes of the last Bourbon King. Also fallen at her feet are a Cardinal's mitre, a scepter and a crown, a rosary, and a copy of the betrayed Charter of 1814, symbols of the now-hated, fallen

---

[542]"Could you please tell me, citizen, what has become of liberty?"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

allies--the Church and State of the last Bourbon regime.[543] Wielding an unsheathed sword and *le drapeau tricolore*, she stands before the Palais Royal (half shrouded by smoke and the darkness of night at left) and a pyramid-shaped monument to the revolutionary dead (at right), inscribed "*MORT POUR LA PATRIE.*" The print's subtitle explains, "*La France portant le deuil de ses enfants, mort pour elle, foule aux pieds les insignes de la royauté parjure et protege de son glaire la demeure du Roi qu'elle a chosie.*"[544] Thus, Liberty (or the allegorical figure of France, as the subtitle would have it) is shown as a political partisan on the side of Louis-Philippe in August 1830; having mercilessly destroyed the Bourbon King who betrayed the French people, she now is fearlessly ready to protect the new King she has chosen.

Like Louis-Philippe's temporal commitment to the poor and working classes of France, Liberty's role as a close and honored ally of Louis-Philippe did not last. A symbol of universal democracy and the power of the People, her forceful image proved inappropriate for the July Monarchy, as the new government became increasingly concerned with

---

[543]Firmly allied with the Restoration Monarchy, the Catholic Church became the target of virulent and iconoclastic rage during and after the revolution of July 1830. The Charter of 1830 deferred to this rising tide of anti-clericism by 'disestablishing' Catholicism, declaring it merely "the religion professed by the majority of the French" (Furet, pp. 330, 364).

[544]"France, wearing mourning for its children, [who] died for her, crushes beneath [her] feet the insignia of the forsworn royalty and protects with her sword the abode of the King that she has chosen."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

protecting the interests of the monied bourgeoisie and the social elite, forgetting in the process the underclasses, with whom, supposedly, it was also allied.[545] As early as 1831, the workers of Lyon learned their true place in the July Monarchy, when they rose up to protest their miserable conditions, and to object to the fact that the better days promised by the revolution--for which many of them had fought so hard--had never come. Having succeeded in taking over their city with the help of the National Guard (which joined the workers in their rebellion and assisted them in keeping social order after they won their victory against the local government), within weeks the Lyon weavers were brutally crushed by the dispatch of a large contingent of royal troops from Paris.[546] The bitter message was clear: the proletariat had no place in the power structure of the July Monarchy, and traditional order--serving the middle and upper classes--would prevail. Thus, by the time Delacroix's Liberty was displayed at the Salon of 1831, it was, as T.J. Clark wrote, "hopelessly out of date. The alliance [between the king, the under-classes and the bourgeoisie] was over,

---

[545]The July Monarchy never was a true democracy. During Louis-Philippe's eighteen years in power, the total electorate never exceeded 2.8 per cent of the male population over 21 (Cobban, p. 98). Although this was, admittedly, an improvement over the suffrage permitted during the Restoration (when approximately half that many men were allowed the vote), Universal *male* suffrage did not become the law until after the July Monarchy was overthrown in 1848 (Furet, p. 333).

[546]For a concise account of the 1831 worker's uprisings in Lyon, see Cobban, vol. 2, pp. 99-100.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and the National Guard was on the streets of Paris, putting down the People."[547]

Admittedly, the image of Liberty did not disappear altogether in the iconography of the July Monarchy. She figured, for example, as a winged Genius in both François Rude's famous high relief sculpture on the face of the Arc de Triomphe in 1836 (in an image that elicited no special support from the July Monarchy),[548] and in Auguste Dumont's *Génie de la Liberté* on the July column, inaugurated on the *place de la Bastille* in 1840 (in a ceremony that the King was reluctant to attend).[549] Most often, however, when she did appear, it was as an image of political opposition, as in Grandville's 1831 lithograph *La France livrée aux*

---

[547]Clark, The Absolute Bourgeois, p. 19.

[548]It is, perhaps, also relevant to note that although Rude's sculpture was highly critically acclaimed, the artist was not rewarded by the State for his image of Liberty. Perhaps the July Monarchy felt that the artist had gone too far in celebrating the democratic spirit of Liberty that inspired the heroic republican citizens to volunteer to defend France against her enemies in 1792. In any case, Louis-Philippe's government offered Rude no special offical honors or public commissions after the arch's unveiling.

[549]Auguhlon, pp. 61-62. The *Colonne de Juillet* was commissioned by the King to remember those who died in the "*trois glorieuses*." The monument (erected on the site of the Bastille, the hated prison of the ancien regime that was taken on July 14, 1789), was intended to celebrate jointly the revolutions of 1789 and 1830. By the time the column was completed in 1840, however, Louis-Philippe's association with Liberty and Revolution seemed hollow to those French people who had become disillusioned; and "for fear of being booed by the Paris crowd" in the Bastille's poor quarter, the King hesitated to attend its inauguration (Bezucha, The Art of the July Monarchy, p. 18).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

corbeaux de toute espérance [fig. LXIX].[550] In Grandville's print, Liberty's dead corpse is shown being eaten by crows. Dressed to resemble courtiers in formal white shirt front, decorated with the medals and sashes of the military and royal elite, these scavanger birds represent the cruel betrayal of the July Revolution by Louis-Philippe and his court, who rob France "of all hope" as they devour the beautiful, youthful body of Liberty, lying bloodied and chained to the ground, with her standard--the tricolored flag--torn and trampled beside her.

While the image of Liberty was only reluctantly championed by the July Monarchy (falling victim, as Grandville's image implied, to the disavowal of the revolutionary ideals of 1830 by Louis-Philippe's increasingly conservative regime), Jeanne d'Arc's image did not suffer the same ill fate during the July Revolution and Monarchy, despite Jeanne d'Arc's former alliance with the Catholic Church and the Bourbon Restoration. As early as July 29, 1830 (that is, during the last of "the three glorious days"), Joan of Arc was proclaimed a canonical heroine, a prototype for courageous revolutionaries. Her name, for example, was evoked in the contemporary description of a fearless young working woman--"*une jeune fille, nouvelle Jeanne d'Arc*"--who fought on the barricades

---

[550]"France robbed of all hope by the crows."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

at the place de la Bourse "*avec une valeur extrême.*"[551]

According to contemporary accounts, a young woman (who has been identified as Marie Deschamps)[552] "*s'y empara, malgré le grêle des balles, d'une pièce de canon,*"[553] thus braving "*la mort pour reconquérir la liberté et les lois.*"[554] Deschamp's astounding courage in the line of fire inspired her companions not only to praise her as a new Joan of Arc, but also to crown her with a laurel wreath, and to carry her triumphantly to the Hôtel de Ville on a wagon decorated with "the spoils of the vanquished army," the overthrown white flag of the Bourbons, the triumphant flag of the "victorious tricolor," and branches of palm, laurel, and myrtle.[555] While overtly likened to Jeanne d'Arc, this heroine of the barricades was made to resemble as much a latter-day Liberty as the Maid of Orléans, for Deschamps was honored in a manner that distinctly recalled the famous Revolutionary festivals of 1789, in which personifications of Liberty (or other Republican "deities") were glorified in

---

[551]"a young girl, new Joan of Arc," "with extreme valor" (quoted by Agulhon, *Marianne au combat*, p. 58).

[552]Clark, Absolute Bourgeois, p. 17.

[553]"Seized a gun there, despite a hail of bullets" (Agulhon, p. 58).

[554]"Death in order to win back liberty and the law" (Agulhon, p. 58).

[555]Agulhon, p. 58.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

such victorious parades.[556] Thus, the often politically opposed images of Liberty and Jeanne d'Arc--one the faithful mascot of the republicans, the other the enduring talisman of the royalist and xenophobic Right--were evoked in the same image, as they had been once before, following France's first "glorious revolution."[557]

Later, in the mid-nineteenth century, Jules Michelet (the famous liberal, pro-republican historian and opponent of the July Monarchy)[558] celebrated Jeanne d'Arc again as a

---

[556]For further discussion of the image of Liberty, and other such allegorical figures in festivals of the French Revolution, see Mona Ozouf, Festivals and the French Revolution (1988), especially pp. 98-101.

[557]Voyez's engraving of Janne-Darc [sic] [fig. XI], one of the first post-revolutionary representations of the Maid in the late eighteenth century, was only a modified variation of a the Republican personification, *La Liberté: Patronne des Républicains francais indivisible et invincible* by F. Bonneville [fig. XLVI] (See above).

In 1830, the memory of la Pucelle was also evoked in a manner that recalled the image of Liberty, the personification of the courage and power of the people, in a rather quizzical revolutionary print, entitled *Nouvelle armée française, pour imiter les Polonaise* [fig. LXXII] (1830), that called upon the women of France to join together to form "*un corps mobile*"--in sympathy with the women of Poland and the Polish nationalist movement--to protect their nation from foreign invasion. (Provoked by the example of the July Revolution in Paris, Polish nationalists had united in 1830 in an attempt to free Poland from Russian domination. Although the Polish Revolution of 1830-1831 ultimately failed--the Russian army defeated the Poles in 1831, bringing them once again under the control of the Tsar--their valiant efforts enjoyed popular support in France, especially from the lower-classes, who wanted Louis-Philippe to send aid to the Poles [Clark, p. 19]). Like Liberty, Jeanne d'Arc was called upon in this print to represent a populist image of strength in the face of social repression, be it at home or abroad.

[558]Although Michelet was not opposed to the July Monarchy at its inception (he even served for a time as a tutor to Louis-Philippe's daughter, Princesse Clémentine), his populist, republican political

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kind of latter-day Liberty--an image of "*la force populaire*" and a champion of the "*le peuple patriote*"[559]--in his widely-read account of the Maid's life, published first in 1841. A vehement anti-clerical (who believed that Christianity and the Catholic Church were instruments of oppression in league with the Monarchy, which he regarded as an inherently repressive governmental system), Michelet also endeavored to minimize (if not deny) the religious and mystical aspects of Jeanne d'Arc's life.[560] Her "visions" and self-professed divine inspiration were rationalized by Michelet as the fantasies of a young girl, who wanted to improve the miserable reality of the world as she knew it:

> *La jeune fille, à son insu, créait, pour ainsi parler, et réalisait ses propres idées, elle en faisait des êtres; elle leur communiquait, du trésor de sa vie virginale, une splendide et toute puissante existence,*

---

philosophy began to diverge from that of Louis-Philippe's government at the end of the 1830s, when the monarchy became increasingly conservative (Furet, p. 373). Michelet soon became one of the regime's more prominent critics. In fact, ultimately, his liberal politics cost him his chair at the Collège de France, and later (under the Second Empire) his post as head of the Historical Section of the National Archives (Jules Michelet, *Jeanne d'Arc*, transl. Albert Guérard under the title of Joan of Arc [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957], p. vii).

[559]Marie France Sarion-Audier, *Essai d'historiographie: la mentalité de Jeanne d'Arc au XIXème et au XXème s* (M.A. thesis, Université de droit, d'economie et des sciences d'Aix-Marseille, 1985), p. 10; and Thomas W. Gaehtgens, *Versailles: De la résidence royale au musée historique. La galerie des Batailles dans le musée historique de Louis-Philippe*, trans. Patrick Poirot (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1984), pp. 166-167.

[560]Michelet's writings on Joan of Arc might be likened to those of the anti-monarchical skeptic, Pierre Chaussard, author of the early ninteenth century Johannique study *Jeanne d'Arc: recueil, historique et complet* (1806) (see above).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

à faire pâlir les misérables réalités du monde.[561]

For Michelet, Jeanne d'Arc's historic accomplishments were due not to the miraculous intervention of God, but rather to her own sensible judgement. "The originality of the Pucelle, the secret of her success," he wrote, "was not her courage or her visions, but her good sense."[562] For Michelet, she simply had the pragmantic discernment to see and understand how best to deliver France from its enemies during a time of trouble:

> Amidst all her enthusiasm, the girl of the people clearly saw the question, and knew how to resolve it. The knot which politicians and doubters could not unloose, she cut. She pronounced, in God's name, Charles VII to be the heir: she reassured him as to his legitimacy, of which he had doubts himself; and she sanctified this legitimacy by taking him straight to Reims, and by her quickness, gaining over the English the decisive advantage.[563]

Thus, the King's "legitimacy" as a monarch was dispatched with as much ease as the Maid's religious faith; that is to say, in Michelet's account, both were described as man-made (rather than divinely ordained) institutions that, for a time only, during the Middle Ages served as expedient--if ultimately flawed--tools in the betterment of life in

---

[561]"The young girl, in her ignorance, created, as it were, and realized her own ideas, from which she made beings; to them she imparted, from the wealth of her virginal life, a splendid and all-powerful existence, in order to ameliorate the miserable reality of the world" (Sarion-Audier, p. 11).

[562]Jules Michelet, *Joan of Arc*, trans. Albert Guérard (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957), p. 9.

[563]Michelet, Joan of Arc, p. 9.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

occupied France.

While Joan of Arc was made an image of "*la force populaire*" by republican revolutionaries and opponents of Louis-Philippe, such as Jules Michelet, she also was cast in the role of handmaiden to the king in numerous paintings and prints sympathetic to the July Monarchy, as may be seen in a royally commissioned painting completed in 1838 by Auguste Vinchon. By that time, the late-1830s, the July Monarchy had shed any pretense of its own liberal, republican sentiment, and, in turn, Jeanne d'Arc's image had begun to eclipse that of Liberty, as the Pucelle's persona proved more adaptable to the July regime's swing to the right (an adaptation that the inherently liberal image of Liberty could never negotitate).

In his first decade in power, among Louis-Philippe's more repressive actions were crushing public rebellion and repressing the workers' uprisings in Paris and Lyon in 1831 and 1834, passing repressive laws banning free association and imposing strict censorship of the press in 1834 and 1835, and imprisoning many of his regime's republican opponents.[564] As the Orléanist Monarchy became increasingly conservative and less restrained in its royalism, the Jeanne d'Arc imagery produced by artists with close ties to the State began to reflect the change in the regime's political agenda. Vinchon's commissioned canvas, for example, *Sacre*

---

[564]Furet, pp. 353-354.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

de Charles VII, à Reims (17 juillet 1429),[565] exhibited at the Salon of 1838,[566] portrayed Joan of Arc beside Charles during the sacral ceremony in Reims Cathedral, in a scene that it is, perhaps, by its very subject, inherently pro-monarchical and conservative.

Commissioned by Louis-Philippe for his new museum at Versailles,[567] Vinchon's canvas was one of many paintings

---

[565]The Coronation of Charles VII at Reims (July 17, 1429) [For a reproduction see Charles Gavard, *Galeries historiques de Versailles*, vol. 2 (Paris: Ch. Gavard, 1837-1844), n.p.]. The canvas may be found today at Versailles. It might be noted that at the Salon of 1824, Vinchon had already exhibited a canvas of Jeanne d'Arc, in which the Maid appeared heroically persistent in her efforts to lead the Armagnacs to victory, despite being wounded by an arrow in the shoulder during the attack on the fortress of Les Tourelles at Orléans (Paris, Salon of 1824, no. 1735, Arthes, p. 8).

[566]Paris, Salon of 1838, no. 1773.

[567]Between the years 1833-1837, Louis-Philippe transformed Versailles, at his own expense, into a museum dedicated "«*à toutes les Gloires de la France*»" (Gaehtgens, Versailles, p. 33). By promoting a predetermined image of French history via a carefully edited and selected collection of paintings and sculptures, Louis-Philippe hoped not only to promote French pride, but also to reconcile the disparate factions in France--the legitimists, the Orléanists, the Républicans, and the Bonapartists--thereby stabilizing his country and consolidating his power. At the same time, Louis-Philippe also designed his museum to promote himself and his regime explicitly, through a cycle of images devoted to the birth of the July Monarchy (that were hung together in a great hall, entitled *La Salle de 1830*), as well as by commissioning paintings portraying heroic moments from his own past, such as his participation in the revolutionary battles of 1792 (that were displayed in the general galleries of French history at Versailles). For a thorough discussion of Louis-Philippe's historical museum at Versailles, see Thomas W. Gaehtgens, *Versailles: De la résidence royale au musée historique. La galerie des Batailles dans le musée historique de Louis-Philippe*, trans. Patrick Poirot (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1984); see also Michael Marrinan, Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orléanist France, 1830-1848 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), especially Part III, "History as Propaganda: Themes of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and sculptures devoted to contemporary and past French history that the King ordered in an effort to both consolidate and celebrate his rise to power in France. With these images the King hoped to forge and script a place for himself in history. Vinchon's *Sacre* represented, arguably, an attempt to claim legitimacy for Louis-Philippe as a Valois King (like Charles VII before him),[568] while also borrowing an image of courage and stalwart strength from Jeanne d'Arc and her King.

Shown with Charles VII and *la Pucelle*, in Vinchon's painting, are the Archbishop of Reims, Regnault de Chartres (seated before the kneeling monarch, whose forehead he is annointing); Jeanne d'Arc's father and brother (at left);[569]

Revolutionary France in the Service of Political Reaction," pp. 108-118; and Gavard, *Galeries historiques de Versailles* (1837-1844).

[568]Louis-Philippe was, arguably, the first Valois to rule France since 1589, when Henri IV took the throne and established the Bourbon dynasty. As the duc d'Orléans, Louis-Philippe claimed membership of the house of Valois-Orléans. (*La maison de Valois*, a cadet branch of the Capétians, consists of two branches, *les Valois-Orléans* and *les Valois-Angoulême*). Louis-Philippe's eagerness to establish his legitimacy as a rightful heir to the throne of France as a Valois may be seen in the publication of a heraldric chart during his reign, that traced Louis-Philippe I^{er}'s descendance from the first French king "Pharamon" in 420 A.D., entitled *Tableau synoptique des rois de France, de Pharamond à Louis-Philippe I^{er}, d'aprés Hénault, Lengley du Fresnot et Velly* (reproduced in Suzanne Citron, *Le Myth national: L'histoire de France en question* [Paris: Les Editions ouvrièvres, 1987], pp. 288-289).

[569]Vinchon was correct in depiciting Jacques d'Arc, the Maid's father, in attendance at the coronation in Rheims. The city's financial records note his attendance--not with his son, however, but rather with his wife, Isabelle Romée d'Arc. Specifically,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and numerous noble and "*vaillants seigneurs*" loyal to Charles VII.[570] In the Salon *livret*, attention is drawn to the fact that thse noblemen are dressed in martial attire; this armor is specifically noted as evidence of the dangers associated with court life during a time of civil war and social upheaval--"*l'appareil militaire, attestait encore les combats...et les dangers du présent.*"[571] This reference to the "struggles" and "dangers of the present" may have been (at least in part) a reference not only to the medieval scene portrayed, but also to the struggles and perilous dangers faced by the latest Valois King, Louis-Philippe, who was also called to the throne of France during a time of revolution and civil unrest.[572]

Vinchon's painting does not, of course, offer an image portraying fear or uncertainty, despite the admitted dangers faced by the King, his court, and the Maid of Orléans. Rather, it is, more suitably, an image of triumph over

---

Rheims's offical records mention that Isabelle and Jacques d'Arc stayed as guests of the city at the *Ane rayé*, a local inn (Pernoud, Joan of Arc, pp. 125-126).

[570]See Arthes for a description of the scene, p. 12.

[571]"the military apparel attested still to the struggle...and the dangers of the present" (quoted in Arthes, p. 12).

[572]Among the most dangerous threats faced by the July monarch were--in addition to the bloody, popular uprisings already noted above--an assassination attempt on the anniversary of the July Revolution in 1835, and two failed *coup d'états*--a Bourbon *coup* led by the Duchesse de Berry in 1832, and a Bonapartist attempt led by Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte in 1836. (For further information, see Furet, pp. 337, 354, and Cobban, p.p. 101-102, 107).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

adversity. The opening line of Vinchon's description of his painting in the Salon *livret* remind the viewer of the swift and commanding success of the King. In a rapid assault made a mere two days before his coronation, Charles VII, with Joan of Arc, overcame his enemies at Reims:

> *Reims était au pouvoir des Bourguignons; Charles VII s'en empare, et deux jours après, le 17 juillet 1429, it fut sacré dans cette ville par l'archevêque Renaud, de Chartres. Jeanne d'Arc, l'étendard à la main, resta debout près du roi, pendant toute la durée de cette cérémonie, qui était le but et le résultat de sa noble entreprise.*[573]

Thus, for Vinchon and his Valois patron, the annointing of Louis-Philippe's Valois predecessor offered an historic scene of royal courage and ascendancy, made all the more felicitous by the portrayed sanction of the popular heroine Jeanne d'Arc, who stands beside the King with her hand raised, as if adding her own benediction.

No longer constrained, apparently, by his (now defunct) alliance with the Left, or by the fear of inciting the pro-Bourbon Right, in 1838, Louis-Philippe deemed the image of Charles VII's royal coronation a subject worthy of public promotion. Accordingly, Louis-Philippe entered Vinchon's painting into the new royal museum at the Palais de Versailles, devoted to commemorating the greatest moments of

---

[573]"Reims was under the domination of the Burgundians; Charles VII seized it, and two days later, July 17, 1429, he was crowned in this city by the Archbishop Renaud of Chartes. Joan of Arc, standard in hand, remains standing beside the King, throughout the duration of the ceremony, which came as the result of her noble undertaking" (Quoted by Arthes, p. 12).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

French history and to legitimizing and glorifying his own regime.

The same pro-monarchical and conservative appropriation of Jeanne d'Arc's image was taken up, among others,[574] by one of the preeminent contemporary artists in France, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. In 1844, the artist completed a commissioned drawing of *la Pucelle* as one in a set of six portrait-drawings of famous men and women from French history, that were to serve as book illustrations for the second edition of Edouard Mennechet's successful *La Plutarque français*.[575] Accepted and honored by every regime in the nineteenth century, Ingres allied himself most closely with the Orléanists, the legitimists, and the Catholic Church;[576] it is thus not surprising that, of all the scenes of Jeanne d'Arc's dramatic life that the artist

---

[574]At least one other canvas depicting Joan of Arc at the coronation of Charles VII is listed as having been exhibited at the Salon des Beaux-Arts during the July Monarchy--that is, François Souchon's *Jeanne d'Arc assistant au sacre de Charles VII, tenant la mission qu'elle avait reçue de Dieu* (Paris, Salon of 1837, no. 1683) [Arthes, p. 12].

[575]Of the six figures he was originally comissioned to design for the second edition of *Le Plutarque français*, Ingres apparently only completed five: Molière (1843), Lesueur (1844), La Fontaine (1844), Racine (1845), and Jeanne d'Arc (1846). These drawings remain in the collection of the Musée Ingres in Montaubon. The sixth commissioned illustration, depicting Poussin (also in the collection of the Musée Ingres) is neither signed nor dated by the artist, and has--for stylistic reasons--been deemed the product of another hand (*"Vierges folles et vierges sages: Jeanne d'Arc."* *Papiers d'Ingres*. Collections Graphiques du Musée Ingres, no. 8 (Montaubon: Musée Ingres, 1992), p. 7).

[576]Patricia Mainardi, Art and Politics of the Second Empire (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 49 and 111.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

could have chosen in order to portray the Maid for Mennechet's pantheon of famous French men and women, Ingres decided to depict the Maid in a religious setting at her most royalist moment--that is, beside the altar at Reims in July 1429 [fig. LXXIII].

In representing Jeanne d'Arc at the coronation of Charles VII, Ingres may have been inspired further by having attended the elaborate coronation ceremonies for Charles X at Reims Cathedral in 1825. Commissioned to make three drawings for a planned publication on the event, Ingres attended the ceremony and, in 1829, painted a portrait of Charles X in Coronation Robes.[577]

In order to lend his depiction of Jeanne d'Arc at Reims the aura of convincing historical veracity and the commanding authority of tradition, Ingres portrayed his *Pucelle* with a plethora of minute detail and famous iconographic references. In a tightly composed scene (cropped to focus directly on the Maid), Ingres placed Jeanne with her left hand on the high altar at Reims, and her right hand raised holding her standard, in a stance that recalls such famous classical statuary as the Cesi Juno [fig. LXXIV] in the Capitoline Museum (that Ingres would have known from his twenty years in Rome), or the Pallas of

---

[577]This canvas is now in Bayonne (Agnes Mongan, "J.-A.-D. Ingres, Portraitist," 138-149, in Patricia Condon, Marjorie B. Cohen, and Agnes Mongan, Ingres: In Pursuit of Perfection; The Art of J.-A.-D. Ingres, exh. cat. [Louisville, KY: J.B. Speed Art Museum, 1984], p. 144).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Velletri, in the royal collections in the Louvre.[578]

Clad in a full suit of armor, with short-cropped hair, and her helmet and one mail gauntlet beside her feet, the dress and coiffure of Ingres's *Pucelle* reflect the artist's characteristic attention to historic detail. This same close attention can be seen in the details portrayed on the Maid's standard (which are essentially accurate),[579] as well as on the objects placed on the altar--not all of which are historically correct, however. For example, both the candlestick, which is sixteenth century in style, and the crown, a modification of the personal crown worn by Louis XIV at his coronation in 1643, are anacronistic.[580] While convincingly--even minutely--described, both objects post-date the coronation that Jeanne d'Arc attended in 1429 by one- to two-hundred years.

It is interesting to note that, in rendering his image of Jeanne d'Arc as a painting on commission for the Second

---

[578]Francis Haskell and Nicolas Penny, Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), cat. 69, pp. 284-286.

[579]On the folds of the banner held by Jeanne d'Arc in Ingres's drawing can be seen portions of the "field of fleurs de lis," as well as one of the two angels that the Maid described as embellishing her banner, when asked to describe it during her trial (Barrett, p. 73). (See [fig. XXXI], and Chapter 6, footnote 304, p. 176 above).

[580]"*Vierges*," *Papiers d'Ingres*, p. 8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Republic five years later [fig. XXXIII],[581] Ingres not only took further minor historical liberties in portraying the objects and individuals surrounding the Maid of Orléans at the coronation at Reims,[582] he also transformed the Maid's appearance, abandoning his earlier accuracy in depicting Joan of Arc's short hair. While Ingres clearly knew of the Maid's controversial coiffure and cross-dressing, as his earlier drawing illustrates,[583] in his large scale (almost

---

[581]The painting was not completed, however, until 1854, by which time the Second Republic had given way to the Second Empire.

[582]In an effort to introduce more color and interest into the scene, Ingres added a new group of figures at the left. These figures are, from left to right (as they were identified in catalogue of the Exposition Universelle of 1855, where the canvas was displayed): "*son écuyer d'Aulon,...son aumônier Jean Pasquerel, religieux augustin, et...ses pages*" ("her squire d'Aulon, her chaplain Jean Pasquerel, an Augustinian monk, and her pages" [quoted by Arthes, p. 14]). (The figure of d'Aulon, it might be noted, is a self-portrait of the artist; this canvas is one of only two known history paintings in Ingres's total oeuvre, in which the artist painted himself into the scene). While it is possible (even likely) that Jeanne d'Arc's personal entourage attended the King's coronation at Reims, it is not probable that the Maid's squire and confessor stood (or knelt) beside her at the high altar during the ceremony; indeed, the Maid's own--unprecidented--position there, symbolic of her vital role in bringing the dauphin to his *sacre*, has no recorded historic basis. Ingres also added a clutter of impressive new objects on the altar, some of which are more historically accurate than others--including a pyx [the container in which communion wafers are kept], modeled after a sixth century original from Constantinople (in the ninteenth century, as now, in the Vatican Museum in Rome), and two fourteenth century Italian ostensoria [the decorative receptacle in which the Host is displayed for adoration] ("*Vierges,*" *Papiers d'Ingres*, pp. 8-9).

[583]By the mid-nineteenth century, the publication of the complete transcripts of the Maid's trials in modern French by Jules Quicherat (1841), as well as numerous detailed histories of the Maid's life (such as Chaussard's *Jeanne d'Arc: recueil, historique et complet* [1806], Le Brun de Charmette's Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc [1817], and Michelet's extensive essay "Jeanne d'Arc" in his *Histoire de France* [1841]), among others) had thoroughly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

lifesize) painting of *la Pucelle*, *Jeanne d'Arc au sacre du roi Charles VII dans la cathédrale de Reims* (c. 1851-1854), now in the Louvre, the artist gave Jeanne d'Arc long hair, tied back in an abundant ponytail, as well as drapery between her legs, thereby muting the masculine appearance of her transvestism.

Thus, the artist who prided himself on tradition and accuracy (whose abundant preparatory drawings related to correctly describing even the smallest details in the Maid's costume may be seen in the Musée Ingres),[584] transformed Jeanne d'Arc's appearance in a manner that seriously compromised his painting's historical veracity. Presumably

---

disseminated the historical details relating to Joan of Arc's appearance in dress and coiffure.

[584]As the Ingrist Henry Lapauze wrote: "*Les dessins du musée Ingres révèlent la minutie avec laquell le peintre se documentait pour rester dans la vérité: la tunique de Jeanne d'Arc, son corsage, son armure, sa jupe d'étoffe soyeuse, la genouillère droite...*" ["The drawings of the Ingres museum reveal the minute detail with which the painter gathered information in order to remain truthful: the tunic of Jeanne d'Arc, her bodice, her armor, her skirt of silky fabric, the right knee-piece..." (Henry Lapauze, *Ingres, sa vie et son oeuvre (1780-1867) d'après les documents inédits* [Paris: Impr. G. Petit, 1911], p. 474)]. It might be noted that a number of the preparatory drawings for Ingres's *Jeanne d'Arc* in the Musée Ingres have been identified as the product of Ingres's assistants--principally Charles Gounod (a pensionner at the Villa Médici in Rome under Ingres's tenure there as director) and Raymond Balze (Ingres's principle assistant) [*"Vierges,"* *Papiers d'Ingres*, cat. no.s 32-45, pp. 8-9]. Under Ingres's direction, Balze and Gounod both drew studies for Jeanne d'Arc's armor, as well as many of the objects that appeared on the Reims altar. Thus, for example, it is doubtful that Ingres drew the knee-piece cited by Lapauze. Nevertheless, Ingres directed the preparatory work for the painting; and although Balze also painted much of the final canvas, it was, of course, Ingres who signed the painting as its sole official author.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in an attempt to make Jeanne d'Arc appear more feminine, and hence more alluring and socially acceptable, Ingres normalized her image, forcing her defiant and historic personal aberrancies of dress and hairstyle to conform yet again to society's expectations regarding a woman's "proper" feminine countenance.

Celebrated by artists and authors of opposing political ideologies during the July Monarchy (championed alike by republican revolutionaries and such royalists as Vinchon and Ingres), Joan of Arc also was taken up not only by such prominent anti-clerics and sceptics as Jules Michelet,[585] but also (predictably, perhaps) by the clergy and the *croyant* (that is, by those whom the skeptics and anti-clerics opposed) as an image of faith and martyrdom for God and his holy people. Even Michelet, it might be added, had to concede that Jeanne d'Arc was popularly recognized as a symbol of profound religious strength. In his history of the Maid's life, Michelet recounted the famous (and perhaps apocryphal) description of the Maid's death, given in testimony at the Maid's rehabilitory trial by Pierre Cusquel, a Rouen stone mason. In the Maid's *procès de*

---

[585]Later in the ninteenth century, Dr. Robinet, the anti-clerical mayor of the seventh arrondissement in Paris (who, like Michelet, was also a sceptical, and pro-republican historian of the Revolution) similiarly championed Joan of Arc as a secular heroine. In 1888, Robinet formed a committee--*la Comité républicain de la fête civique de Jeanne d'Arc*--to honor the Maid of Orléans with a public holiday (Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 258 and Lagny, "*Culte et images de Jeanne d'Arc*," pp. 98-99).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

condamnation, Cusquel stated that when Jeanne d'Arc's execution was complete, one of the official British witnesses[586] in Rouen wept, and exclaimed: "'*Nous sommes perdus; nous avons brulé une sainte!*'"[587] In recounting the tale, Michelet endeavored to reconcile such veneration of the Maid's piety with a secular esteem for her patriotic heroism, by concurring conditionally: "*Oui, selon la Religion, selon la Patrie, Jeanne d'Arc fut Sainte.*"[588]

For the Church, however, Jeanne d'Arc was much more than a stirring, secular symbol of patriotism; she represented, rather, an image of virginal martyrdom and God's miraculous intervention in human life.[589] On May 8, 1830, in the annual *Eloge de Jeanne d'Arc* given at the Cathedral of Orléans on the anniversary of the city's

---

[586]Cusquel identified this witness as Master Jean Tressard, secretary to the King of England (Pernoud, Joan of Arc, p. 233).

[587]"We are all lost; we have burned a saint!" (For a more complete account of this supposed event, see Pernoud, Joan of Arc, pp. 232-233).

[588]"Yes, according to Religion and Patriotism, Joan of Arc was a Saint."

[589]Although the Papal authorities in Rome did not approve of Jeanne d'Arc's canonization until early in the twentieth century, a strong movement calling for her beatification began decades earlier in France. It was Monsignor Dupanloup, the bishop of Orléans, who did the most to promote Joan's sainthood, placing a petition on her behalf before the Vatican in 1869. The Vatican moved slowly in response; it was only under pressure from conservative Catholic organizations in France, like the reactionary Action français, that she was finally proclaimed "Venerable" (the first in a multi-stepped process to canonization) in 1893, "Blessed" in 1901, and a Saint in 1920 (Warner, Joan of Arc, pp. 263-264).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

deliverance by *la Pucelle*, for example, the presider Le Courtier even implied that only enemies of France could doubt the veracity of Jeanne d'Arc's divine inspiration, and the ultimate, profound message of her life--that "God alone is the source of true courage and true glory."[590] As Le Courtier sermonized:

> *Jeanne d'Arc est accusée de magie...on attaque ses révélations comme contraires à la foi...la politique anglaise se cache, agit, trompe, abuse, juge et condamne... Je vois un tribunal formé par la haine...décidé à condamner et non à juger... La sentance est enfin prononcée...la flamme s'élance, le nom de Jésus retentit du milieu de ce tourbillon. Jeanne d'Arc n'est plus!... Le Seigneur, tour à tour magnifique et sévère envers elle, a été constamment sa force et son secours, sa gloire et sa consolation... Jeanne d'Arc nous montre que Dieu seul est la source du vrai courage et de la vrai gloire dans l'amour de la patrie et dans les sacrifices qu'elle exige.*[591]

This theme, that Joan of Arc was a martyr for France, a Christ-like figure who redeemed an errant nation with her own body and blood, was promoted almost redundantly by

---

[590]Le Courtier, "*Eloge de Jeanne d'Arc, à l'occasion de la délivrance d'Orléans, le 8 mai 1429, prêché dans la cathédrale d'Orléans, le 8 mai 1830...*" (Orléans: Rouzeau-Montaut aîné, 1830), quoted in [B.] Lemerle, Les Panégyriques de Jeanne d'Arc des Fêtes d'Orléans, pp. 39-41.

[591]"Joan of Arc was accused of witchcraft...her revelations were attacked as contrary to the faith...English cunning concealed, prosecuted, deceived, abused, judged, and condemned (her)... I see a tribunal formed out of hatred..., [having] decided to condemn and not to judge... The sentance was at last pronounced, the flame surged up, the name of Jesus was kept in the midst of the whirlwind. Joan of Arc is no more!...The Lord, by turns magnificent and severe towards her, was consistently her strength and her succour, her glory and her consolation... Joan of Arc shows us that God alone is the source of true courage and true glory in the love of [one's] country and in the sacrifices that it requires" (quoted by Lemerle, pp. 40-41).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

prominent churchmen, such as *l'abbé* Pie, the *vicaire général de Chartres*, who insisted (in *his panégyrique* delivered in 1844, at the annual *fête de Jeanne d'Arc* in Orléans) that this "*fille de Dieu...pudique comme les anges... timide et naïve*"[592] ransomed France from its deserved disfavor in God's sight:

> *L'Angleterre, dans le plan divin fut pour nous pendant plusieurs siècles...ce providentiel ennemi, instrument permanent des justices de Dieu... Ses rois prenaient le titre orgueilleux de Monarques de France. Puis, quand la couronne allait s'affermir sur leur têtes,...le Dieu de la France se souvenant de son peuple...venait à son aide...[Mais] de nouveau la France oublia le Seigneur... C'était fait de la monarchie, si Dieu n'accourait à son secours. Orléans...allait tomber au pouvoir de l'Anglais... La France est rachetée, puisque Dieu a accepté d'elle une vierge pour hostie...Dans un même supplice, je vois trois triomphes: le triomphe de la France, le triomphe de la Foi, le triomphe de Jeanne.*[593]

In expressing these sentiments, Pie echoed the words of the famous novelist Alexandre Dumas, who, two years earlier, in his literary account of Joan's life, Jehanne, la Pucelle,

---

[592]"Daugter of God...virginal as the angels...timid and naive" (Pie, "*Eloge de Jeanne d'Arc prononcé dans l'église cathédrale d'Orléans, le 8 mai 1429, jour anniversaire de la délivrance d'Orléans de cette ville...*" [Orléans: Alexandre Jacob, 1844], 41-43, quoted in [B.] Lemerle, Les Panégyriques de Jeanne d'Arc des Fêtes d'Orléans, pp. 42-43).

[593]"England, in the divine plan, was, for many centuries, our providential enemy, the permanent instrument of God's justice... Its kings took the proud title of Monarch of France. Then, when the crown took its place on their heads,...the God of France remembered his people..came to their aid... [But] once again, France forgot God... [and] Orléans fell to the English... France was [however] ransomed, since God accepted a virgin as hostage [in return] for her... In the punishment, itself, I see three triumphs: the triumph of France, the triumph of Faith, the triumph of Joan" (Pie, "*Eloge de Jeanne d'Arc,*" quoted by Lemerle, pp. 42-43).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1429-1431 (1842)[594], called her "the Christ of France, redeeming the sins of the monarchy as Christ redeemed the sins of the world."[595] Dumas even described the Maid's birth in messianic terms, complete with a falling star and wonder-struck peasants, who run into the streets of Domremy "with secret joy," on the night of her birth, "asking each other what could have happened in earth or heaven to fill their hearts with so much gladness."[596] An old shepherd explains to the villagers that their inexplicable happiness reflects a miraculous sense that Merlin's legendary prophecy--"Three royal ladies have ruined France, but a virgin shall yet save it"[597]--would come to pass, at last.

---

[594]Alex[andre] Dumas, *Jehanne, la Pucelle, 1429-1431* (Paris: Magen et Comon, 1842).

[595]Alexandre Dumas, Joan, the Heroic Maiden, trans. Louisa C. Ingersoll (Philadelphia: E. Ferret & Co., 1846), pp. 9-10, and Margolis, p. 314.

[596]Dumas, p. 10.

[597]"The three Royal ladies," Dumas explains in a footnote, "were: the first, Eleonore, wife of Louis le Jeune, who, being repudiated by her husband, espoused in a second marriage Henry of Anjou and brought to him in dowry the provinces of Aquitaine, Poitou, Touraine, and Maine, which, united to the Duchy of Normandy and the county of Anjou, delivered the third part of France into the hand of the enemy. The second was Isabella of France, wife of Edward II, who, in transmitting to her son Edward III her claim to the throne, brought about that famous war in which the battles of Cressy, Poitiers and Agincourt, were the three most bloody episodes. The third was Isabella of Bavaria, mother of Charles VII, who was at that time exciting the English and Burgundians against her own son. The virgin who was to save the kingdom, so rudely compromised by these three royal ladies, was the humble peasant girl whose history we are now writing" (Dumas, p. 11).

Jeanne d'Arc, herself, it might be added, reminded her associates of the supposed ancient prophecies that France would be saved by a Maiden. Catherine Royer, the woman with whom Joan

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In describing the end of her life, Dumas similarly evoked images of Christ-like mortal sacrifice and miracles. Prescient of her doom, for example, Dumas's Joan spends her last free hours in Compiègne (before being taken captive in battle the next day), praying, as Dumas wrote, "like our Savior upon the Mount of Olives."[598] Later, in a divinely miraculous fashion, Joan of Arc's executioners are struck with remorse, upon finding her heart whole, unburned, and "full of blood" after her death at the stake, while a dove--"the soul of the martyr"--ascends to heaven from the ashes of her woodpile.[599]

It was not only the *croyant* who insisted upon the necessity of Joan of Arc's martyrdom. Even atheistic anti-clerics, such as Jules Michelet (a paternalistic anti-

---

stayed at Vaucoulers at the start of her mission, for example, testified at the Maid's retrial, that Joan asked her: "Have you not heard the prophecy that France was to be ruined by a woman and restored by a virgin from the Marches of Lorraine?" "I remembered having heard that," Royer added," and I was flabbergasted" (quoted by Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 26).

[598]Dumas, p. 84.

[599]Dumas, pp. 106-107. At the Maid's rehabilitative trial the Dominian monk who attended to Maid in her last moments, Isambert de la Pierre, testified both that he saw a "white dove flying from the direction of France at the moment when [Joan of Arc] was giving up the ghost," and that Jeanne's executioner told him "immediately after the execution...that, notwithstanding the oil, sulphur and charcoal that he had applied to Joan's entrails and heart, he had not found it possible to burn them or reduce them to ashes" (quoted in Warner, Joan of Arc, pp. 28-29). G.B. Shaw, as Warner points out further, used the same incident of the white dove's flight (symbol of the Holy Spirit, of peace, and of purity) to mark the Maid's death in his play Saint Joan (1923) (Warner, p. 28, see also [George] Bernard Shaw, Saint Joan, 3d edition [New York: Penguin Books, 1946], pp. 145, 153).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

feminist, it might be noted, for all his liberal politics),[600] argued that Jeanne d'Arc had to suffer a martyr's death to purify and ransom both the king's name and her own. As Michelet wrote:

> *Qu'il en dût advenir ainsi, elle le savait d'avance; cette chose cruelle était infaillable, dison-le, nécessaire. Il fallait qu'elle souffrît. Si elle n'eût pas eu l'épreuve et la purification suprême, il serait resté sur cette sainte figure des ombres douteuse parmi les rayons; elle n'eût pas été dans la mémoire des*

---

[600]One of the most influential republican anti-feminists in France in the 1850s and 1860s, Michelet asserted, for example, that the sole *raison d'être* for women is "to refresh man's heart" (Michelet, *L'Amour*, pp. 15, 17, quoted by Claire Goldberg Moses, French Feminism in the Ninteenth Century [Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York, 1984], p. 160). "The end of woman on this earth, her evident vocation," Michelet wrote, "is love" (Jules Michelet, *La Femme*, 15th edition [Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1885], trans. J[ohn] W[illiamson] Palmer, Woman [New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1860], p. 81). Men, in return, according to the historian, owe their wives total protection and guidance, like a parent owes his children. As he wrote, "*Women cannot live without man*. No more than the child without woman" (Michelet, *La Femme*, p. 50). With essentializing paternalism, Michelet even insisted: "The love object, woman, is a being apart from others, more different from man than it seems at first glance. She does not do anything like us. She thinks, talks, acts differently.... She does not breath like us. In expectation of pregnancy... nature has caused her to breath principally in the area of the four upper ribs.... She does not eat like us...Her digestion is constantly disturbed by one thing: she loves from the bottom of her entrails. This deep cup of love...is a sea of variable emotions that works against the regularity of digestive functions. The interior differences show up on the outside by an even more striking difference. Woman has a language apart...Man has a distinct language, clear and enlightening,...but woman ...has a magical language,...[consisting of] the sigh [and] passionate breathing" (Michelet, *L'Amour*, 3rd ed. [Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie, 1859], trans. J[ohn] W[illimason] Palmer, Love [New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1860], pp. 1-3; quoted in Moses, pp. 159-160). For further discussion of Michelet's patriarchal anti-feminism, see Moses, Chapter 7: "*La Querelle des Femmes* of the Second Empire," 151-172, French Feminism (1984).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hommes la PUCELLE D'ORLÉANS.[601]

For Michelet, Joan of Arc had to suffer and die in order to become not only a legendary figure in popular memory, but also in order to protect the rustic maiden from corruption by the court society into which she had entered. As he wrote:

> *...Elle devait chaque jour perdre quelque chose de soi. Ce n'est pas impunément qu'on devient tout à coup riche, noble, honoré, l'égal des seigneurs et des princes. Ce beau costume, ces lettres de noblesse, ces grâces de roi, tout cela aurait sans doute à la longue altéré sa simplicité héroïque.*[602]

According to the Michelet historian Thérèse Moreau, Michelet also believed that Jeanne d'Arc had to suffer as payment for having unnaturally inverted the proper gendered social hierarchy. As Moreau asserted:

> *L'égalité des sexes se fait ici à l'intérieur d'une hiérarchie. Si l'homme commande, le rôle de la femme est d'obéir, chaque inversion se marque dans l'histoire par la guerre civile. Jeanne doit mourir, afin que le roi ne meure; sa mort la purifiera de l'envie, de la*

---

[601]"She had known before hand that such would be her fate; such a cruel destiny was inevitable, and let us dare to say that it was necessary. She had to undergo that suffering. Without the ordeal, and the purification of her last moments, the shadows of doubt would have remained in the radiance of this holy figure; she could not have stood in the memory of men as the MAID OF ORLÉANS" (Jules Michelet, Histoire de France [Paris: Robert Laffont & Le Club Français du Livre, 1979], p. 288).

[602]Michelet, Histoire de France, p. 289. "Every day she must have lost something of her integrity. One cannot become rich, honored, the equal of lords and princes, all of a sudden, without having to pay the price. Her handsome garments, the patent of nobility confered upon her, the favors granted her by the King, all this would, undoubtedly, in the long run have altered her heroic simplicity" [Michelet, Joan of Arc, trans. Albert Guérard (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957), p. 52]).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

jalousie éprouvées envers le père.[603]

The image of Jeanne as a martyr for her faith and her country was taken up not only by clerics and authors, but also by artists, during the July Monarchy.[604] Again and again, painters, sculptors, graphic artists, and illustrators then all rendered the pathetic and frightful image of Jeanne d'Arc's final moments in Rouen. Lashed to the stake, sometimes with the flames already cruelly licking at her feet, these images of Jeanne d'Arc's martyrdom usually are overtly pious, portraying the Maid with her eyes lifted towards heaven, and her hands (though bound) folded in prayer, often clasping a crucifix. In general, they are oddly alluring as well, displaying the Maid in flimsy garments, with improbably long hair that tumbles loosely down her neck and back, or flies capriciously in the updraft of heat and smoke from her pyre.

In an undated sketch entitled *Le supplice de Jeanne d'Arc* [fig. LXXV],[605] Ary Scheffer, one of the painters most

---

[603]"The equality of the sexes is carried out in the interior of a hierarchy. If the man commands, the role of the woman is to obey; each inversion is marked in history by civil war. Joan had to die ultimately so that the King did not die; her death purified [the hierarchy] of envy, of jealousy felt towards this father[-figure]" (Moreau, *Le Sang de l'histoire*, p. 211).

[604]See above.

[605]The Agony of Joan of Arc.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

closely linked to the July Monarchy,[606] painted just such an image, in which the Maid appears bound to the stake, in a thin, white dress that clings to her legs revealingly, even as it falls completely off her shoulders. It is supported above her waist, just barely, by the swell of her breasts, alone. Scheffer's *Pucelle* also has astoundingly (and, of course, historically inaccurate) long hair, that reaches

---

[606]The career of the Dutch-born painter, Ary Scheffer (1795-1858), the older brother of Henri Scheffer (whose commissioned painting of Jeanne d'Arc for Louis-Philippe [1837-1843], has already been noted above), was closely intertwined with the fortunes of the July Monarchy. First introduced to the Duke and Duchess of Orléans in the 1820s, it was Ary Scheffer who rode with Adolphe Thiers to the home of the duc d'Orléans at Neuilly on July 30, 1830, to notify Louis-Philippe of the recent events in Paris, and to obtain the duc's consent for the Parisian revolutionaries to promote him as the appropriate successor to Charles X (Grote, p. 20, 31-32). (For a more complete account of Ary Scheffer's role in the July revolution see Marthe Kolb, *Ary Scheffer et son temps, 1795-1858* [Paris: Boivin & Cie, 1937), Chapter VI: "*Ary Scheffer et la révolution de 1830*," pp. 134-150). Beginning in 1822, Scheffer served as drawing and painting master to Louis-Philippe's children, becoming especially close to the King's second daughter, Marie d'Orléans (*Ary Scheffer 1795-1858, dessins, aquarelles, esquisses à l'huile*, exh. cat. [Paris: Institut Néerlandais, 1980], p. 10; for further discussion of the relationship between Princess Marie and Scheffer, see below). Many of his paintings were purchased by the King and Queen, as well as by their eldest son, Ferdinand-Philippe. In the 1830s, Scheffer completed a number of portraits of the King, and members of the royal family ([Harriet] Grote, Memoir of the Life of Ary Scheffer [London: John Murray, 1860], pp. 161-162); and, like his brother Henri, Ary Scheffer was also commissioned to contribute numerous paintings to Louis-Philippe's new museum at Versailles, including a canvas for the museum's central and most important gallery, la Galerie des Batailles. However, he attained his greatest fame, through his religious paintings, which were favored not only by the king, queen, and duc d'Orléans, but also by the public at large. According to Michael Driskel, Ary Scheffer's *Christ consolateur* (Christ the consoler) "became the best known religious image produced during the July Monarchy when it was engraved and distributed by the Goupil gallery in 1842" (Michael Paul Driskel, "An Introduction to the Art," 49-79, Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830 to 1848, ex. cat. [Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990], p. 68).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

below her knees.[607] Surrounding this dying Maid, a tumult of figures watch in a variety of attitudes. In the background, presiding officials look on with cruel detachment as the flames rise, to the left a cleric gesticulates accusingly towards the bound victim, while in the foreground, bystanders fall to their knees in fear and grief. In the center of it all, Jeanne d'Arc remains calm and demure, with her chin lowered modestly and her head turned away. Stoic in her plight, she recalls, arguably, the beautiful, submissive--and disturbingly sexualized--naked slave women who were later popularized in the mid-nineteenth century by artists such as Hiram Powers and Jean-Léon Gérôme.

Like the alluring, obedient slaves of Powers [fig. LXXVI] and Gérôme--subject to the mastery and possession of any would-be consumer (both within the narrative vacuum of the portrayed moment in such works as Gérôme's Slave Market [fig. LXXVII], and without, in the visual appropriation

---

[607]In her problematic chronology of the paintings not included in Ary Scheffer's memorial retrospective in 1859, Grote has listed, under the year 1827, a painting entitled *La mort de Jeanne d'Arc* (Grote, Appendix F, p. 161). If this painting is the same as the sketch known today as *La Supplice de Jeanne d'Arc*, and its date is correct, this sketch should be recognized as the product of the late Restoration, not the July Monarchy. The exact dating of this image is, however, beside the point, as it is argued in this dissertation that the image of Jeanne d'Arc as a victim was popular from the end of the Restoration through the July Monarchy, and beyond. Furthermore, the processes of victimization and sexualization of Jeanne d'Arc's image were common to both regimes--it began under the reign of Charles X and continued throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

allowed the work's contemporary audience in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries)--Jeanne d'Arc is rendered at last, in her death, wholly submissive to the dominant will of patriarchal society and the Church Militant. Normalized, written back into the socially prescribed ideal of what a woman should be--alluring, beautiful, eternally young, and unresistantly obedient--Jeanne d'Arc is both sanctified and silenced by her martyrdom.

Eugène Deveria, in a painting commissioned by the *Ministre du commerce et des travaux publics*, entitled *La mort de Jeanne d'Arc* (Salon of 1831) [fig. LXXVIII], rendered a similar image of Joan of Arc at the stake. In Deveria's canvas, she is portrayed as a delicate and wholly unthreatening maiden, in a long, filmy white dress, with long, loose, dark hair.[608] Clutching a crucifix to her breast, with her head tilted softly to one side in a calm, meditative pose, this pious, gentle figure--prayerfully regarding a cross being held up before her by a compassionate cleric--could hardly be more removed, or less evocative of the woman who went to war, and brazenly signed her name in confrontational letters to her enemies--"*chef de guerre*," or War Lord.[609] Docile even at this, her most

---

[608]Paris, Salon of 1831, no. 577 (Arthes, p. 9).

[609]For a copy of Jeanne d'Arc's bold and defiant letter to the English, in which she threatened to drive them "willy-nilly" from France, causing them "great injury" as "chief-of-war" if they did not leave immediately of their own accord, see Pernoud, *Joan of Arc*, pp. 70-71.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gravely imperiled moment, Deveria's Jeanne is so compliantly harmless that her enemies don't bother to tie her hands together, or even, perhaps, to bind her to the stake. It is taken for granted, apparently, that the obedient Maid will unresistently accept the will of the men who have tried and condemned her, and make no move to save herself, even as the executioner's flaming torch touchs the woodpile just below the trailing hem of her gown.

Among the many other artists who also portrayed Jeanne d'Arc as a victim made vulnerably (and disturbingly) feminine and desireable in her martyrdom during the July Monarchy was Jean-Jacques Feuchère. His sculpture of *Jeanne d'Arc sur le bûcher* [fig. LXXIX], exhibited first at the Salon of 1835 in plaster, and then again in 1845 in marble,[610] offers the image of a slim and beautiful young girl bound to a stake. With her eyes closed, her head thrown back, her shoulders taut, and her lips parted, she seems inexplicably transported in her agony. Like the miraculously wounded Saint Teresa in the art of the Counter-

---

[610]Baudelaire, "The Salon of 1845: Sculptures," Art in Paris, 1845-1862, pp. 30-31, and Paris, Salon of 1845, no. 2097 (Arthes, p. 14). It might be noted also that at the Salon of 1835, three paintings (of the five total Johannique images exhibited at the Salon that year) also portrayed the Maid as a victim being tried or held in prison by her enemies. These images are as follows: Nicolas-Michel Debois's *Jeanne d'Arc dans sa prison* (no. 512); Jules Jollivet's *Procès de Jeanne d'Arc* (no. 1131); and Mlle. Adèle Martin's *Jeanne d'Arc* (no. 1524), which depicts Jeanne being confronted by Stafford, Warwick and Luxembourg while in their captivity (in the same scene that Révoil depicted earlier in 1819, see [fig. LVI]).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reformation, the Maid's pain is rendered in a manner that makes her ineffably more seductive and desirable.[611] In his Salon review of 1845, Charles Baudelaire noted the sexual appeal of Feuchère's Joan of Arc, when he wrote (praising the sculpture's successful translation into marble, and cheerfully--and somewhat bizarrely--ignoring the mortal suffering being endured by the sculpture's subject):

> [This] statue is evidently destined for a success. Quite apart from the fact that its subject is a happy one (for virgin purity can generally count on a public, like everything that touches the popular affections), this Joan of Arc, which we had already seen in plaster [at the 1835 Salon], gains much by being enlarged.[612]

Images of Jeanne d'Arc as an alluring victim were replicated also in popular imagery of the Maid as well. For example, Vayron's lithographic illustration of Jeanne d'Arc for an 1847 song sheet, entitled *Adieux de Janne d'Arc* [sic] [fig. LXXX], similarly portrayed the Maid as a helpless and desirable maiden in distress. Clad in a thin white dress, with remarkably abundant long hair, this soon-to-be-martyred maiden stands trembling but unresistent, tied by the waist to a stake on an enormous wood pile. Clutching a crucifix,

---

[611]Among the many artists who also portrayed Jeanne d'Arc facing her death in Rouen are, notably, Henri Scheffer, whose *Jeanne d'Arc, arrivant sur la place de Rouen, le prêtre qui l'avait trahie se jette à ses pieds et implore son pardon* [1835] was purchased by the King's second son, the duc de Nemours (the canvas is now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans), and Laurent Detouche (a student of Delaroche and Robert Fleury), whose *Le supplice de Jeanne d'Arc sur ;a place du Vieux-Marché de Rouen* [1841] was given by the artist in 1841 to the Musée de peintre [now the Musée des Beaux-Arts] in Orléans.

[612]Baudelaire, "Salon of 1845," pp. 30-31.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with her huge eyes raised (as if seeking the solace of a divine vision), she awaits her cruel fate with pious resignation.

By celebrating Jeanne d'Arc as a victim, and by giving her exaggerated feminine attributes, her image was made more vulnerable and sexually normative. Such representations served to elide her transgressive behavior and cross-dressing, while deflecting attention from her remarkable achievements as a soldier. Like Jeanne's earlier sexualization and "engenderment" by Schiller, Voltaire and others (who gave primacy to the Maid's supposed love-life, at the expense of describing her actual historic struggles and heroic accomplishments on the field of battle), in focusing upon her status as a victim, and describing her physical attributes in an exaggeratedly feminine--and inaccurate--manner, the artists of the July Monarchy continued to perpetuate the same "love of long hair" and "love of laying down the law" that were evidenced from the very start in Jeanne d'Arc's iconography.

In the art of the July Monarchy, images of Jeanne d'Arc as a true warrior--aggressive and unflinchingly combative--are relatively rare.[613] While many images of the Maid in

---

[613]In fact, between the fall of the Napoléonic regime and the rise of the Third Republic after the Franco-Prussian war, Jeanne d'Arc's image was seldom painted or sculpted in the guise of a combative soldier at war. Emmanuel Frémiet's equestrian *Jeanne d'Arc* (1874), a defiant assertion of French strength and pride after France's humilating defeat against the Prussians in 1871, marked, arguably, the first significant return in Johannique

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

armor were rendered between 1830-1848, few artists portrayed her then in the thick of battle, and even when they depicted her in combat, her image was seldom shown in a manner that was genuinely Amazonian. Many graphic images of Jeanne d'Arc in battle, for example, portrayed her wounded, lying upon the ground, often with one breast exposed, as is illustrated, for example, by the anonymous 1830 print *"C'est la gloire et non sang qui couler de ma blessure..."*[614] [fig. LXXXI], in which the Maid's brave words in the plate's caption are belied by her vulnerable (and sexually revealing) appearance.

While images of the Maid rallying her troops and waving her standard also can be found in the graphic arts during the July Monarchy (see, for example, the frontispiece by the same anonymous graphic artist from 1830 [fig. LXXXII]), large-scale painted or sculpted representations of the Maid in battle were relatively rare; and when the Maid was shown on the battlefield, her image was often softened, and made more feminine. In Jean-Victor Schnetz's painting, *Jeanne d'Arc revêtant ses armes* [fig. LXXXIII], for example, which was shown at the Salon of 1834,[615] the Maid is portrayed

---

iconography to the martial spirit embodied by Gois's *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* from the beginning of the century.

[614]"It is glory and not blood that runs from my wound" (H. Lemaire, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc, surnommée la Pucelle d'Orléans* [Paris: chez Belin Le Prieur, 1833], pl. III, p.108).

[615]"Joan of Arc reclothed in her arms," Paris, Salon of 1834, no. 1760 (Arthes, p. 10).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

standing calmly (prayerfully, perhaps, with her eyes raised to the upper left distance) in a dress decorated with the sword of Lorraine, a crown, and two fleur-de-lis, and with long hair and a modest scarf on her head. Belying the painting's title, the Maid wears no armor, although her right hand rests on the hilt of her sword (barely visible in the right bottom margin of the canvas). Thus, Schnetz's work, which was purchased by Louis-Philippe for the *Galerie historique de Versailles*, offered a fundamentally unaggressive and unmartial (as well as sartorially untransgressive) image of the warrior-Maid.

Only one known major art work from the July Monarchy portrayed Joan of Arc as an aggressive participant in the battles she led against the Anglo-Burgundians. At the Salon of 1838, Jean-François-Théodore Gechter[616] displayed a plaster cast of Jeanne d'Arc [fig. LXXXIV],[617] which depicts the Maid plunging on horseback over a fallen enemy horse and rider. In a gesture that recalls medieval and renaissance devotional images of Saint George slaying the dragon with his lance, Jeanne appears poised to drive the sharp staff of her standard into the body of her still vigorously

---

[616]While largely forgotten today, Gechter (1796-1844) exhibited regularly at the Salon between the years 1827 and his death in 1844. Made *Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur* at the age of 41 in 1837, Gechter was also honored with numerous State commissions, including sculptures of *Le Rhin* and *Le Rhône* for the Place de la Concorde in Paris (Bénézit, vol. 4, p. 653).

[617]Paris, Salon of 1838, no. 1869 (Arthes, p. 12).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

struggling opponent.

Gechter's unusually combative image, it should be noted, did not enjoy the popularity of the far more gentle and conventionally feminine images of the Maid rendered by the Princess Marie d'Orléans, whose sculptures of *la Pucelle d'Orléans--Jeanne d'Arc en prier* (c. 1834-1836) [fig. XXXIX] and *Jeanne pleurant à la vue des blessés* (c. 1834-1835) [fig. LXX]--remain the most enduringly famous representations of Jeanne d'Arc produced during the July Monarchy. While Gechter's sculpture soon became obscure,[618] a bronze casting of Marie d'Orléans equestrian sculpture, *Jeanne pleurant* (cast by the founder Charnod),[619] was given to the town of Orléans in 1851 by the artist's mother, twelve years after the Princess's premature death,[620] while her standing sculpture of the Maid, *Jeanne d'Arc en prier* (c. 1834-1836), entered the *Galeries des marbres* in the Musée de Versailles in 1837 and was widely copied through

---

[618]Little has been recorded regarding Gechter's *Jeanne d'Arc*, and the oeuvre remains largely unnoticed even in the voluminous Johannique literature from the nineteenth and twenieth centuries.

[619]"*Quatre-vignts ans de «Jeanne d'Arc» sculptées -- 1850-1930*," 262-292, *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 285.

[620]The second daughter of King Louis-Philippe I and Queen Marie-Amélie (and the third of their ten children--eight of whom survived into their early adulthood), Marie d'Orléans died at the age of 25, on January 2, 1839, a little over five months after the birth of her first and only child, Philippe von Würtemberg in Paris on July 30, 1838. (Marie d'Orléans married the German nobleman Alexandre von Würtemberg in October 1837, at which time she assumed the title Herzogin [or Duchess] von Würtemberg).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Nineteenth Century.[621]

In the Princess Marie d'Orléans's famous equestrian sculpture of the Maid in combat, Jeanne d'Arc is shown on the field of battle actually weeping at the sight of her wounded enemies--*Jeanne pleurant à la vue des blessés [fig. LXXXV]*. Although the Maid is portrayed on her war horse with her sword drawn, her weapon is tellingly lowered. In *Jeanne pleurant*, it is not Jeanne d'Arc's unusual strength of will and forceful ability to lead and inspire her men in battle (arguably, conventionally masculine qualities) that are celebrated by this image; it is, rather, Jeanne d'Arc's vulnerable sensitivity and open compassion (conventionally feminine traits) that are given primacy. While Jeanne d'Arc is *not* overtly sexualized by Marie d'Orléans's equestrian sculpture (her costume, for example, is appropriately portrayed as cross-dressed and her hair is cut into a masculine page-boy style), she is certainly softened.

In her study Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism, Warner has noted, that as a woman, Jeanne d'Arc's martial persona--her "Amazonian likeness"--had to be "softened to be countenanced at all; her transvestitism, her armor, her inviolability had to seem something that in the final conclusion was offered on the altar of male supremacy."[622]

---

[621]See below, for more information on Marie d'Orléans's 1834-1836 sculpture of *Jeanne d'Arc (la Pucelle d'Orléans)*.

[622]Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 216.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Recognized as a true Amazon--a woman strong and without the need or desire for men--Jeanne d'Arc may have seemed too threatening to the patrons of her image within a patriarchal social order. Her persona, therefore, had to be recast; and consequently, she was remade--by artists, authors, and clerics alike--as a sensitive and retiring servant of God and her King, whose only aim was to obey their will, even unto death. Thus, for example, Joan was described over and over (and without historic basis) as a reluctant soldier, who wanted only to return to her humble life in Domremy after the coronation of Charles VII at Reims. While historically inaccurate, this story was "repeated and repeated," as Warner wrote, "until it gain[ed] widespread credence."[623]

In his 1842 novel, for example, Alexandre Dumas described Jeanne d'Arc as a retiring combatant who longed only to be "a simple peasant girl" in Lorraine. In a

---

[623]Warner, Joan of Arc, p. 216. However, rather than being reluctant in her soldiering, according to contemporary accounts, Jeanne d'Arc was said to be eager to continue driving back the British after the King's coronation in the summer of 1429. In September, for example, outside the gates of Paris, Jeanne d'Arc, who was determined not to leave until she had taken the city, was commanded to retreat by the King, who had already, unbeknownst to her, completed secret negotiations with the enemy. According to the testimony of Perceval de Cagny (the chronicler of the duc d'Alençon), Jeanne was "very vexed" at the King's order. She felt, rightly, that the Armagnac initiative would be lost, and thus, she obeyed the King's command to withdraw her army and retreat to the River Loire from their strategic stand on the Seine--where the Armagnacs were poised to take Paris from the Anglo-Burgundians--only with "great displeasure" (quoted by Pernoud, Joan of Arc, p. 138).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

climactic scene in his novel, following the King's coronation ceremony at Reims, Charles VII asks that Joan accompany him--contrary to the counsel of her voices--on a pilgrimage to Corbigny, rather than return home as she desires. Later that day, Joan's brother, Pierre, arrives in Reims; when she spies him in the crowd, Joan of Arc flings herself into his arms with homesick grief. When, however, the Maid next sees her brother, dressed in the sumptuous clothing of a Knight (the King had sent for Pierre d'Arc to enoble him and her whole family), and is informed that her brother is to serve thenceforth as one of her attendants in battle, she realizes that she can never return to her quiet life as a village girl. With anguish, Dumas's Maid exclaims:

> 'Alas! alas!...would to God He had been pleased to let me remain a simple peasant girl, that I had never borne any other sword than my shepherd's crook, and that the only crowns I had ever touched had been the crowns of flowers I used to...deposit upon the altar in the poor church at Domremy.'[624]

In his sermon on Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans on May 8, 1830, Abbé Le Courtier similarly cast Joan in the role of an unwilling warrior. The cleric even went so far as to effectively deny the Maid all agency in her remarkable life, when he pronounced:

> *Elle n'a agi que comme mandataire, que comme instrument docile; elle sait que sa mission est terminée, et elle demande avec insistance de rentrer dans l'obsurité de sa première condition. Mais le Roi ne peut plus se*

---

[624]Dumas, p. 67.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *séparer de sa jene Libératrice; devenue l'idole de sa cour, de sa armée, de son peuple...et malgré la voix intérieure qui la presse, elle cède aux prières et aux sollicitations du Monarque...*[625]

Thus, Jeanne d'Arc was, according to Le Courtier's account, a soldier only because she was compelled to be. Initially, in bringing the King to Reims through martial means, she was simply obeying God; subsequently, in continuing to fight for Charles VII, she was simply obeying her King "like a docile instrument," despite her own desire to live as a humble village girl in Domremy.

In this way, Jeanne d'Arc's strength and force of will as a woman soldier, who defied social norms in pursuit of her own vision of France's salvation, were rescripted, and made a tool of those who truly held the reigns of power, that is, the men of France--both the enemy Burgundians and Jeanne's own Armagnac allies. By making Jeanne d'Arc a passive and obedient vehicle, those who wanted to downplay or simply ignore *la Pucelle*'s defiant transgressions and astounding accomplishments in a sphere traditionally reserved for men at last succeeded in reshaping (if not denying) her deviant successes.

---

[625]"She only acted as was manditory, only like a docile instrument; she knew that her mission was over, and she begged with insistence to return to the obscurity of her former condition. But the King could no longer be separated from his young Liberator, [who had] become the idol of his court, of his army, of his people;...and despite the interior voice that pressured her, she yielded to the prayers and solicitations of the Monarch" (Le Courtier, "*Eloge de Jeanne d'Arc*," quoted by Leymarie, "*Jeanne d'Arc au théâtre*," p. 312).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It was, thus, with sexist bravado that Thomas de Quincy, for example, in his 1847 essay on Joan of Arc, denied the capability of women to achieve greatness in "the masculine sphere" as poets, philosphers, composers, sculptors or scholars (or, by extention, presumably, as soldiers).[626] "If you *can* create yourselves into any of these," he asked rhetorically, "why have you not?"[627] Then, with condescension verging on misogyny, he "cheerfully" allowed that women can do one thing as well men--that is "die grandly," as Jeanne d'Arc died, "as goddesses would die, were goddesses mortal."[628]

By making much of Jeanne d'Arc's grand death, de Quincy and others who focused upon the Maid's ability to be made a pawn of men and a martyr were able to acknowledge that Jeanne d'Arc was extraordinary, while at the same rendering her unthreatening to the male power structure. By killing her off, and celebrating her death in the process, those who championed Jeanne d'Arc's victimization effectively effaced, if not denied, her brilliant successes as a political strategist and a warrior.

Those who chose to portray Jeanne d'Arc in life as a victor, rather than in death as a martyr-victim, succeeded,

---

[626]See above, for a more complete quotation from de Quincy's essay "Joan of Arc, in Reference to M. Michelet's History of France."

[627]de Quincy, "Joan of Arc," pp. 20-21.

[628]de Quincy, p. 21.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

during the July Monarchy, in creating an image of the Maid that was sympathetic and fundamentally non-threatening. This may be witnessed, above all, perhaps, in the success of Marie d'Orléan's *Jeanne d'Arc en prier* [fig. XXXIX], the single most revered and copied sculpture of the Maid from the mid-century.

Although Marie d'Orléans's sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc was (as will be demonstrated below) extremely significant in the development of Jeanne d'Arc's iconography in the mid-nineteenth century, little critical attention has been given to this artist and her work. This neglect may be due, in part, to the sculptor's royal status, as well as her gender. In her own lifetime, Marie d'Orléans--as a woman, and above all the daughter of the King--was hampered in her studies (she was forbidden, for example, to draw from a live model), as well as in her ability to pursue any of the conventional and public means for establishing a serious career as an artist (such as exhibiting at the Salon des beaux-arts, which the princess was never allowed to do.[629] Finally, the

---

[629]Marie d'Orléans, herself, understood well her place in society as a woman, and the focal importance of her being a good wife and mother above all else. Clearly comprehending that her work as a artist had none of the social value or status provided by marriage and motherhood, she confided in one of her closest friends that she was afraid she might never marry. (Finding an appropriately royal suitor for the princess was proving difficult for her parents, Louis-Philippe and Marie-Amelie, as the royal houses of Europe were wary of wedding one of their own into an unstable alliance with the French monarchy, which had suffered under one revolution after another during the preceeding half-century). Thus, with anxiety, Marie d'Orléans demanded of her friend rhetorically, "When I appear before God with my sculptures

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

princess's oeuvre may also have suffered subsequent official and critical neglect because of the artist's intimate and inextricable political alliance with the July Monarchy, a regime that was overthrown in the revolution of February 1848.[630]

Neverthless, during (and even after) of the July Monarchy, Marie d'Orléans's sculpture remained enduringly popular. Replicated in miniature as a collectable porcelain by Sèvres,[631] reproduced on coins,[632] displayed at Versailles, and re-cast for Jeanne d'Arc's home in Domremy [fig. LXXXVII] and the town hall in Orléans (among other locations),[633] Marie d'Orléan's rendering of Jeanne d'Arc's

---

in my arms, what shall I say when He asks me, 'Was it for that I sent you upon the earth?'" (Quoted by Charlotte Louise Éléonore Adélaïde] Boigne, comtesse d'Osmond, *Récits d'une tante, mémoires de la comtesse de Boigne, née Osmond, publiés d'après le manuscrit original par M. Charles Nicoullard*, ed. Charles Nicoullard [Paris: Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1907], trans. anon. under title: Recollections of a Great Lady [New York: Charles Scribner's Soms, 1912], p. 178).

[630]When Marie d'Orléans's sculpture *Jeanne d'Arc en prier* was erected before the town hall in Orléans in 1851, there were no inaugural ceremonies because of the sculptress's association with the now-fallen July Monarchy (Pierre Fontenailles, "*La Jeanne d'Arc de l'Hôtel de ville et la Princess Marie d'Orléans*," *Republique du Centre* [March 23, 1947], n.p., and Dupont, p. 36).

[631]A miniature of the Princess's Jeanne d'Arc, rendered by Fischbach after Marie d'Orléans, was executed for the Manufacture nationale de Sèvres in 1841 in porcelain [fig. LXXXVI].

[632]Vergnaud-Romagnési, p. 106.

[633]Among the many replicas of Marie d'Orléans sculpture made to publically commemorate the memory of Jeanne d'Arc are, most notably, a bronze cast founded by Soyer in 1840 for the town of Orléans (donated to the city by the King in 1841, this casting was formally inaugurated ten years later--on September 12, 1851--before

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

image inspired book illustrations [fig. LXXXIX], [fig. XC], popular prints [fig. XCI], and later sculptures of the Maid in the same pious, modest and sentimental pose.[634] As Baron de Barante later wrote, on the popularity of Marie d'Orléans and her sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc at Versailles, after the sculptor's premature death:

> *«On la pleure dans toutes les classes;...on parle d'elle et le peuple achète des représentations grossières en plâtre de la statue de Jeanne d'Arc; elle*

Orléans's Hôtel de Ville), as well as a bronze cast (also made in 1840) for the *Maison natale de Jeanne d'Arc* in Domremy. The marble original of the princess' sculpture entered the collections of the Musée de Versailles in 1837 (see below). Replicas of the sculpture rendered in varying dimensions and materials also were made for numerous churches, public buildings and public squares throughout France, including the Église Sainte-Vincent-de-Paul, Paris (marble); the Bibliothèque municipale, Rouen (bronze, porcelain, bisque, etc); the Musée Vivenel, Compiègne (bronze); and the town square in Noisey-le-Sec (bronze cast for the *Fontaine Jeanne d'Arc)* [fig. LXXXVIII]. Marie d'Orléans's sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc was even replicated in miniature and employed as the decorative handle for three handbells [fig. XCIII(a)]. (Preserved for a time in Orléans, these handbells were lost in the 1940 fire that destroyed the former Musée Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans [Le Nordez, p. 228 and Images de Jeanne d'Arc, p. 284]). Finally, anonymous (and lesser quality) copies of her sculpture, such as the polychromed Jeanne d'Arc [fig. XCIII(b)] in Chateaugay, can also be found today in innumerable small churches throughout France [photo: Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans].

[634]Among the many sculptures that, arguably, reflect the influence of Marie d'Orléans *Jeanne d'Arc en prier* are Prosper d'Epigny, *Jeanne d'Arc au sacre* (1902, ivory, lapis lazuli, and polychromed marble, Cathedrale de Reims, Reims) [fig. XCIII]; Antonin Mércié, Jeanne d'Arc (1906, plaster) [illustrated Images de Jeanne d'Arc, pp. 222 and 282, cat. 131]; André-César Vermare, *Jeanne d'Arc au sacre* (1909 and 1912, marble; numerous copies exist in Paris, Rome and Orléans) [illustrated *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 224 and 291, cat.s 140 and 142]; and Henri-Émile Allouard, *Actions de grâce* (c. 1898, polychromed marble, square de Voisins, Louveciennes) [illustrated *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 217 and 263, cat. 103].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

survit dans une oeuvre bien pure et bien élévée...»[635]

Mourned by her family and the French people as one of the most "brilliant" and popular members of the royal family,[636] Marie d'Orléans was recognized in her death as the sculptor of Jeanne d'Arc.[637] In 1839, the Princess's demise was announced, for example, in the *Journal des*

---

[635]"People from all classes cried;...they spoke of [Marie d'Orléans] and bought common reproductions in plaster of the statue of Jeanne d'Arc; [Marie] lived on in a very pure and very noble oeuvre" (Baron de Barante, *Souvenirs* [Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1893], vol. VI, p. 170, quoted in Marie d'Orléans, *Une Correspondance inédite de la princesse Marie d'Orléans, duchesse de Wurtemberg*, ed. Marthe Kolb [Paris: Boivin & Cie, Éditeurs, 1937], p. 45).

[636]According to contemporary accounts, Marie d'Orléans was favored by her parents, as well as by her tutors, and her drawing and painting-master, Ary Scheffer (see Scheffer's letter of March 26, 1839 to Pierre Lebrun, regarding his profound grief over the death of his former pupil [quoted in Kolb, Ary Scheffer, p. 179]). As the comtesse de Boigne later recalled: "Princess Marie was the life and soul and the cherished tyrannt of [the King's four eldest children]...More often punished, and yet more often admired, than the rest, she was the despair and the delight of her masters, whose favorite she remained when all is said and done" (Boigne, p. 167). The Princess Marie was regarded also as one of the most well-beloved members of the royal family by the court and the French people. As Cuvillier-Fleury, a contemporary witness, later wrote of the Princess (and her equally highly regarded elder brother, Ferdinand-Philippe--who also died prematurely, in a freak carriage accident at Neuilly in 1842, at the age of 32): "*Ils étaient certainement, le duc d'Orléans et elle, les plus brilliants et les plus populaires de la famille royale, et ils sont morts tous deux dans le fleur de leur popularité et de leur jeunesse*" ("They were certainly, the Duke of Orléans and she, the most brilliant and the most popular of the royal family, and they died, both of them, in the flower of their popularlity and of their youth" [Alfred-Auguste Cuvillier-Fleury, *Journal intime de Cuvillier-Fleury*, Vol. 2: *La Famille d'Orléans aux Tuileries et en exil, 1832-1851* (Paris: Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1903), p. 158]).

[637]The exact nature of Marie d'Orléans's mortal illness remains unknown; it has been attributed to consumption, or to complications related to the birth of her first child.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

artistes as the passing of "*l'auteur de Jeanne d'Arc.*"[638] Prints, drawings, and even sculptures were made of the Princess with her famous, prayerful Pucelle; such images include Deveria's *Jeanne et Marie d'Orléans* [fig. XCIV], Mouilleron's *La princesse Marie dans son atelier devant la statue de Jeanne d'Arc* [fig. XCV], and Delarue's *Marie d'Orléans avec la statue de Jeanne d'Arc* [fig. XCVI].[639] Even Auguste Vinchon, the (then) prominent author of *Sacre de Charles VII, à Reims* (commissioned by Louis-Philippe for Versailles, see above), commemorated the memory of Marie d'Orléans by painting, in 1848, an image of the Princess's royal father and family solemnly gathered in the darkened galleries of the Musée de Versailles, contemplating Marie's sculpture of the Maid [fig. XCVII].

The possible origins of the subject of Marie d'Orléans's popular sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc praying are numerous. When the Princess began this work, probably around 1834 or 1835, she already had completed at least one sculpture depicting the Maid of Orléans. Indeed, la Pucelle was the subject of one of the Princess's very first sculptures--*Jeanne pleurant à la vue des blessés [fig. LXXXV]* (see above)--produced shortly after she took up

---

[638]H., "*Nécrologie, La Ducesse de Wurtemberg,*" *Journal des Artistes* vol. 1 (1839), p. 17; quoted in Kolb, p. 178.

[639]A reduced casting of Marie d'Orléans's Jeanne was also made for the Princess's tomb in the royal *chapelle funéraire* in Dreux.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sculpting.[640] (According to Ary Scheffer, Marie d'Orléans began sculpting in the early-1830s, at his suggestion, in frustration over her inability to master figure drawing, having been denied permission to draw from a live model for reasons of propriety).[641]

During this time, Marie d'Orléans was keenly interested in the Middle Ages and in the works of Schiller, Goethe, and Walter Scott (especially Ivanhoe, the first novel permitted to be read by the closely chaperoned princess).[642] It is possible that Marie d'Orléans may have read Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans*; whether or not she did, the contemporary literature (by Schiller, and others) that the Princess read on the Middle Ages inspired her to study medieval costumes and manners,[643] which, in turn, appear to have influenced her historically-informed treatment of Jeanne d'Arc (especially in the accurately detailed costume worn by her equestrian Jeanne d'Arc). Marie d'Orléans also

---

[640]In addition to her equestrian sculpture, and *Jeanne d'Arc en prier*, Marie d'Orléans also sculpted an undated plaster sketch (now in the Ary Scheffer Museum in Dordrecht), entitled *Jeanne d'Arc en habit de paysanne, pieds nus* (h: 0 m 49, signed Marie d'Orléans). Marie d'Orléans may have sculpted further images of the Maid; much of the Princess's oeuvre, however, has been lost, both in the 1838 fire that destroyed her home in Gotha (after her marriage, in what is now Thuringa, Germany), and in the destruction done to the royal residences in Paris during the revolution of February 1848 (Kolb, p. 26, footnote 2).

[641]Letter of Ary Scheffer to his brother Arnold, 1839, quoted in Grote, Memoir of the Life of Ary Scheffer, pp. 39-41.

[642]Kolb, pp. 158-159, and Boigne, Recollections, p. 169.

[643]Boigne, p. 169.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pursued her interest in the Middle Ages and the Maid of Orléans by reading, with avid enthusiasm, according to Pierre Lebrun, Alexandre Buchon's highly influential account of the Maid's trial, *Chronique et procès de la Pucelle d'Orléans* (1827).[644] Lebrun quoted Marie d'Orléans's passionate response to Buchon's account, as recorded in a letter by the Princess, dated May 29, 1834:

> *«C'est charmant, c'est simple! c'est touchant! Le caractêre de cette pauvre fille est si naturel, si dénué de tout romanesque! Elle pleure à la vue des morts et ce vieux français y prêtre un nouveau charme»*[645]

Clearly, Marie d'Orléans was inspired by Buchon's *Chronique* in sculpting her image of the Maid crying at the sight of her fallen enemy. Although the Princess's inspiration in portraying Jeanne d'Arc praying apparently has no known direct literary source, her interest in the subject of Jeanne d'Arc as a whole was plainly encouraged by Buchon's account of the Maid's trial.

Iconographically, the Delaroche scholar Foissy-Aufrère,

---

[644]J.-A. Buchon, *Chronique et procès de la Pucelle d'Orléans, d'après un manuscrit inédit de la Bibliothèque d'Orléans, accompagné d'une dissertation de l'Abbé Dubois* (Paris: Verdière, 1827) [cited in Kolb, pp. 23-24]. Buchon's *Chronique*, it might be noted, influenced (among others) Jules Michelet in writing his account of Jeanne d'Arc's life [Margolis, p. 19, cat. no. 72].

[645]"It's charming! it's simple! it's touching! The character of this poor girl is so natural, so free of all sentimental romance! She cried at the sight of the dead, and this old Frenchman lends a new charm [to the subject]" (quoted by Pierre Lebrun, *Notice sur la vie de Madame la Princesse Marie d'Orléans, duchesse de Wurtemberg* [Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1840], p. 51; also quoted by Kolb, pp. 24-25, footnote 1).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

has suggested that Marie d'Orléans was inspired by Delroche's *Jeanne d'Arc interrogée par le cardinal de Winchester* [fig. LXIII] to portray the Maid similarly with "*les mains jointes, l'air modeste, simple et humaine.*"[646] In his article on "*La Jeanne d'Arc de l'Hôtel de ville et la Princess Marie d'Orléans*," by contrast, Pierre Fontenailles has suggested that Marie d'Orléans was inspired to so sculpt "*son héroïne favorite*" by having seen a portrayal of Jeanne d'Arc in prison among her family's portraits at the château d'Eu as a young child.[647]

Among other, possibly relevant sources of inspiration for Marie d'Orléans's selecting the subject of *Jeanne d'Arc en prier* may be included the artist's own personal religious convictions, which were quite fervent, according to her contemporaries.[648] The artist also may have been motivated

---

[646]"the hands joined, the appearance modest, simple and human" (Foissy-Aufrère, p. 72).

[647]Fontenailles, n.p.

[648]According to one contemporary account, Marie's religious devotion deepened, to the point of "bordering upon mysticism" (as the comtesse de Boigne wrote), following the marriage of her elder sister, Princess Louise d'Orléans, to the King of the Belgiums, Leopold I, on August 8, 1832, an event which left Marie "grief-stricken" at the loss of her beloved sister and companion (Boigne, p. 171). Although Marie's pious devotions gradually abated somewhat in fervor, according to the Countess, the Princess remained devout, exceeding even her mother (a woman known for her piety) in her youthful religious enthusaism. "The tendency to mysticism gradually disappeared," Boigne wrote further, "and though her religion preserved a somewhat more enthusistic character than that of her mother and her sisters, she had abandoned the exaggerations which she had almost reached" (Boigne, p. 172). Scheffer, in his later reminiscences on his years with Marie d'Orléans and the royal family (written in 1839 in a letter to his

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to portray Jeanne d'Arc as she did, as a relatively humble figure--demure and modestly dressed--by her own liberal, pro-republican sentiments. Usually quite simple in her own choice of dress and uninterested in court society, the Princess prefered the quiet pursuit of her own work in her studio to her royal social obligations.[649] Recognized (and criticized by some) as one of the most liberal members of Louis-Philippe's family,[650] Marie d'Orléans was described

---

brother Arnold Scheffer), also recalled that "in the heart of this Princess dwelt a religious faith, such as became a noble, womanly heart" (quoted in Grote, p. 47, footnote).

[649]As one contemporary later recalled: "*Elle dit un jour à Scheffer, qui travaillait avec elle tandis que cinq mille personnes remplissaient les salles du bal et du festin, 'Quand je pense à ce qui s'agite ici-dessous, d'ambition, de cupidité, de flatterie, combien on y trompe mon prère--je me sens heureuse de n'y être pas'*" ("On one evening, during which she was working in her atelier in company with Scheffer, there were 5000 people thronging the 'salons' below, wherein dancing and feasting were going on. 'When I reflect,' said the Princess to Scheffer, 'upon what is passing down there; what ambition, what avidity for gain, what flatteries, and upon the way in which my father is cheated and deceived by them--I feel happy to be out of it all!'" (quoted, and translated, by Grote, pp. 151-152, Appendix A). The Countess de Boigne even wrote that Marie d'Orléans's aversion to royal privilege soon came to "profoundly grieve" the young Princess: "Princess Marie soon regarded the ties of rank as nothing more than so many fetters upon the wishes of her heart and the superiority of her talent. Long before anyone suspected it, she felt profoundly grieved that she had been born a Princess and was restricted to what she called a life of deception" (Boigne, p. 168).

[650]It has been suggested that Marie d'Orléans was influenced in her liberal politics by the political sentiments of her painting master, and later friend, Ary Scheffer, who--despite his close alliance with the July Monarchy--supported many liberal causes. Scheffer raised money, for example, for the poet P.-J. Beringer, after he was fined 10,000 francs and sentenced to nine months in prison for writing anti-monarchical songs (Kolb, pp. 141-142). Scheffer was also a friend and supporter of Armand Carrel--a young republican journalist and one of the July regime's most outspoken opponents, who was often fined and jailed for his opinions. After

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

even by her older brother Ferdinand-Philippe--who was himself one of the most politically progressive members of the royal family--as having gone "*trop loin dans les voies du libéralisme.*"[651] Similiarly, Cuvillier-Fleury, an intimate of the royal family, noted the Princess's "republicanism" and her disapproval of France's (then) hereditary system of government, as he wrote:

> *La princess me fait, devant la marquise de Dolomieu, fort scandalisée, sa profession de foi républicaine; elle estime peu l'hérédité: elle prévoit que le système héréditaire ne durera pas longtemps.*[652]

Thus, Marie d'Orléans's portrayal of the Maid praying in an unembellished and decidedly unresplendent suit of armour (without any of the grand or royal trappings that are so prevalent in the Maid's iconography, such as a dapper feathered hat, a proud battle standard, or a fleurdeliséd bodice or skirt) may reflect the artist's own liberal politics and religious convictions, as well as her

---

Carrel was mortally wounded in a duel in 1836, Scheffer rendered a sympathetic portrait of the oppositional journalist on his deathbed (Art of the July Monarchy, p. 39). Scheffer later recalled that Marie d'Orléans was moved by the news of Carrel's premature death, as he wrote: "On learning the sad end of Armand Carrel, the tears rose to her eyes, notwithstanding that he was, and that she knew him to be, perhaps the most formidable among the enemies of her house" (quoted in Grote, p. 47, footnote).

[651]"Having gone too far in the path of liberalism" (Kolb, p. 33 and Art of the July Monarchy, p. 28).

[652]"Before the Marchioness of Dolimieu, the princess scandalously professed her republican faith; she had little esteem for heredity: she forsaw that the hereditary system would not last for long" (Cuvillier-Fleury, Vol. 1: *La famille d'Orléans au Palais-Royal, 1828-1831*, p. 340).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

unpretentious sartorial preferences.[653]

It is important to remember, in seeking to establish possible sources for the subject and style of Marie d'Orléans's successful sculpture of *Jeanne d'Arc en prier*, however, that the Princess did not invent the iconographic image of the Maid praying. The popularity of this subject during the Restoration already has been established. Where Marie d'Orléans was innovative was in the manner in which she portrayed Jeanne d'Arc's demeanor and costume as she stands in prayer.

Humble in stance and dress without seeming contrived, unmarked by an overt class identification, gently pious without seeming too passionately fervent, historically accurate enough to be recognized (in her armour and short hair), yet softened and feminized in her demeanor and her

---

[653]It has been suggested that Marie d'Orléans identified with the Maid of Orléans in sculpting her. In the preface to her study "*Quatre-vingts ans de 'Jeanne d'Arc' sculptées*," Anne Pingeot noted that an unusual number of women--and priests--can be found in the ranks of Johannique sculptors, which might imply, as Pingeot wrote, "*une «projection» des artistes--comme on le dit en psychanalyse--sur la jeune héroïne*" ("a projection of the artists--as one says in psychoanalysis--onto the young heroine" [Anne Pingeot, "*Quatre-vingts ans de 'Jeanne d'Arc' sculptées*," 186-292, *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 188). It might also be noted, however, that gender or religious affiliation alone need not determine one's identification with Jeanne d'Arc. Thus, while it is possible that Marie d'Orléans identified with the Maid of Orléans, there is as much evidence--or more--that numerous men did the same, including Ingres (who painted himself into his canvas of Jeanne d'Arc) or, more recently, Charles de Gaulle. As General de Gaulle once said, having been compared to Robespierre by a speaker in Parliament: "Curious, I always thought I was Joan of Arc. How little one knows oneself!" [excerpt from Evening Standard (Friday, June 13, 1958), quoted by Sam White, de Gaulle (London: Harrap Limited, 1984), p. 41]).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

skirted costume (so as not to offend any patriarchal sensibilties), the Princess's sculpture succeeded in winning both royal and popular support because it offered both a subtle and a brilliant negotiation between all sides. It offered, that is, an image that could appeal to all the competing forces who wanted Jeanne d'Arc to represent faith, patriotic sacrifice, fealty, and the power of the people during the July Monarchy: in the modest guise of a soldier, Marie d'Orléans's Joan retained the unthreatening air of a simple girl, despite being armed and armored.

Mutable in its understated simplicity, her sculpture is and was accessible to many different interpretations. The Maid's clasped sword, for example, can be read simply as an unsheathed weapon by those who want to see Jeanne d'Arc as a warrior contemplating how to save her country, while those who seek to find an image of faith in Joan of Arc can read the simple form of its hilt above her hands as a crucifix. Similarly, her costume can be read, at once, as a warrior's armor and as a woman's dress. As Léon Dupont wrote in 1861, praising the town of Orléans's bronze casting of Marie d'Orléans's Jeanne d'Arc:

> *Voyez plutôt sur sa poitrine bardée de fer ses mains se réunir et s'appuyer en la serrant sur la grade de son épée. Que de pensées dans cer embrassement! Est-ce le fer qu'elle étreint? Est-ce la croix qui lui sert de poignée? Est-ce un souvenir de sa chaumière qu'elle saisit au passage et auquel elle accorde un dernier adieu? C'est peut-être toutes ces choses à la fois...Il y a tout cela dans cette pose.*
>
> *Dans le costume il y a, mêlés enemble, la femme et le guerrier. Sa cuirasse à ailerons la couvre plutôt*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *comme une robe que comme la cuirasse agrefée d'un homme d'armes; sa cotte de maille s'enfle presque comme une jupe. C'est du fer, mais un fer qui semble perdre de sa dureté native au contact de ce corps de jeune fille.*[654]

Thus, the Princess's sculpture offered, for Dupont, "all things at once," an image of piety and martial strength, and armored feminity (a seeming oxymoron that Dupont described as *"une grâce féminine heureusement combinée avec son costume guerrier"*).[655] She appeared as a resolved warrior who was also a resigned girl, ineffably candid, courageous and virginal *tout à la fois*.[656]

Chosen by Louis-Philippe (at the urging of Ary Scheffer)[657] to replace James Pradier's uncompleted commission for a sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc for the new Musée historique at Versailles, Marie d'Orléans's sculpture *Jeanne d'Arc en prier* was not known to the public before it was

---

[654]"See, rather, her hands joined together and leaning against her steel-clad chest, clenching there the hilt of her epee. What thoughts are in this embrace! Is it steel that she grasps? Is it the cross she has set in the hilt [of her sword]? Is it the memory of her thatched cottage that she seizes in passing and to which she accords a final good-bye? It is perhaps all these things at once....There is everything in this pose. In the costume, there is, mixed together, the woman and the warrior. The wings of her breast-plate cover her [as much] like a dress as like the buckled breast-plate of a man-of-arms; her coat of mail is puffed up almost like a skirt. It is iron, but an iron that seems to have lost its hardness in contact with the body of a young girl" (Dupont, *Les trois statues de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 20-21).

[655]"A feminine grace happily combined with her martial costume" (Dupont, p. 108).

[656]Dupont, p. 20.

[657]Grote, p. 152.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

seen at the museum's opening in June 1837. Not exhibited in any public or even private exhibitions, her sculptures were seen rarely, if at all, before then. The obscurity of the Princess's work is illustrated by an anecdote told by the Comtesse de Boigne, regarding one of Marie d'Orléans's sculptures:

> During the winter of 1834, the Duc d'Orléans gave some balls for his sisters in his apartments. A group [sculpture] of Joan of Arc was noticed there. The warrior girl was passing over the body of an overthrown enemy, and shared the reluctance of her horse. The expression of candor and pity upon her face, conjoined with her inspired look, was conceived and rendered with unusual talent, and the modeling of the figures and the horses was perfect. Lovers of art grew enthusiastic over this beautiful work by an unknown author. At the second ball, some indiscreet persons mentioned the name of Princess Marie; thus it was that her remarkable talent for sculpture was revealed. It had hitherto remained hidden in her studio, and only at the expense of much trouble had the Duc d'Orléans secured permission to take a cast of this group.[658]

Because the Princess did not exhibit her sculptures in the Salon des beaux-arts, they were not subject to formal contemporary criticism. We must rely, therefore, on the words of Marie d'Orléans's acquaintances in determining how the sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc praying was received when it was inaugurated at the opening of the Musée Versailles. *Jeanne d'Arc en prier* was placed there in the Galerie des Marbres, among sculptures of the kings of France and eminent men of state, as well as a few French queens (some lesser-known than others, including Clothilde, Ultrogothe, Berthe

---

[658]Boigne, p. 176.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and Catherine de Medici).[659] According to Boigne, when Marie d'Orléans's sculpture was viewed at the museum's inaugural festivities, "the statue of Joan of Arc received the homage which it deserves."[660] A further testament to the success of her *Jeanne d'Arc en prier* may be seen in its replication in the portrait of Louis-Philippe in the Galerie historique de Versailles, painted by Franx-Xaver Winterhalter in 1841 [fig. XCVIII]; in this official portrait, a model of Marie d'Orléans's sculpture was placed beside the monarch's left hand, evidence of a father's pride in his daughter's sculpture, as well as of the enduring significance of Jeanne d'Arc to the July Monarchy.[661]

In the years that followed the public inauguration of Marie d'Orléans's sculptures at Versailles and Orléans, her Jeanne d'Arc imagery was both criticized and praised in remarkably similar terms--oddly, and yet repeatedly, her work was celebrated enthusiastically by her favorable critics for its wholly "true" depiction of the Maid of Orléans, just as it was castigated (with equal vehemence) by her later critics for its "untrue," and "inexact" rendering of Jeanne's image.

---

[659]Charles Gavard, *Galeries historiques de Versailles*. 10 vol.s (Paris, 1837[-1918?]).

[660]Boigne, p. 141; see also p. 176, in which Boigne described the "general admiration which [the sculpture] aroused when it was subjected to public inspection at the opening of the Palace of Versailles."

[661]Gaehtgens, *Versailles*, p. 168.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dupont, an enthusiast of the princess's work, for example, praised Marie d'Orléans's conception of Jeanne d'Arc as laudibly "historic" and "true" in its gentle and feminine sensitivity. Thus, Dupont wrote, comparing the princess's equestrian sculpture of the Maid weeping at the sight of her wounded enemies with Gois's earlier aggressive Pucelle rallying her troops:

> *Son visage, loin d'exprimer la fureur de la bataille, est empreint d'une douce expression...Son regard est plein de larmes et son coeur formule une prière qui monte implorer le ciel pour l'Anglais expiré. C'est ainsi que je comprends Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat; cette affliction me plait mieux que la menace, elle est plus conforme à l'histoire et à la vérité.*[662]

For Dupont (writing, it might be relevant to note, during a time of peace and Anglo-French alliance),[663] the "soft expression" and tearful compassion of Marie d'Orléans's Pucelle for her English enemy more closely adhered to the author's own conception of Jeanne d'Arc's proper demeanor in battle than Gois's unabashedly militant Maid, whose aggressively martial guise reflected, in Dupont's opinion, "*l'influence pernicieuse qui avait présidé à son exécution*" (that is, the arguably excessive militarism of the

---

[662]"Her visage, far from expressing the fury of battle, is imprinted with a soft expression...Her gaze is full of tears and her heart puts forth a prayer which rises up to implore heaven for the dying English [soldier]. It is thus that I comprehend Joan of Arc in battle; this affliction pleases me more than menace, she is more true to history and the truth" (Dupont, pp. 108-109).

[663]The relatively amiable relations between England and France around that time may be demonstrated, for example, by the commercial treaty establishing free trade with England, as well as the joint Anglo-French occupation of Peking in 1860.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Napoléonic era in which she was cast).[664] Thus, because the princess's Jeanne d'Arc conformed to Dupont's conception of her, and Gois's did not, Dupont declared her sculpture historically veracious and Gois's historically false.

These same terms of "truth" (or falsehood) in evaluating Marie d'Orléans's images of the Maid were applied over the years by many later critics, including, for example, F.-E. Desnoyers, who insisted in 1891, by contrast, that although Marie d'Orléans's sculptures were admirable, even laudably responsible perhaps, for the revival of interest in Jeanne d'Arc's image in the first half of the nineteenth century,[665] they did not depict "*la vraie figure de Jeanne d'Arc.*"[666] In Desnoyers's opinion, rather, Marie d'Orléans's sculpture *Jeanne d'Arc en prier* was not rustic enough; it lacked an expression of sufficient fervency and divine inspiration, and, hence, was "not the true figure of

---

[664]"The pernicious influence which had resided over its execution" (Dupont, p. 107).

[665]As Desnoyers wrote (ignoring the contributions of the Restoration to Johannique iconography): "*Jusqu'à l'époque de 1830, ayons le courage de l'avouer, la France avait presque oublié sa libératrice... [L]a statue de Gois chassa durant quelques jours le sommeil du pays..., [mais] c'est à la princesse Marie que nous devons le réveil définitif de la France; cette oeuvre remarquable a été le coup de tonnerre qui a secoué l'endormissement général*" ("Until the epoque of 1830, we have the courage to admit, France had almost forgotten its liberator... [T]he statue of Gois dispelled somewhat the sleep of the country, [but] it is to the Princess Marie that we owe the definitive awakening of France; this remarkable work was the clap of thunder that shook off the general sleep," F. E. Desnoyers, *L'Iconographie de Jeanne d'Arc* [Orléans: H. Herluison, 1891], p. 14).

[666]Desnoyers, p. 19.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Joan of Arc." As he wrote:

> *l'oeuvre de la princesse Marie est sans doubte admirable d'expression gracieuse, de savoir sculptural même, de pensée profonde, mais ce n'est pas la vraie figure de Jeanne d'Arc; c'est la jeune fille de nos villes, agréable, modeste, candide, mais ce n'est pas la jeune fille de campagne, simple, mais vigoureuse, gracieuse même, mais avec l'empreinte du travail...; elle plaît, mais ne saisit point par la réalité exprimée de sa première vie....[I]l est gracieux, pas inspiré; suavement féminin, pas ému, et il devrait être tout à la fois l'un et l'autre. Lorsque la patrie agonise, lorsque Dieu parlel l'âme doit être agitée et se faire voir dans cette émotion.*[667]

In Desnoyers's opinion, the admitted beauty and even historic accuracy of the princess's sculpture made her image no less culpably "inexact;" as he wrote further:

> *Le travail de la princesse d'Orléans...manque d'une qualité essentielle, que rien ne peut remplacer: la vérité historique et les grandes beautés qu'il renferme ne doivent pas faire oublier le grand défaut d'avoir produit une Jeanne d'Arc inexacte.*[668]

As Desnoyers's review of Marie d'Orléans's sculpture makes clear, in the nineteenth century, criticizing the

---

[667]"The work of the Princess is without a doubt admirable with a gracious expression, even a sculptural knowledge, [and] profound thought, but it is not the true figure of Joan of Arc. It is a young, agreeable, modest, candid girl of the city, not a young girl of the country, simple yet vigorous, gracious even, yet with the imprint of work. She is pleasing, but not to the point of grasping the expressed reality of [Joan of Arc's] earlier life. ...[The sculpture] is gracious, not inspired; suavely feminine, not affected, and it should be the one and the other all at once. When the fatherland lies dying, when God speaks, the soul should be agitated and this emotion should be made visible" (Desnoyers, p. 13).

[668]"The work of the Princess Marie d'Orléans...lacks an essential quality that nothing can replace: the true history and great beauty that it contains cannot obscure the great fault of [its] having produced an inexact [image of] Joan of Arc" (Desnoyers, p. 14).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"truth" of an artist's portrayal of Jeanne d'Arc was not necessarily the same as challenging the historical veracity of the Maid's given depiction; at issue, rather, was the extent to which the artist--Marie d'Orléans, in this instance--met the desires and expectations of the works's critical audience. Thus, for example, because Desnoyers wanted Jeanne d'Arc to appear more countrified and religiously impassioned than Marie d'Orléans portrayed her, he declared the princess's sculpture "untruthful" and "inexact," no matter how much her image might (or might not) have reflected "*la vérité historique*."

As an essential critical standard, the word "truth" appears repetitively in the criticism of Jeanne d'Arc iconography and literature, as critics and authors in the nineteenth century reiteratively sought to judge the relative quality and suitability of the Maid of Orléans's portrayed image against the ostensibly objective standard of what her "true" appearance and demeanor were believed to have been. While this standard may seem objective in theory--Joan of Arc was an historic individual, after all, and many of the details regarding her personal appearance and behavior were well and thoroughly documented; in practice, the supposed "truth" of Joan of Arc's image served as a blanket criterion in the criticism of her representation, covering the more subjective and mutable realm of political exigencies and personal desires.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This may be witnessed, for example, in the writings of two prominent mid-nineteenth century authors, Jules Michelet and Thomas de Quincy, who both sought to craft a "true" image of the Maid of Orléans that ultimately suited their own personal and political conceptions of her. In 1841, for example, Michelet sought to write "the true story of that child of France" in a manner that described her as a "girl of the people," in accordance with his own anti-clerical, anti-monarchical, and pro-republican beliefs.[669] Michelet's text inspired Thomas de Quincy, in turn, to write a rebuttal in 1847 that attempted both to defend his country--England--and his (de Quincy's tone is implicitly possessive) heroine, the Maid of Orléans, from the perceived anglophobic sallies and grievous biographic inaccuracies of the French historian.

Entitled "Joan of Arc: In reference to Michelet's History of France," Thomas de Quincy's essay on la Pucelle exudes a raw sense of urgency, and even a passionate sense of possessive aggression, that reveals how insistently, at times, the image of Joan of Arc engendered the protective appropriation of others. (Recall, for example, Gambetta's similarly protective, famous refusal to hear the mockery of Joan of Arc by one of his liberal colleagues--"on ne touche

---

[669]O.W. Wight, introduction to Michelet, Joan of Arc, pp. iv, and Michelet, p. 9.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pas ici à Jeanne d'Arc!")[670] Such possessive urgency is evidenced in de Quincy's opening rhetorical query:

> What reason is there for taking up this subject of Joanna precisely in the spring of 1847? Might it not have been left until the spring of 1947; or, perhaps, left till called for? Yes, but it *is* called for; and clamorously.[671]

In de Quincy's opinion, what was "clamorously" called for was a true and accurate account of Joan of Arc's life that might correct the "perilous openings for error" in Michelet's essay.[672] De Quincy's corrections, however, often take on a niggling quality that reveals how petty and personal the pursuit of "truth" can be at times in Jeanne d'Arc literature. Thus, de Quincy writes, for example, with quibbling, chatty, and personal insistence:

> M. Michelet...says that La Pucelle was *not* a shepherdess. I beg his pardon: she *was*. What he rests upon, I guess pretty well: it is the evidence of a woman called Haumette, the most confidential friend of Joanna. Now, she is a good witness, and a good girl, and I like her; for she makes a natural and affectionate report of Joanna's ordinary life. But still...Joanna is better; and she, when speaking to the dauphin, calls herself in the latin report *Bergereta*. Even Haumette confesses that Joanna tended sheep in her girlhood.[673]

---

[670]Quoted by Blaze de Bury, "*Jeanne d'Arc dans la littérature*," p. 605.

[671]Quincy, "Joan of Arc," pp. 2-3.

[672]Quincy, p. 3.

[673]Quincy, p. 10. It might be noted that Joan of Arc, herself, testified at her trial on February 22, 1430, that "as long as she was at home with her father [in Domremy], she did not go to the fields to look after sheep and other animals" (Barrett, The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc, p. 54). Vita Sackville-West has suggested, in her study Saint Joan of Arc, that *la Pucelle* denied having shepherded

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Similarly, in writing of the Maid's native region, de Quincy insists that "Joanna, as we in England call her" be referred to as a "Lorrainer," rather than a "*Champenoise*"--"not simply because the word is prettier," de Quincy explains, "but because Champagne too odiously reminds us English of what are for *us* imaginary wines, which, undoubtedly, *La Pucelle* tasted as rarely as we English."[674]

The point here is not to illustrate that de Quincy was somehow inaccurate and/or overly possessive in his portrayal of Jeanne d'Arc, while Michelet was not (or vice versa), but, rather, it is to demonstrate that the process of rewriting Joan of Arc's image in the name of "truth" offered yet another way of appropriating her and re-scripting her image according to the desires of whoever claimed her at the moment. Indeed, de Quincy's and Michelet's dueling accounts of the Maid's life are but one example in a long process that began in the mid-eighteenth century (if not before) with Voltaire's satiric poem of "*La Pucelle,*" a ribald and absurd account of the Maid's life that was written, apparently, as a trenchent political critique of the French

---

flocks as a girl because--as she quotes Louis Bertrand--"'the games played by shepherds and shepherdesses in the fields were not always entirely innocent,'" and Joan of Arc was eager to clearly establish herself as a maiden with a spotless reputation (Vita Sackville-West, Saint Joan of Arc [Boston: G.K. Hall, 1936; reprint ed., New York: Doubleday, 1991], p. 44). For a more complete discussion of Joan of Arc's experience (or lack thereof) as a shepherdess, see Sackville-West, pp. 44-48.

[674]Quincy, p. 5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Monarchy and the Catholic Church. Voltaire's poem, in turn, engendered Schiller's dramatic response, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, a romantic retelling of the Maid's life that offered a vindication of Jeanne's "piety" and virtue (but that was no less sexually essentializing than its pornographic precedent). Schiller's play, in turn, inspired generations of other authors, poets, playwrights, and artists to pen, paint, and sculpt their own portrayals of the Maid of Orléans, each endowed with his/or her own interpretation of what Joan of Arc was "really" like--as a valiant warrior, a humble peasant girl, a prayerful handmaiden of the Lord, a faithful servant of the King, etc.--the list goes on and on, throughout the nineteenth century.

In the visual arts, this process of critically insisting upon the "truth" as a means of asserting a subjective vision of Jeanne d'Arc's image also continued throughout the nineteeth century. Repetitively, artists and their critics returned to the ostensibly objective criteria of "accuracy" and "truth" as a reason to propagate new images of Jeanne d'Arc, that might correct the supposed iconographic failings of earlier renderings of her image. At the same time, objective "accuracy" was propounded as a reason to support or denigrate any ensuing representation of the Maid of Orléans. The subjectivity of such terms as "true" and "accurate" in referring to Joan of Arc's image

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

becomes clear when one actually examines how these critical standards were applied to new representations of the Maid. In conclusion, then, two final images of Jeanne d'Arc from the mid-century--Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's painting *Jeanne d'Arc au sacre du roi Charles VII, dans la cathédrale de Reims* (1854) [fig. XXXIII] and Denis Foyatier's monumental bronze sculpture *Jeanne d'Arc après le combat* [fig. XIV] will be considered.

Among the most prominent images of the Maid from the last two hundred years, these works were conceived, if not completed, during the July Monarchy; thus, they represent, arguably, a portion of the Orléanist regime's final legacy in fostering the modern growth and development of Jeanne d'Arc's image.[675] These art works also are important as examples of how Joan of Arc's image continued to be normalized and "engendered" by artists--given the inaccurate, normative feminine attributes of long hair and modified (not wholly cross-dressed) apparel, long after historic accounts of the Maid's transgressive appearance had become widely disseminated in popular literary and historic accounts of the Maid's life in France. It will be demonstrated, thus, that although Ingres's and Foyatier's works were judged (in part, at least) ostensibly in relation

---

[675]Other prominent images that might be considered a part of the July Monarchy's abundant Johannique legacy include Rude's sculpture of *Jeanne d'Arc écoutant les Voix* [fig. IC], which was commissioned in 1835 but was not completed until 1852 (four years after the fall of Orléanist regime) [see above].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to whether or not the artists achieved a "true" image of the Maid, this critical desire for accuracy was less concerned with whether or not Ingres or Foyatier described the Pucelle in a manner congruent with the Maid's historically detailed appearance, than it was that the artists' adherence to their critical audiences' varying personal, aesthetic, and political conceptions of how Jeanne d'Arc's image should appear.

The origins of Ingres's canvas of Jeanne d'Arc au sacre du roi begin, of course, in 1844, with the artist's portrait drawing of the same subject for *le Plutarch français*. It is not known when Ingres first began his painted rendering of this subject. Approved for purchase in advance (while the painting was still a work-in-progress) under the Second Republic in 1851, the painting was not completed and paid for until 1854 under the Second Empire. A brief chronology of the work's official genesis is as follows: After refusing a commission by the Second Republic to paint an allegory of *la République*, Ingres then was offered by the State a commission to paint any subject he chose for 20,000 francs.[676] Ingres refused this offer as well, proposing, instead, that he complete two paintings already begun--a replica of his Virgin of the Host (first painted in 1841),

---

[676]Daniel Ternois, Ingres (Milan: Arnoldo Monadori, 1980), p. 93; "*Vierges folles et vierges sages: Jeanne d'Arc,*" *Papiers d'Ingres*, p. 7; and Condon, Cohn and Mongan, The Pursuit of Perfection, p. 104.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and a canvas of Jeanne d'Arc--for the lesser amount of 10,000 francs.[677] Ultimately, Ingres's fee was raised to 15,000 francs, to compensate the artist for adding additional figures to his painting of the Maid of Orléans; these figures include a self-portrait of the artist as the Maid's squire, Jean d'Aulon (standing at the far left), as well as the kneeling figures of Jean Pasquerel (Jeanne's chaplain) and three pages.[678]

Exhibited in Orléans, at the town's request, in conjunction with their annual *fête de Jeanne d'Arc* in May 1855,[679] the painting also was shown at the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, where Ingres's Pucelle was hung in the company of a large retrospective exhibition of the artist's work [fig. C]. Ingres's paintings--as the State intended, in planning a special exhibition honoring his oeuvre--attracted much attention (not all of it positive) in 1855.[680]

Among the works singled out by the critics at the Universal Exhibition that year was Ingres's new painting of

---

[677]Schlenoff, p. 352; and Condon, p. 104. It is not known precisely when Ingres began his painting of Jeanne d'Arc; the artist's correspondance with the State indictates only that this painting was already begun by 1851.

[678]Arthes, p. 14; Condon, p. 104; Mainardi, p. 51.

[679]*Un Curieux* [pseud.], "*Statue de la Pucelle, par Foyatier,*" p. 151.

[680]For a thorough discussion of the Universal Exposition of 1855, and Ingres's and Delacroix's special retrospective exhibitions there, see Mainardi, especially pp. 49-53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jeanne d'Arc, which (like the artist's oeuvre as a whole), drew both "the support and the antipathy of the public," as Charles Baudelaire wrote.[681] For the critics who preferred modern art and/or leftist politics, like Baudelaire and Maxime DuChamp, Ingres's attention to historical detail and predilection for cooly idealized figures were, as DuCamp wrote, "fatiguing."[682] Baudelaire dismissed Ingres's painting simply, with biting succinctness, as a "mistake" that lacked "sentiment" and nobility:

> ...As for his Joan of Arc, a picture whose most obvious distinction is an inordinate technical pedantry--I do not trust myself to speak of it. However lacking in sympathy towards M. Ingres I may have appeared in the eyes of his fanatical admirers, I prefer to believe that the loftiest talent always reserves the right to make mistakes. Here, as in the Apotheosis, there is a total absence of sentiment and supernaturalism. We look in vain for that noble virgin who, according to the promises of the good M. Delécluze, was to avenge herself, and us, upon the scurrilous attacks of Voltaire.[683]

Seizing upon the artist's emphatic concern for accuracy (at the expense of capturing the "sentiment" of Jeanne d'Arc's "supernaturalism"), while also noting the enduring influence of Voltaire's poem on the Maid, Baudelaire thus concluded his remarks by dismissing both another recently completed paiting by Ingres--his Apotheosis of Napoléon (1852) [fig.

---

[681]Charles Baudelaire, Art in Paris, 1845-1962; Salons and Other Exhibitions, transl. and ed. Jonathan Mayne (Ithaca: Cornell University Books, 1964), p. 135.

[682]Maxime DuChamp, *Les Beaus-Arts à l'Exposition Universelle de 1855, peinture-sculpture* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1855), p. 54.

[683]Baudelaire, p. 135.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

C]--as well as the critical praise of the conservative, pro-Ingrist Étienne Delécluze for Ingres's Jeanne d'Arc.

Maxime DuCamp, the republican critic, also criticized the artist's over-concern for historical detail. Like Baudelaire, DuCamp further insisted that Ingres missed the mark by portraying the Maid in a manner that revealed none of her "superhuman enthusiasm."[684] In DuCamp's opinion, Ingres's Jeanne d'Arc offering only the petty historic details, and none of the true vibrancy of this remarkable figure from history. DuCamp, however, was even more critical than Baudelaire in insisting that Ingres's portrayal of the Maid was incorrect, as well as unsatisfactory, in having failed to capture the extraordinary spirit of "this poor dear heroine of France."[685] As DuCamp wrote (noting sarcastically that it was only right that the nation that so ungratefully and "monstrously" allowed Joan of Arc to perish should be ultimately incapable of "deifying"--or, perhaps, accurately portraying--her in art):

> *Il est juste, au reste, que cette France ingrate soit frappé d'impuissance lorsqu'elle cherche à defifier maintenant celle qu'elle a si monstruesement laissé périr autrefois. M. Ingres a choisi pour la répresenter le moment où elle à assiste au sacre du roi auquel elle vient de reconquérir un royaume. Néamoins, la scène est restreinte.... Son viage, d'une beauté régulière, est insignifiant et n'a rien de cette enthusiasme surhumain qui poussait la pauvre fille à*

---

[684]DuCamp, p. 73.

[685]DuCamp, p. 72.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *travers la bataille et sous le rempart des villes anglaises... [N]ul n'a jamais contesté à M. Ingres l'adresse de sa main, l'habileté prodigieuse de sa brosse, mais nous étions en doit d'attendre de lui en autre Jeanne d'Arc que cette jeune fille, qui n'a d'historique que son costume.*[686]

Thus, DuCamp criticized Ingres's Maid for lacking authenticity, for offering, as he wrote, "nothing historic but her costume."

Arthur Ponroy, the critic of *Le Globe industriel et artistique*, was even more explicit in his criticism of Ingres's inaccuracy in portraying Joan of Arc, insisting that the artist was "untrue" in having ignored the Maid's "strange sublimity," "divine inspiration" and "angelic resignation" as a "martyr" in his representation of the Maid. As Ponroy wrote:

> *Il y a peut-être de faire à M. Ingres un reproche plus sévère encore au sujet de sa Jeanne d'Arc. Là non plus il n'y a ni vérité historique, ni vérité morale, ni vérité religieuse. A quelque point de vue qu'on se place, non pour juger, mais pour contempler la fière héroïne de Vaucoulers, il est impossible de méconnaitre chez cette vierge guerrière l'étrange sublimité de sa destinée. Si jamais existence fut fatidique et providentielle; si jamais le droit de Dieu se manifesta sur le front de sa créature, c'est chez Jeanne d'Arc,*

---

[686]"Moreover, it is right that this ungrateful France should be struck with impotence when it now attempts to deify [the Maid] who was so monstrously left to perish in the past. M. Ingres has chosen to represent the moment when she assisted at the coronation of the King for whom she came to reconquer a realm. Nevertheless, the scene is restrained.... Her face, with its uniform beauty, is insignificant and has nothing of the superhuman enthusiasm which drove the poor girl through battle and under the ramparts of English villages. ...[N]o one has ever challenged M. Ingres regarding the dexterity of his hand, the prodigious ability of his brush, but we [will have] to wait for another Joan of Arc from him than this young girl, who has nothing historic but her costume (DuChamp, p. 73).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *et non autre.... Quand une fois si dominante élève et brûle une pauvre âme, la joue est moins rubiconde et le contour moins pomme d'api. La Jeanne d'Arc de M. Ingres ne semble guère de taille à refléter Dieu, à relever la fortune d'un roi, ou à mettre en fuite les vétérans de l'Angleterre. Pour bien représenter Jeanne d'Arc, il fallait peindre dans le regard de cette prodigieuse créature l'injonction divine et l'angélique résignatiom du martyr.*[687]

Thus Ponroy "severely reproached" Ingres's canvas for lacking "historical truth, moral truth and religious truth," because the artist failed to paint the Maid as fervently inspired as the critic apparently felt was warranted; at the very least, Ponroy insisted, Ingres' Joan of Arc should have appeared more woefully resigned--the critic took particular exception to the Maid's ruddy cheeks, implying that Ingres should have made them thinner and more pale, as might more properly befit, perhaps, a soul soon to be burned as a martyr to her faith.

What Ponroy, like DuCamp, did not address, however, in

---

[687]"There is perhaps room to even more severely reproach M. Ingres on the subject of his Joan of Arc. There [in the paintings] is neither historical truth, nor moral truth, nor religious truth. From whatever point of view you look at it, not only to judge, but also to contemplate the proud heroine of Vaucoulers, it is impossible to ignore the strangely sublime quality of this virgin warrior's destiny. If ever an existence was fateful and providential; if ever the hand of God was made manifest in the face of his creation, it is with Joan of Arc, and no other....When a faith [is so] dominant [as to] raise and burn a poor soul, the cheek is less ruddy and the contour is less like a lady apple. The Joan of Arc of M. Ingres scarcely appears designed to reflect God, to raise the fortunes of a King, or to take the veterans of England in flight. In order to properly represent Joan of Arc, it was necessary to paint divine inspiration and the angelic resignation of a martyr in the expression of this prodigious creature" (Arthur Ponroy, "*Exposition des Beaux-arts: Salon de peinture, École française. M. Ingres,*" Le Globe industriel et artistique 21 [July 1, 1855], p. 144).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

criticizing Ingres's inadequate and "untrue" portrayal of Jeanne d'Arc, was whether or not Ingres was faithful to the known and documented details of Joan of Arc's actual historic appearance and demeanor. These critics's concern for Ingres's accuracy was manifest only when his depiction did not match their conception of Joan of Arc. Thus, in their criticism they demanded that Ingres portray the Maid as the inspired, noble, other-worldly, poor, thin, and enthusiatic martyr of their imagination. They did not comment, in this process, on whether or not the artist remembered to indicate clearly and correctly the known details of her remarkable personal appearance as a cross-dressed woman with a boy's haircut, who made history and was burned for her stubborn refusal to conform to social norms in her dress and behavior.

This critical silence concerning Ingres's fidelity (or lack thereof) to Joan of Arc's historically-documented appearance also was observed by those who wholeheartedly supported Ingres. It is also interesting to note that the critics who were favorable to the artist celebrated his *Jeanne d'Arc au sacre du Reims* in terms that were strikingly similar to those employed by his critical detractors. The conservative critic Théophile Gautier, for example, in his lengthy and enthusiastic critique for the government journal Le Moniteur universelle, praised the convincing exactitude, and spiritual inspiration that Ingres displayed in his

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rendering of Jeanne d'Arc. These lauditory qualities were, of course, precisely the attributes that Baudelaire, DuCamp and Ponroy found so lacking and/or adverse in Ingres's canvas.

For Gautier, the characters portrayed in Ingres's Jeanne d'Arc were so admirably and convincingly true they appeared to have been "*découpés dans quelque miniature de manuscrit gothique, tant ils ont le caractère de l'époque.*"[688] Furthermore, in Gautier's opinion, the objects in Ingres's canvas (that his less-favorable critics found so pedantically overdone) seemed so richly and convincingly rendered, they almost conveyed the illusion of reality; as he wrote with wondering approval, "*il y a là des ors du ton le plus riche et d'une vérité à faire illusion.*"[689]

In praising the artist's accuracy in capturing the spirit and substance of this historic figure, Gautier (like Baudelaire, Ponroy, amd DuCamp) did not note the artist's refusal to portray Joan of Arc's one irrefutably documented physical attribute--that is, her short hair, which was cut like a man's. Indeed, Gautier, in his headlong rush to demonstrate how Ingres had "completely resolved" the figure

---

[688]"Cut from some Gothic miniature, so much are they in the character of the epoque" (Théophile Gautier, *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe (1855)* [Paris: Michel Lévy *frères*, 1856], p. 156).

[689]"There are [in this image] some golds with the most rich tone, and a deceiving truth" (Gautier, p. 156).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of Joan of Arc even observed--incorrectly--that the artist portrayed the Maid with "*des cheveaux partagés sur le front et coupés à la hauteur des oreilles.*"[690] A simple examination of Ingres's canvas, however, [fig. C] reveals that Ingres did not cut Jeanne d'Arc's hair above the ears--as Ingres and Gautier must have known she wore it;[691] the painter portrayed her, instead (as has been pointed out already), with her hair long and tied back by a red band into a thick ponytail that can be clearly seen over the Maid's right shoulder. It would appear thus that the normalization of Jeanne d'Arc's aberrant appearance was so thoroughly conventional--so much to be expected--in the nineteenth century, it went unnoticed by even those who criticized or championed an artist's portrayal of Jeanne d'Arc's image in terms of its "truth" and accuracy.

This same process of normalization went critically unnoticed as well in Denis Foyatier's sculpture *Jeanne d'Arc après le combat* [fig. XIV], which was commissioned by the town of Orléans expressly in order to correct the supposed iconographic failings of the town's then-principal monument to the Maid of their city, *Jeanne d'Arc pendant le combat* [fig. I] (1802) by E.-É.-F. Gois *fils*. Commissioned in 1846

---

[690]"[Her] hair parted in the center and cut at the height of her ears" (Gautier, p. 156).

[691]See above, regarding Ingres's drawing of Jeanne d'Arc with short hair from 1844 [fig. LXXIII].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for the enormous sum of 220,000 francs,[692] Foyatier's equestrian sculpture was to replace Gois's image, which, by then, had become regarded as "[pas] *préoccupé de l'exactitude iconique*,"[693] with a new representation of Joan of Arc that would be more "accurate"--more "*archéologique*," as Aufrère-Duvernay later described it.[694]

When it was completed, however, Foyatier's sculpture depicted the Maid with long hair streaming down her back in a ponytail that reaches almost to her waist, dressed in a costume that (ahistorically) combines a suit of armor with a short skirt cut above the knee. This attire, it should be noted, conforms to neither Jeanne d'Arc's historically documented cross-dressing, nor even to the costume of women during the early fifteenth century. Consequently, Foyatier's Maid of Orléans is no more accurate, in objective, historic terms, than is Gois's sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc.

Nevertheless, when Foyatier's *Jeanne d'Arc après le combat* was inaugurated in 1855, it was described as "*plus belle et plus vraie*" in comparison with Gois's by-then-

---

[692]Dupont, *"Statue de Jeanne d'Arc par Foyatier,"* Les trois sculptures de Jeanne d'Arc, p. 102

[693]"[not] preoccupied with iconographic exactitude" (*Un Curieux* [pseud.], *"Statue de la Pucelle, par Foyatier, et bas-reliefs, par Vital-Dubray, sur la place du Martroi, à Orléans [1855-1861],"* Jehanne la Pucelle [Paris: Librairie Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie, 1912], p. 63.

[694]Aufrère-Duvernay, Notice historique et critique sur les monuments érigés a Orléans en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc, p. 25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

disdained "*héroïne menaçante, drapée à la romaine.*"[695] Thus, it would seem that when Foyatier's sculpture was celebrated in 1855 as "*plus vraie*" than Gois's sculpture of the Maid from a half-century before, the critics were affirming not the latter-day artist's greater fidelity to the Maid's historic appearance, but, rather, his work's greater conformity to the social politics and reigning aesthetics of the present day. As Dupont wrote in 1855, regarding why Gois's sculpture had fallen from favor and needed to be replaced by a new sculpture, more in keeping with "the times":

> *Les temps n'est plus des idées guerrières.... La guerre nous paraît un affligeant spectacle qui nous fait verser autant de larmes qu'elle nous coûte de sang.... C'est surtout à partir de ce moment que les arts, qui ne sont autre chose après tout que l'expression des scoiétés, sont entrés dans une voie nouvelle. L'imagination reposée des poètes a retouvé sa voie; le calme qui régnait partout a laissé parvenir jusqu'à nous les échos du passé...[et] il nous a rendu le goût du vrai et du beau.... J'ai dit tout ceci pour expliquer comment une oeuvre conçue, exécutée, admirée en 1804, devait ne plus convenir quarante ans après. En effet, c'était presque un honte pour Orléans de n'avoir pour tout monument de la Pucelle que ce bronze chétif qu'on ne comprenait plus et qu'on n'aimait plus.*[696]

---

[695]"more beautiful and more true," "menacing heroine dressed like a roman" (Dupont, p. 79).

[696]"The times are no longer warlike in view....War now appears to us as a distressing spectacle, which makes us shed as many tears as it costs us in blood....It [is] from this moment that the arts (which are after all nothing but an expression of society) have taken a new course. The calm that has prevailed has allowed us to receive the echoes of the past..., [and] it has given us the taste for the true and the beautiful.... I have said all this to explain why a work conceived, executed and admired in 1804, became no longer suitable forty years later. Indeed, it was almost a shame

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

By 1855, Gois's sculpture was thus dismissed as "puny" and false, because its Napoléonic style and martial iconography had become passé, while Foyatier's monumental (but no more historically accurate) sculpture was championed as a triumph of "truth and beauty," because (at least in part) his more pacifistic and religious conception of the Maid's persona--shown lowering her sword and raising her eyes to heaven in a disarming and prayerful posture--were regarded as more appropriate to the (arguably) more peaceful and religiously observant times that had come to replace the imperialist and anti-clerical epoch in which Gois's sculpture was produced.

Thus, the iconographic cycle continued. As surely as Voltaire's *Pucelle* led to Schiller's *Jungfrau*, as directly as Michelet's "*Jeanne d'Arc*" inspired de Quincy's "Joan of Arc," Gois's martial Maid, championed by Napoléon in 1803 as proof of "*le génie français*," was dismissed after the fall of the regime that had engendered it; and, by mid-century, it was replaced with Foyatier's less martial and more overtly pious image of the Maid of Orléans.

Yet, as each appropriation led to another, as each new generation of artists, authors, politicans, and clerics found in the Maid of Orléans an "*éternal objet d'admiration, de pitié et d'amour*" (as the academician Jules Simon wrote

---

for Orléans to have as its sole monument to the Pucelle only this puny bronze that no one understood any longer and no one loved anymore" (Dupont, pp. 77-78).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in 1887),[697] the process of essentializing and sexualizing Joan of Arc's image continued without ceasing. For while her image was transformed repeatedly in reflecting the vagaries of the shifting political and social forces that impelled the propagation of her image throughout the early nineteenth century, Jeanne d'Arc's "engenderment" (the gendered, feminizing sexualization of her image) remained the one stable constant in her representation, as she was normalized and given feminine attributes again and again by artists and authors in each successive regime.

For Christine de Pisan, the brilliant medieval scholar and contemporary of Jeanne d'Arc, *la Pucelle d'Orléans* offered a sign of God's "special regard" for the people of her nation.[698] In bearing arms and driving "her enemies out of France," as a mere "little girl of sixteen," she represented, for Pisan, a "superhuman" sign, and, above all, an "honor for the feminine sex."[699] Endowed, however, with both the virtues and vices of those who told her tale throughout the generations since her death in 1431, in the afterlife of her image, Joan of Arc's posthumous persona was transformed from a unique and heroic image of female achievement into a malleable and almost ubiquitous symbol

---

[697]"Eternal object of admiration, pity and love" (quoted in Gérard de Syone, "*Jeanne d'Arc et l'Académie*," Jeanne d'Arc, p. 86.

[698]Pisan, Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc, p. 34.

[699]Pisan, pp. 34-35.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

serving the mutable (and not always honorable) political aspirations of society.

In his famous oration on the Maid in 1964, André Malraux, the French writer and cultural minister to Charles de Gaulle, noted the seemingly universal appeal of Joan of Arc's image in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in both France and abroad. As an moving example of Joan of Arc's universality, he recalled having seen the Maid's image in the inaugural festivities for the new city of Brasilia (in Brasil) four years earlier:

> *Et lorsque le XIX^e siècle retrouvera ce nostalgique reportage du temps disparu, commencera, des années avant la béatification, la surprenante aventure: bien qu'elle symbolise la patrie, Jeanne d'Arc, en devenant vivante, accède à l'universalité. Pour les protestants, elle est la plus célèbre figure de notre histoire avec Napoléon; pour les catholiques, elle sera la plus célèbre sainte française.*
>
> *Lors de l'inauguration de Brasilia, il y a quatre ans, les enfants représentèrent quelques scènes de l'histoire de France. Apparut Jeanne d'Arc, une petite fille de quinze ans, sur un joli bûcher de feu de Bengale, avec sa bannière, un grand bouclier tricolore et un bonnet phrygien....Jeanne et la République étaient toutes deux la France, parce qu'elles étaient toutes deux l'incarnation de l'éternel appel à la justice. Comme les déesses antiques, comme toutes les figures qui leur ont succédé, Jeanne incarne et magnifie désormais les grands rêves contradictoires des hommes.*[700]

---

[700]"When the ninteenth century rediscovered this nostalgic report of times past, some years before [her] beatification, the suprising adventure began: although she symbolized the fatherland, Joan of Arc, in coming to life, [also] attained universality. For the Protestants, she was--with Napoleon--the most famous figure of our history; for the Catholics, she will be the most celebrated French saint.

Four years ago, at the time of the inauguration of Brasilia, children represented some scenes from French history. Joan of Arc appeared, a little girl of fifteen years, on a pretty flaring pyre,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

For Malraux (like the people of Brasilia, and the people of France in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), Joan of Arc was able to represent, potentially, all things--a famous figure from history, a celebrated saint, an image of liberty, a latter-day goddess, an "incarnation of the eternal appeal for justice," a universal symbol for all the "great contradictory dreams of men."[701]

In attaining universality in French culture, however, the image of the Maid of Orléans was forced, in later centuries, to surrender many of Jeanne d'Arc's most unique and defiant historic characteristics. Refashioned again and again to meet the persistent expectations of those who engendered her image, the public persona of Joan of Arc--a woman of historic, objective reality, who defied social norms by (among other things) renouncing marriage, wearing men's clothing and short hair, and leading her country's army to war--was essentialized and reinscribed back into the normative, social expectations for women in contemporary society.

This normalization of Jeanne d'Arc's image was carried

---

with her banner, a great tricolored shield and a phyrigian bonnet....Joan and the Republic were both France, because they were both the incarnation of the eternal appeal for justice. Like the goddesses of antiquity, like all figures that were successors to them, Joan embodies and magnifies henceforth the great contradictory dreams of men" (André Malraux, *"Commèmoration de la mort de Jeanne d'Arc (au nom du Gouvernement français) Orléans, daté Rouen, 31 mai 1864,"* Oraisons funèbres ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1971), pp.97-98).

[701]Malraux, pp.97-98.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

out persistently (if subtly, at times) by many, varied, symbolic and iconographic means, including giving the Maid long hair, a dress, and such conventionally feminine traits as an emotional, fervent, and/or compassionate demeanor. It was also carried out by casting Joan of Arc as an alluring object of sexual desire, and/or as a passionate, vulnerable, and highly feminine martyr.

By normalizing and sexualizing Joan of Arc's image, those who adopted her in the nineteenth century as a mascot of their varying political, religious, and social causes sought to render her figure more socially acceptable, and thus more pliable as a instrument in their service. However, by forcing her image to conform to a conventional understanding of women's "essential" nature, and by reducing her figure to a mutable embodiment of varying political aspirations, the very uniqueness of this individual's personal history was threatened with erasure.

Indeed, it is ironic that as Joan of Arc's image became increasingly pervasive in French culture--appearing prominently in the painting, sculpture, graphic arts, literature, music, and theater alike--in nineteenth-century France, the historical integrity of her figure's representation was placed in jeopardy. For even as Jeanne d'Arc was held forth as a brilliant image of heroic female achievement, the memory of her unique personality, her courageous aberrancies, and her astounding accomplishments

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

often were obscured and transformed by those who sought to engender her image on their own behalf.

Thus transformed, and even reduced, at times, to a cipher of normative femininity (ostensibly--and ironically--in honor of "the feminine sex"), Jeanne d'Arc's image was fashioned into a cogent political tool by those who sought to hold the reigns of power in French society during the Revolution, the Empire, the Restoration, and the July Monarchy. Rendered in accordance with the desires of others --desires that had, arguably, as little to do with celebrating and empowering the unique and disparate strengths of women in modern society, as it did with accurately recalling the vigorous memory of that defiantly courageous and heretically non-conformist woman known by her contemporaries as "*la Pucelle d'Orléans*"--Joan of Arc's image was made into a mirror that reflected (in a shimmering and illusory manner) as much the nature of those who cast their gaze upon her, as it did the unique personality of Jeanne d'Arc, herself. Thus, in the on-going iconographic transformation and appropriation of Jeanne d'Arc's image in the first half of the nineteenth century, one woman's body was refashioned in the service--and likeness--of the body politic.

Looking in hindsight, over the centuries since Jeanne d'Arc's death, it is fitting afterall, perhaps, that the first feminist celebration of Jeanne d'Arc's life--Christine

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

de Pisan's famous poem, "*Hee! quel honneur au femenin Sexe!*"--was phrased in a manner that may be read ambigiously as both a jubilant exclamation, and as an unanswered question. For the question remains, in considering the expansive development of Jeanne d'Arc's image from the late-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, what honor, indeed, was Joan of Arc for the feminine sex?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. I



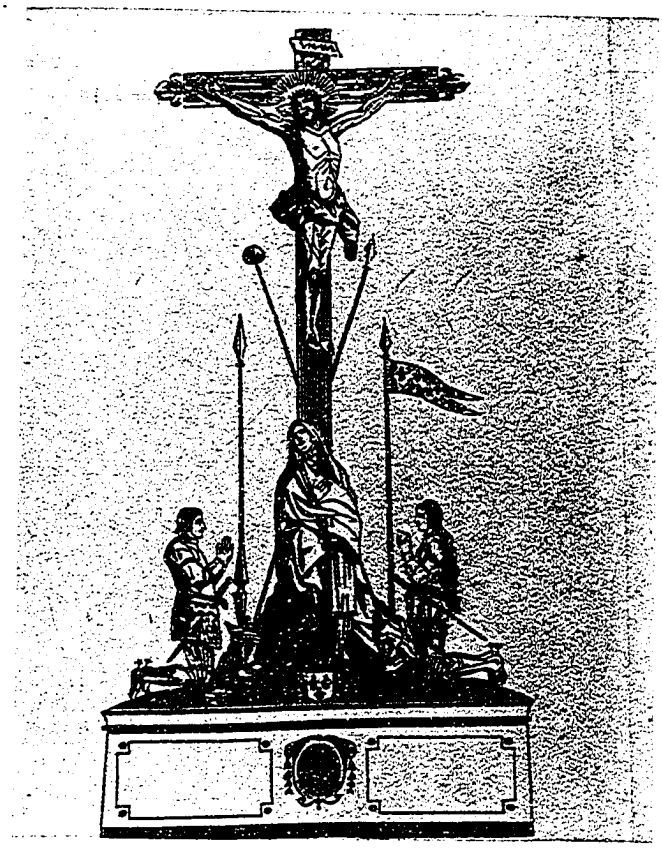
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. II



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. III



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. IV (a)



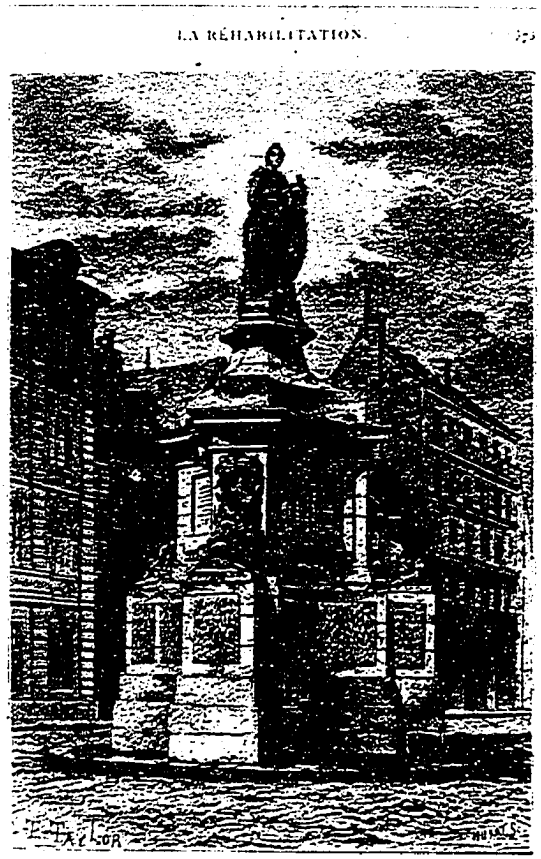
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. IV (b)



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. V



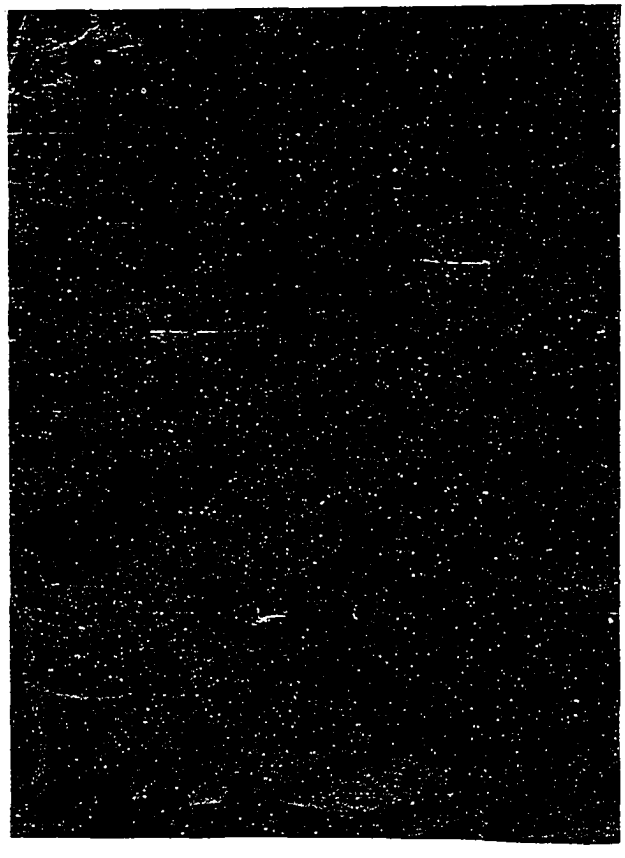
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. VI



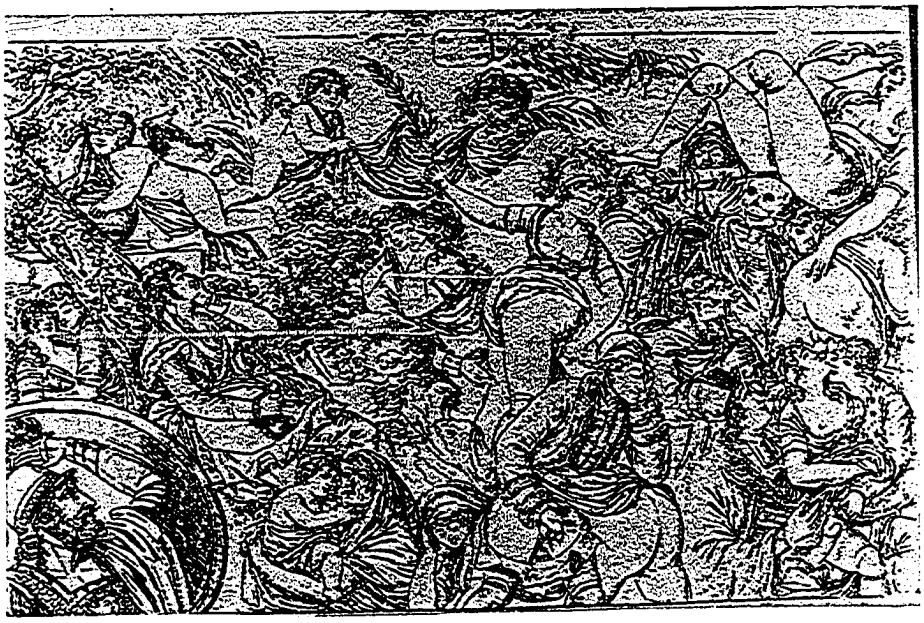
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. VII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. VIII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. IX



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. X



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XIII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XIV



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XV



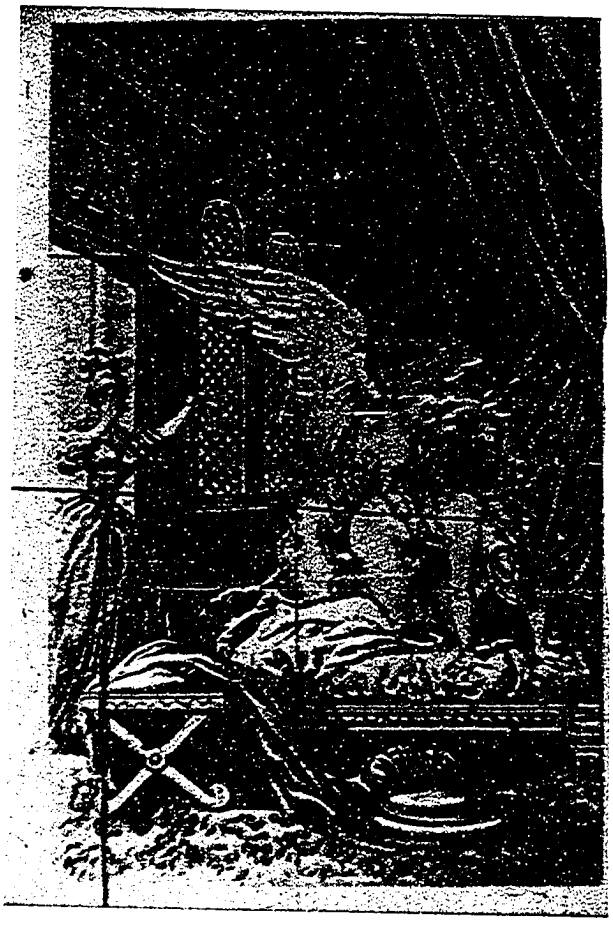
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XVI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XVII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XVIII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XIX



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XX



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXIII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXIV



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXV



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXVI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXVII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXVIII



Pugnate audentes Gallicus tale tenebit
Palladium tutabare Visa nocentis

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXIX



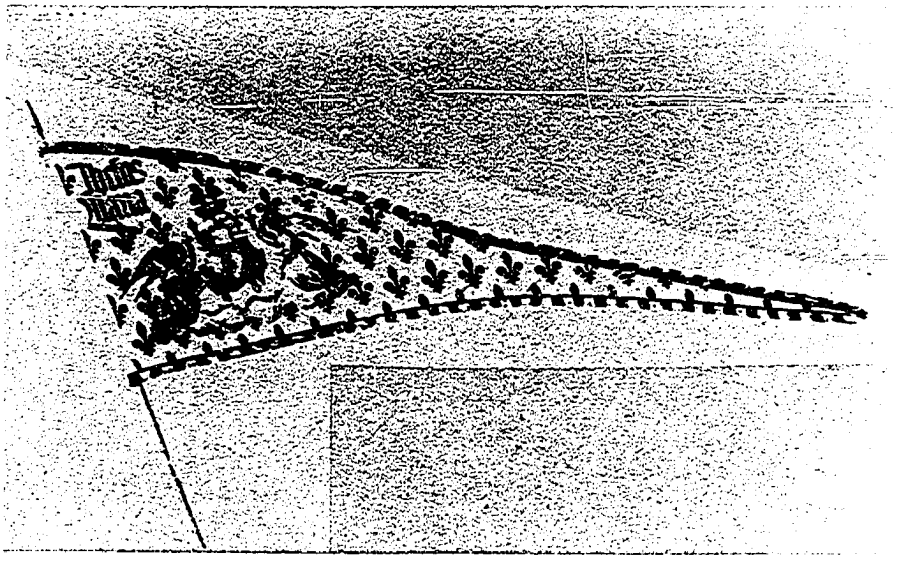
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXX



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXXI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXXII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXXIII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXXIV



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXXV



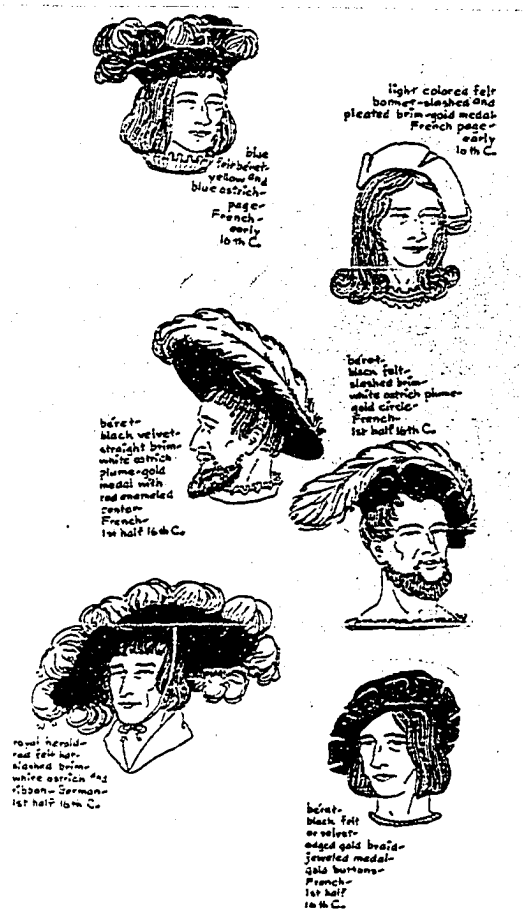
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXXVI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXXVII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXXVIII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XXXIX

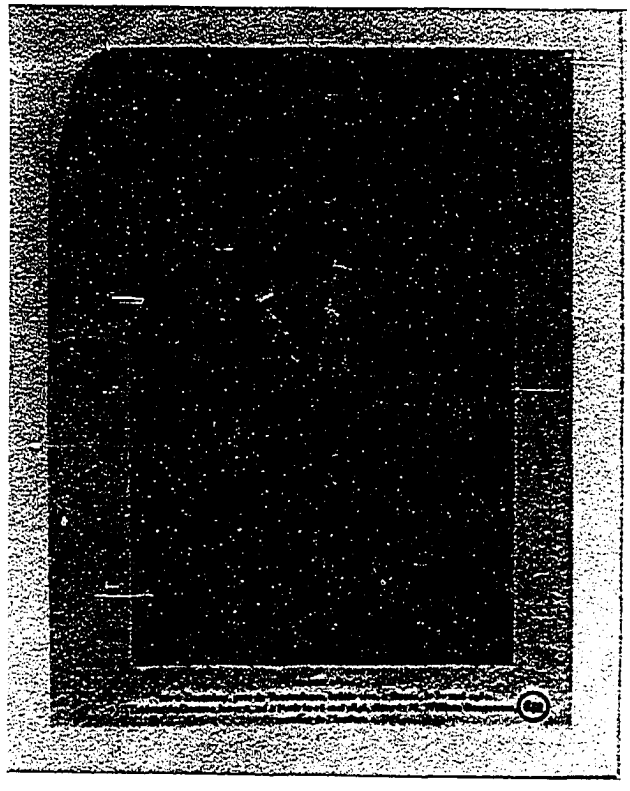


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XL

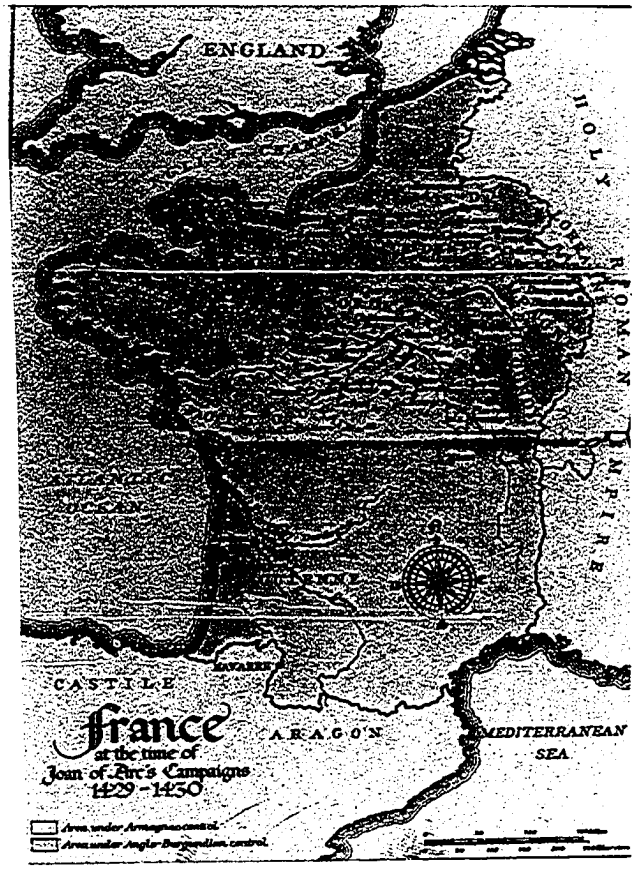


Fig. XLI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XLII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XLIII



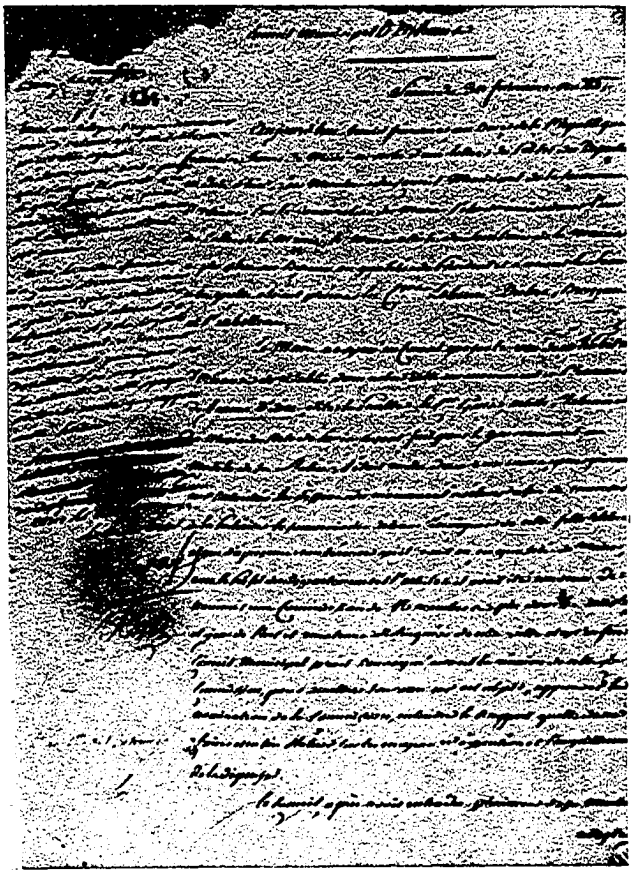
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XLIV



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XLV



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XLVI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XLVII



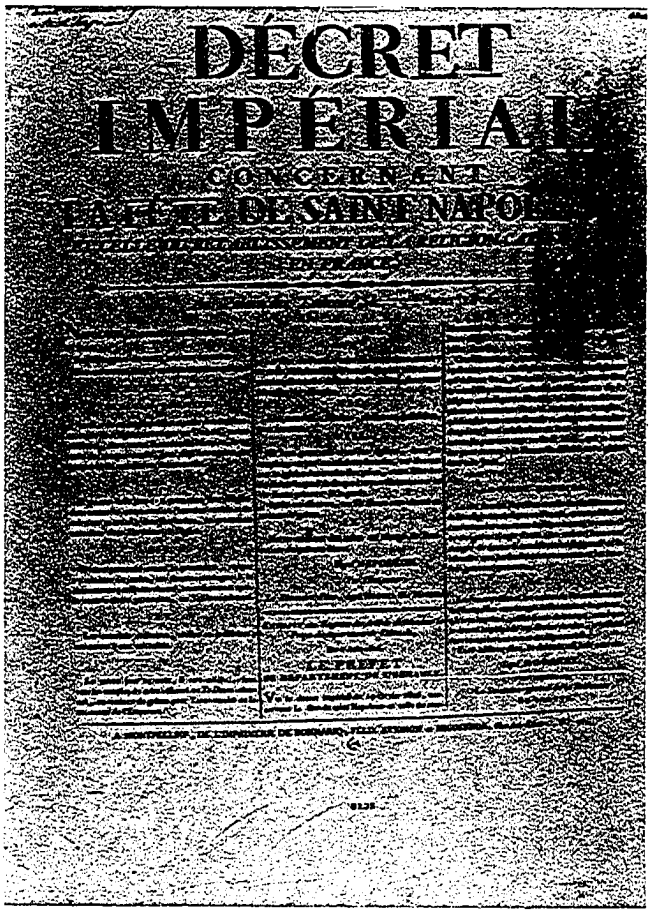
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XLVIII



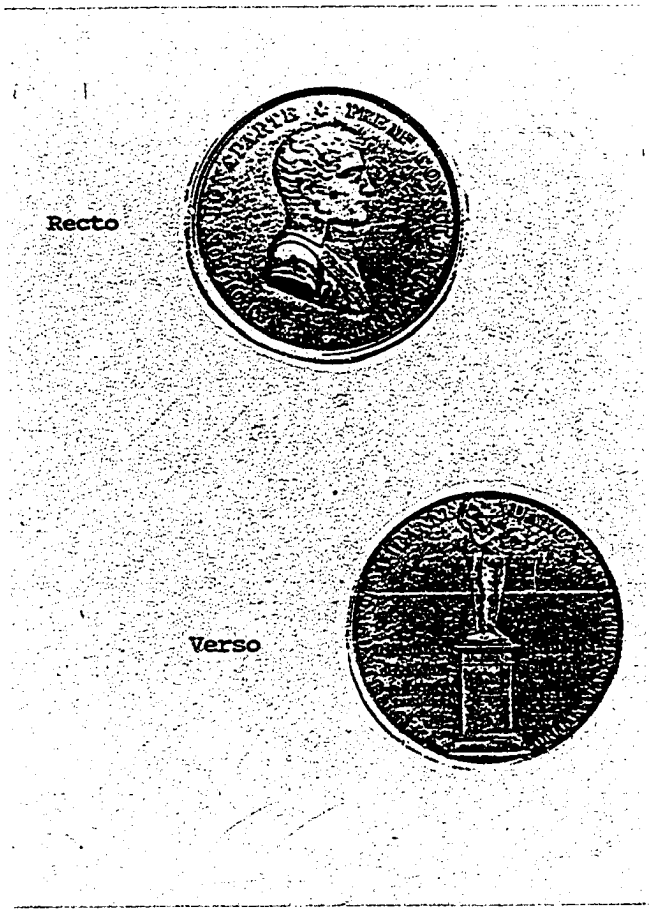
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. IL



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. L



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LII



LE SERMENT DES AMAZONES FRANÇAISES AU PIED DE LA STATUE DE JEANNE D'ARC
D'après une gravure anonyme en couleurs de 1815.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LIII



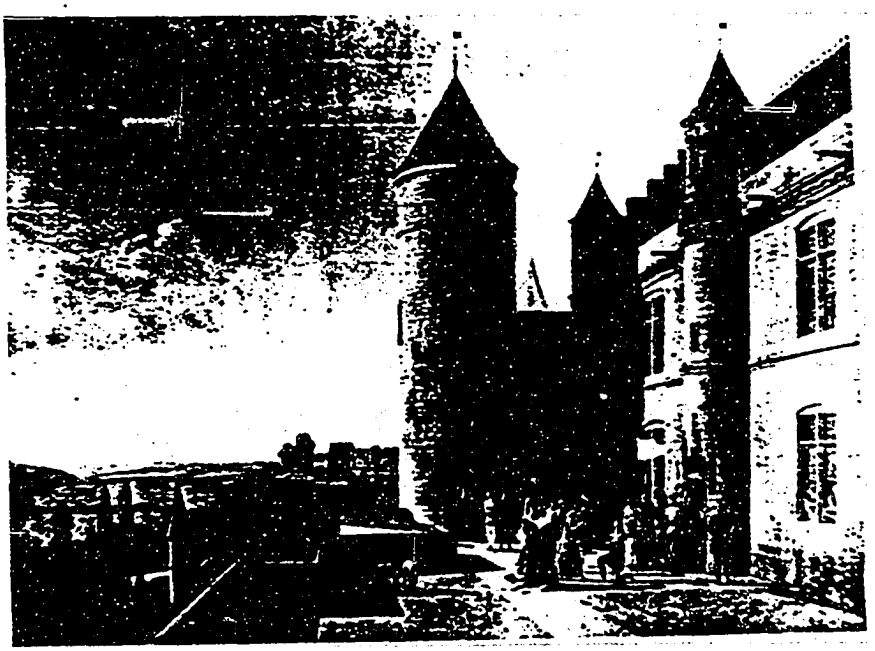
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LIV



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LV



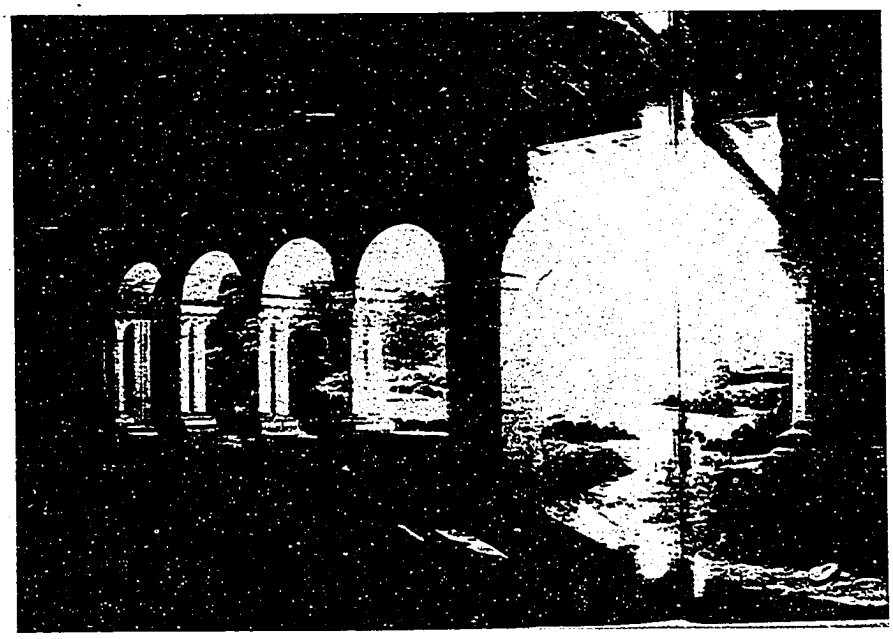
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LVI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LVII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LVIII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LIX



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LX



Monument erigé en 1820 à la mémoire de Laure ... sur les dessins de M. Percier

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXI

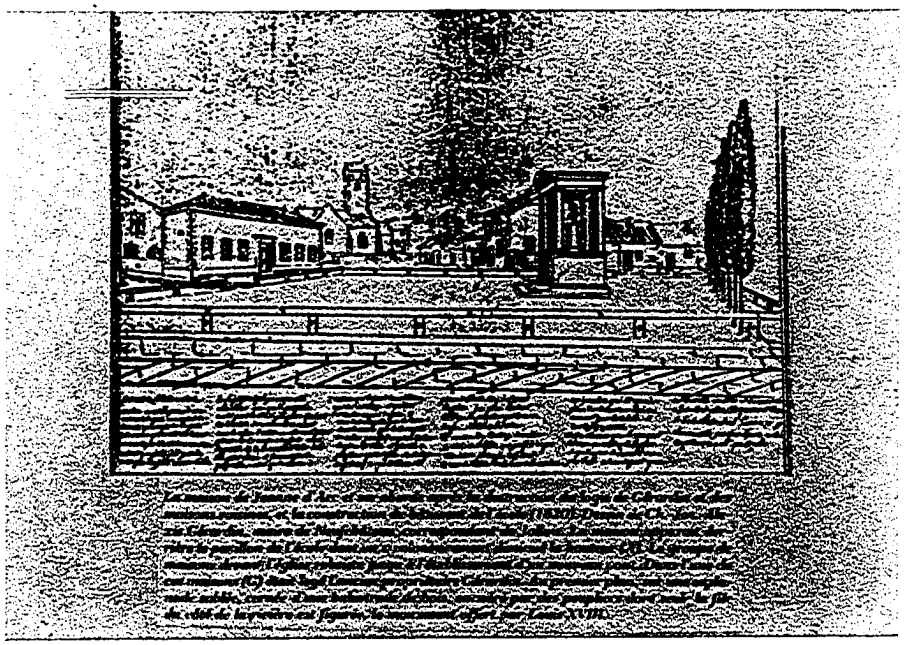


Fig. LXII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXIII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXIV



Fig. LXV



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXVI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXVII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXVIII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXIX



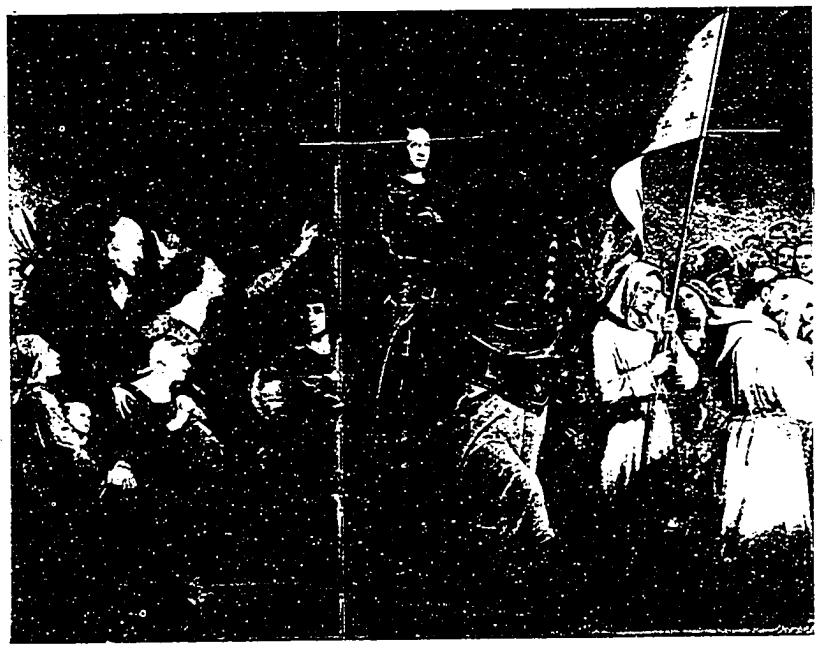
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXX



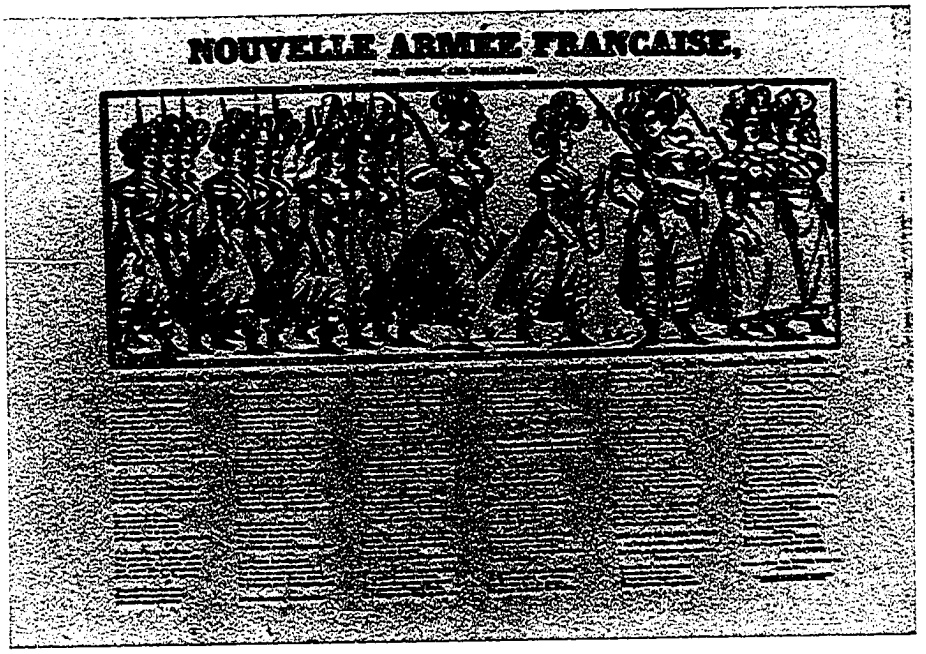
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXIII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXIV



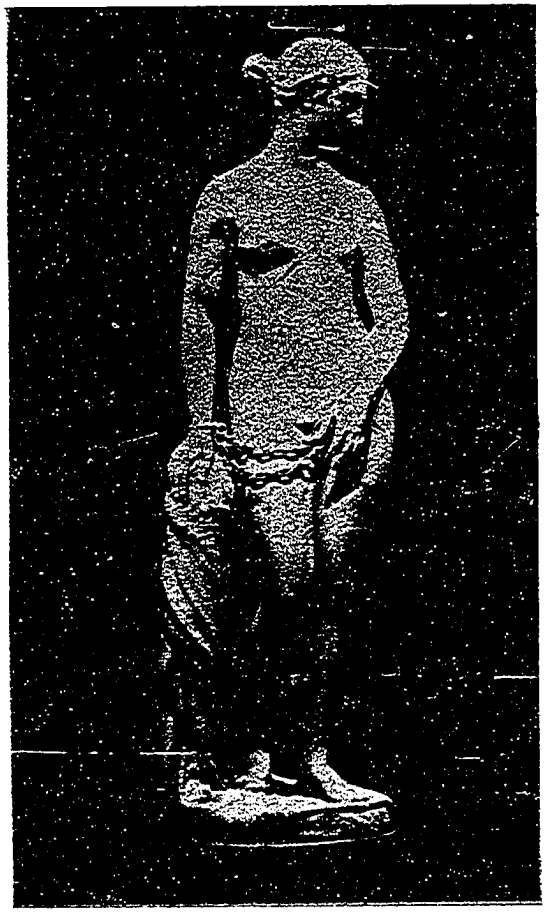
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXV



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXVI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXVII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXVIII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXIX



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXX



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXXI



C'est de la gloire et non du sang qui coule de ma blessure

Fig. LXXXII



Jeanne d'Arc plantant son drapeau au siège d'Orléans

Fig. LXXXIII



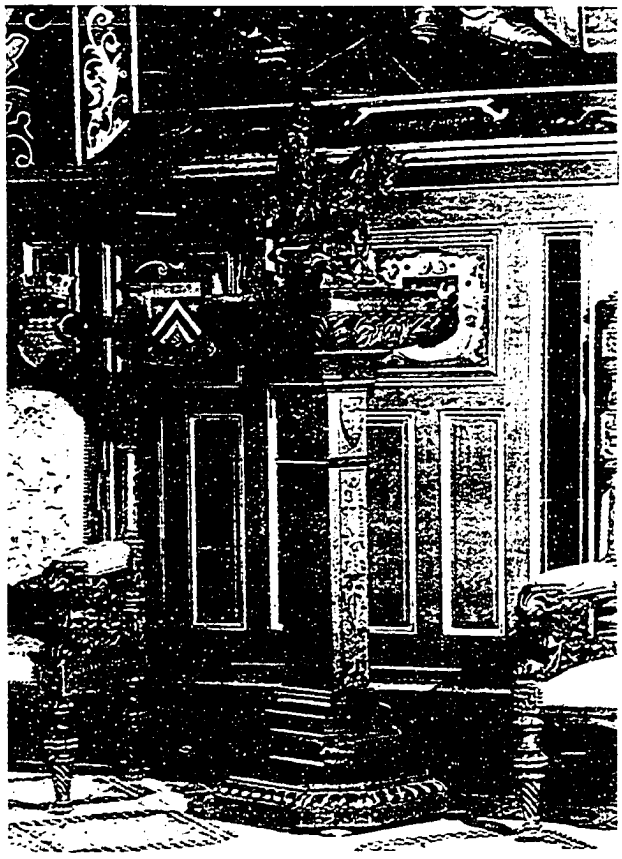
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXXIV



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXXV



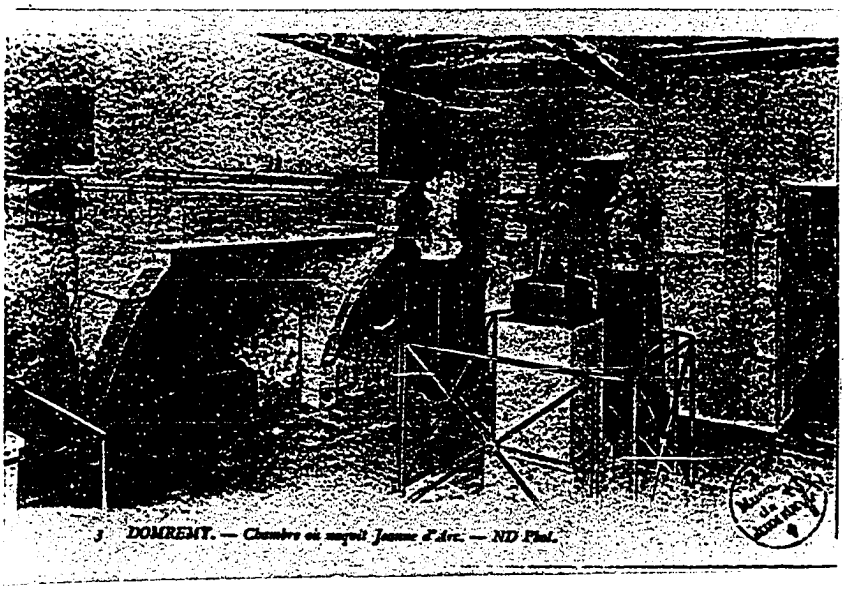
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXXVI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXXVII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXXVIII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. LXXXIX



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XC



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XCI



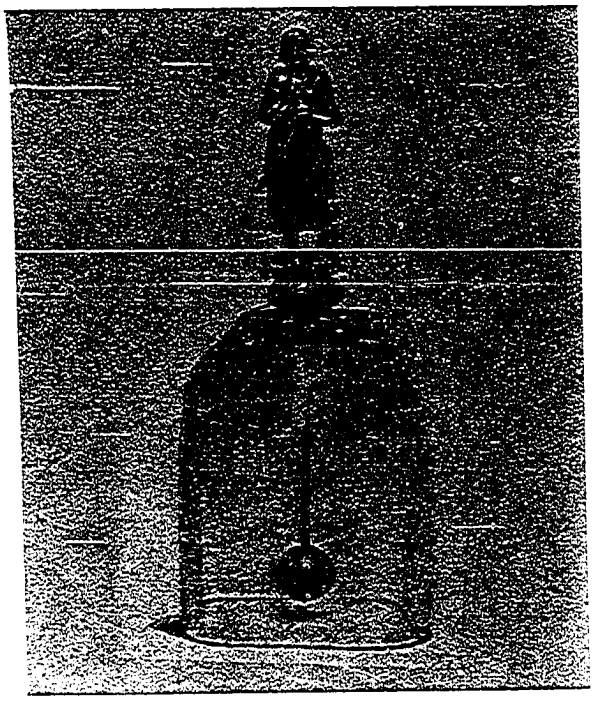
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XCII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XCIII (a)



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XCIII (b)



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XCIV



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XCV



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XCVI



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XCVII



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. XCVIII



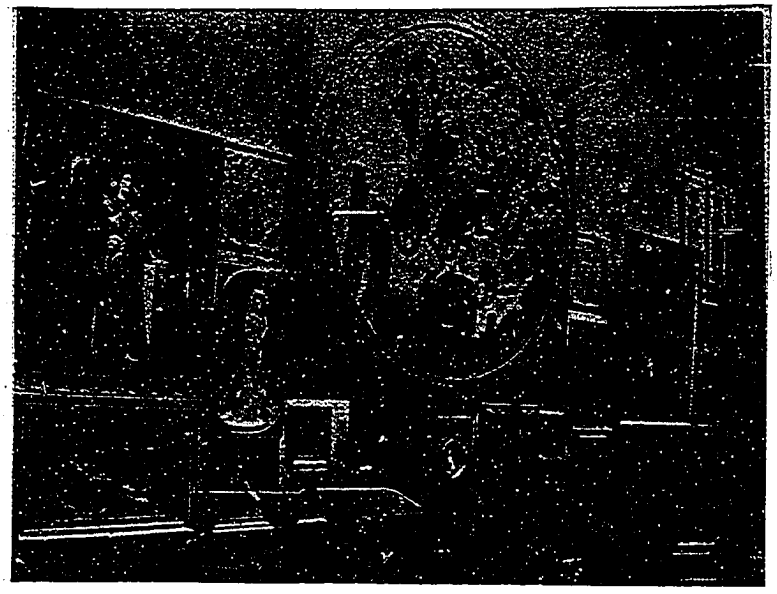
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. IC



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig. C



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. ARCHIVES

New York. Columbia University Rare Book & Manuscript Library. Griscom Collection of Joan of Arc books, prints and manuscripts.

Orléans. Centre Jeanne d'Arc.

Paris. Musée du Louvre. Ingres Archives.

Paris. Biblothèque Nationale, Cabinet des estampes:
Ae 10a
Ae 16 rés.
Ae 17
Na
Ne101 ARC
N2 ARC
N2 (Wurtemberg)
N3 ARC
N4 bis
N mat. 2
Qb1 1801-1871
Qe/884(3)
Rd/mat.3a (*Saintes - Jeanne*)
Tb mat.1a (*Jeanne d'Arc, Liberté, allégories*)
Tb.31 (*costumes de theatres*)
Tb 34d (*pièces de théâtre*)
Td 24 (*Liberté*)
Exposition Universelle, 1855.

2. PRIMARY SOURCES

[Abany, Marie Thérèse Peroux d']. *L'Amazone française, ou Jeanne d'Arc*. 2 vols. Paris: L'auteur, 1819.

About, Edmond. *Voyage a travers l'exposition des beaux-arts (peinture et sculpture)*. Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie, 1855.

Aufrère-Duvernay, Charles. *Notice Historique et critique sur les monuments érigés a Orléans en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc*. Orléans: *Imprimerie de Pagnerre*, 1855.

Averdy, Clement Charles François (de l'). *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothéque du Roi, lus*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

au Comité établi par sa Majesté dans l'Académie royale des Inscriptions et belles-lettres. Vol. 3, Paris: L'Imprimerie royale, 1790.

Averdy, Clement Charles François (de l'). *Mémorial lu au Comité des manuscrits concernant la recherche à faire des minutes originales des différentes affaires affaires qui ont eu lieu par rapport à Jeanne d'Arc appelée communément la Pucelle d'Orléans*. Paris: Imprim. royale, 1787.

Avrigni, C.J.L. d' *Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen: Tragédie en cinq actes, en vers; représentée, pour la premiere fois, par les comédiens ordinaires du roi, le mardi 4 mai 1819*. Paris: Chez Ladvocat, 1819.

Barginet, A. "*Beaux-Arts: L'ermite au Salon de 1824.*" *Panorama des nouveautés parisiennes* 11 (Sept. 11, 1824): 346.

"*Beaux-Arts.*" *La Décade 10 Prairial An XI* [April 30, 1803]: 429-431.

"*Beaux-Arts: Formation d'un Musée à Orléans.*" *Le Drapeau blanc* No. 291 (October 17, 1824): 3.

ernet, Monsieur l'Abbé. *Panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc: prononcé le 8 mai 1817, dans l'Eglise cathédrale d'Orléans*. Orléans: *Rouzeau-Montaut, Imprimeur du Roi, de la Mairie, de l'Évêché,* etc., 1817.

Berriat-Saint-Prix, Jacques. *Jeanne d'Arc; ou, Coup-d'oeil sur les révolutions de France au tems [sic] de Charles VI et de Charles VII, et surtout de la Pucelle d'Orléns*. Paris: Chez Pillet, 1817.

Biémont, [Réne]. *Monuments de Jeanne d'Arc*. Orléans: Herluison, 1880.

Boigne, [Charlotte Louise Éléonore Adélaïde (d'Osmond)] comtesse de. *Récits d'une tante, mémoires de la comtesse de Boigne, née Osmond, publiés d'après le manuscrit original par M. Charles Nicoullard*. Edited by Charles Nicoullard. 4 vols. Paris: Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1907. Translated (anonymously) under the title of Recollections of a Great Lady. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912.

Boucher, Auguste. "*Jeanne d'Arc au dix-neuvième siècle.*" *Le Correspondant* (10 May 1899): 405-447.

Boutet de Monvel, Louis-Maurice. *Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

E.Plon, Nouritt & Cie, 1896.

Boutet de Monvel, Louis-Maurice. "The National Hero of France: Joan of Arc depicted and described by Boutet de Monvel." Translated by Will H. Low. The Century Magazine 52 (November 1896): 119-130.

Bouvier, R.P. *Jeanne d'Arc au XIXe siècle; discours prononcé à Notre Dame de Paris, le 30 mai 1897*. Paris: Libraire V. Lecoffre, 1897.

Bouys, Théodore. *Nouvelle considérations puisées dans la clairvoyance instinctive de l'homme, sur les oracles, les sibylles et les prophètes, et particulièrement sur Nostradamus*. Paris: Desenne, Debray, 1806.

Brecht, Bertholt. *Die Heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe*. Berlin: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag A.G., 1932.

Buchon, J.-A. *Chronique et procès de la Pucelle d'Orléans, d'après un manuscrit inédit de la Bibliothèque d'Orléans, accompagné d'une dissertation de l'Abbé Dubois*. Paris: Verdière, 1824.

Carmouche, Dupin and Dartois. *Le Procès de Jeanne d'Arc, ou le jury littéraire; parodie-vaudeville en un acte, représentée, pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre du Vaudeville, le 11 juin 1819*. Paris: Chez J.-N. Barba, Libraire, 1819.

Caze, Pierre (*sous-préfet de Bergerac*). *La mort de Jeanne d'Arc ou la Pucelle d'Orléans, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers*. Libourne, 1805.

Caze, P[ierre]. *La vérité sur Jeanne d'Arc, ou Éclairissements sur son origine*. Vol. 1-2. Paris: Rosa, 1819.

Chapelain, Jean. *Les douze derniers chants du poème de La Pucelle,...précédés d'une préface de l'auteur et d'une étude sur le poème de la Pucelle par René Kerviler*. Orléans: H. Herluison, 1882.

Chapelain, [Jean]. *La Pucelle, ou la France delivrée, poëme héroïque*. Paris, 1656.

Charmettes, Le Brun de, Philippe-Alexandre (*sous-préfet de Saint-Calais*). *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc: surnommée La Pucelle d'Orléans*. 4 vols. Paris: *Chez* Arthus Bertrand, *Libraire*, 1817.

Chaussard, [Pierre Jean Baptiste]. *Jeanne d'Arc: recueil,*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

historique et complet. (2 vols. in 1). Orléans: Chez Darnault-Maurant, Imprimeur-Libraire, Éditeur, 1806.

Cherbuliez, Victor. "*Le culte de Jeanne d'Arc.*" Revue des Deux Mondes 100 (1890): 687-700.

Choiseul, (La Csse. de) (Psye. de Bauffremont). *Jeanne d'Arc, poëme*. 2d edition. Paris: Delaforest, 1829.

Chuquet, Arthur, editor. Recollections of Baron de Frénilly. Translated by Frederic Lees. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1909.

Delavigne, [Jean-François] Casimir. *Oeuvres complètes de Casimir Delavigne*. Paris: H.-L. Delloye et Vor Lecou, 1836.

D.[Delécluze, Etienne-Jeanne]. "*Exposition du Louvre.*" *Journal des débats* (Sept. 8, 1824): 2-4.

Quincy, Thomas de. The English Mail-Coach and Joan of Arc. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1902.

Quincey, Thomas de. "Joan of Arc, in Reference to M. Michelet's History of France." In Joan of Arc and the English Mail-Coach, 1-26. The Riverside Literature Series. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934.

Desmares, Marie. "*Les femmes au Salon de 1852.*" *Journal des Dames* (May 1852): 257-260.

Desnoiresterres, Gustave. *Beaux-Arts: Exposition de 1852. IV. Sculpture.*" *La Mode* (July 25, 1852): 134-141.

Develle, [M.]. *Discours prononcé, le 28 juin 1890 à l'inauguration de la Statue de Jeanne d'Arc*. Nancy: Imprimerie coopérative de l'est, 1890.

Dickens, Charles. A Tale of Two Cities. Edited by George Woodcock. London: Chapman and Hall, 1856. Reprint. London: Penguin Classics, 1985.

Dieulafoy et Gersin, "*Jeanne d'Arc, ou le siége d'Orléans, fait historique, en trois actes, mêlé de vaudevilles. (Représenté pour la première fois à Paris, sur le Théatre du Vaudeville, le 24 Février 1812).*" Paris: Chez Fages, 1812. In Bibliothêque Théâtrale: Théâtre du Vaudeville. Vol. 4. 1814.

Dubois. *Notice historique, sur Jeanne d'Arc. et sur les monuments érigés à Orléans en son honneur*. [Orléans], [1824].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

DuChamp, Maxime. *Les Beaux-Arts à l'Exposition Universelle de 1855, peinture-sculpture*. Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1855.

DuChamp, Maxime. "*Salon de Paris.*" *Revue de Paris* (July 1852): 18-46.

Dumas, Alex[andre]. *Jehanne, la Pucelle, 1429-1431*. Paris: Magen et Comon, 1842.

Dumas, Alexandre. *Joan, the Heroic Maiden*. Translated by Louisa C. Ingersoll. Philadelphia: E. Ferret & Co., 1846.

Dupanloup, Félix-Antoine-Philippe. *Second panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc, prononcé dans la Cathédrale de Sainte-Croix le 8 mai 1869, par Mgr. L'Évêque d'Orléans*. Orléans: Imprimerie de G. Jacob, 1869.

Dupanloup, Félix-Antoine-Philippe. *Lettre Pastorale de Monseigneur l'Évêque d'Orléans à l'occasion de son arrivée dans son diocèse*. Paris: Imprimerie Bailly, Diury, et Cie, 1849.

Dupanloup, Félix-Antoine-Philippe. "*Panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc, prononcé dans la Cathédrale de Sainte-Croix, le 8 Mai 1855.*" (Orléans: Gatineau, Libraire, 1855). In Aufrère-Duvernay, Charles. *Notice Historique et critique sur les monuments érigés à Orléans en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc*. Orléans: Imprimerie de Pagnerre, 1855.

Duparc, Monsieur l'Abbé. *Hommage à Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle d'Orléans, à l'occasion de la fête anniversaire célébrée en son honneur par la ville d'Orléans le huit Mai mil huit cent dix-sept*. Orleans: Rouzeau-Montaut, Imprimeur du ROI, de la Mairie, de l'Évêché, etc., 1817.

Dupont, Léonce. *Les trois statues de Jeanne d'Arc, ou Notices sur les monuments élevés à Orléans en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc*. Orléans: H. Herluison, Libraire, 1861.

Eloge de Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle d'Orléans. Orléans: Rouzeau-Montaut ainé, *Imprimeur de l'Évêché et de la mairie*, 1829.

Emeric-David. "*Peinture Français: Salon de 1824, écrit en sept. 1824.*" *Revue Européenne* (October 1824): 676-654 [sic][690].

"Encore un mot sur le Salon." *La Décade philosophique* 32

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(vendémiaire-frimaire, an XI [September-November, 1802]): 353-354.

Etex, Antoine. *Essai d'une revue synthétique sur l'exposition universelle de 1855...*. Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1856.

"*Exposition annuelle des tableaux des artistes vivants (Salon de 1852)*" *Almanach de la littérature du théatre et des beaux-arts* (Paris: Pagnerre, 1853): 33-37.

"*Exposition de 1824. M. Delaroche,*" *L'Oriflamme, journal de littérature, des sciences et arts, d'histoire, et de doctrines religieuses et monarchiques* I (1824): 391-393.

"Extraits du registre des séances du conseil municipal d'Orléans. -- Séance du 30 frimaire an 11." Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel 148 (*Jeudi, 28 pluviôse an 11 de la République* [Thursday, February 17, 1803]): 596.

"*Extraits du registre des arrêtés du conseil municipal d'Orléans. -- Séance du 3 nivôse an* 11." Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel 148 (*Jeudi, 28 pluviôse an 11 de la République* (Thursday, February 17, 1803): 596.

"F." *Beaux-Arts. - Exposition de 1824 (Paris, le 26 aout)*" *Le Drapeau blanc* No.s 239, 240, 247, 257 (August 26-27 and Sept. 4, 11, and 13, 1824): 6 (August 26-27), 4 (Sept. 3), 3-4 (Sept. 11), 3 (Sept. 13).

Ferrand, Antoine. *L'Esprit de l'histoire, ou Lettres politiques et morales d'un père a son fils*. 5th edition, vol.3. Paris: Déterville Libraire, 1809.

Fesch. P. "*Le 8 mai: La fête de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans.*" *Jeanne d'Arc* 1, no.3 (April 1889): 45-46.

Fête solennelle en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc: célébrée le 1er Juin 1886 dans la Cathédrale de Rouen. Rouen: Imprimerie de Espérance Cagniard, 1886.

Fête pour l'inauguration du monument élevé à la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc, à Domremy, Département des Vosges (10 septembre 1820). Neufchâteau: Beaucolin, 1820.

Feuillette, R.P. *Panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc prononcé à Notre-Dame pour l'introduction de sa cause de béatification, en présence de S.E. le Cardinal Archevêque de Paris, le Dimanche 22 Avril 1894*. Paris:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Imprimerie A. Quelquejeu, 1894.

Feutrier, Monsieur l'Abbé. *Éloge historique et religieux de Jeanne d'Arc, pour l'anniversaire de la délivrance d'Orléans, le 8 mai 1429, prononcé dans la Cathédrale de cette ville le 8 mai et le 9 mai 1823*. Orléans: Rouzeau-Montaut, Imprimeur du Roi, de la Mairie, de l'Évêché, etc., [1823].

Gautier, Théophile. *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe (1855)*. Paris: Michel Lévy *fréres*, 1856.

Gillis, Mgr. *Panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc prononcé dans la Cathédrale d'Orléans à la fête du 8 mai 1857*. 2d edition. Orléans: Alphonse Gatineau, 1857.

Goncourt, Edmond and Jules de. *"Salon de 1852: Sculpture."* *L'Eclair* 23 (1852): 267-270.

Guillemin, Alexandre. *Jeanne d'Arc, poème en douze chants*. Paris: L. Curmer, 1844.

Haldat du Lys, Charles Nicolas Alexandre de. *Éloge de Jeanne d'Arc, Pucelle d'Orléans, prononcé à Domremy les 10 Septembre 1820*. Neufchateau: Beaucolin, [1820].

Haldat du Lys, Charles Nicolas Alexandre de. *Examen critique de l'histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, suivi de la relation de la fête célèbrée a Dom-Remi en 1820, et de mémoires sur la maison de Jacques Darc, et sur sa descendance*. Nancy: Grimblot et Veuve Raybois, 1850.

Haldat du Lys, Charles Nicolas Alexandre de. *Monuments consacrés à la gloire de Jeanne d'Arc dans la commune de Domremy. Rapport*. Nancy, 1820.

Haldat du Lys, Charles Nicolas Alexandre de. *Relation de la fête inaugurale: célébrée à Domremy, le 10 septembre 1820, en honneur de Jeanne d'Arc; suivre de deux dissertations sur l'authenticité de la maison de l'héroïne et sur les monuments anciennement érigés à sa gloire dans la province de Lorraine*. Nancy: Cl.-J. Hissette, [1820].

Harpe, La. *"Pages Retrospectives. -- Rétractation de l'auteur «Du Cours de littérature» au sujet de* la Pucelle *de Voltaire."* *Jehanne la Pucelle* 3-4 (10 and 25 February 1891): 47-54.

Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle d'Orléans; ...avec la gravure et la description du monument érigé en son honneur, sur la place du Martroi d'Orléans, le 8 Mai

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1804. Orléans: Chez Constant ainé, 1846.

Hugo, Victor. *Les Miserables*. Translated by Charles E. Wilbour. New York: Random House.

Huin, A.-F.-F. *Histoire Populaire de Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: Garnier, 1856.

Jeanne d'Arc ou la Pucelle d'Orléans: Fait historique de l'histoire de France sous le règne de Charles VII. Manets, 1815.

"Jeanne Hachette." *Jeanne d'Arc* 1, no. 12 (July 1889):n.p.

Jollois, [Henri-Prosper]. *Monuments anciens et modernes érigés en France à la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc, recueil composé de neuf feuilles de dessins; lithographies par Ch. Pensée, professeur à Orléans, avec un texte historique et descriptif par Mr. Jollois*. Orléans: *chez l'auteur*, 1834.

Labutte, Thomas Augustine Michel. *Jeanne d'Arc: sa vocation - sa mission - sa mort*. Paris: Furne, Jouvet et Cie, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1866.

Lacretelle, Henri de. *"Beaux-Arts: Salon de 1852. Sculpture: MM. Pradier, Rude, Paul Gayrard, Lévèque Bonnardel, Isidore Bonheur, Barge, Courtet, Dantan aîne, Buhot, Cain, Clésinger, Lesquesre."* *La Lumière, revue de la photographie; Beaux-Arts, Héliographie, Sciences. Journal non politique, Paris*. 25 (June 12, 1852): 97-98.

Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louise de. *Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1852. Translated by Sarah M. Grimke, under the title Joan of Arc, a biography. Boston: Adams & Co., 1867.

Landon, Charles Paul. *"Jeanne d'Arc interrogée dans sa prision; tableau de M. Delaroche."* In *Annales du Musée et de l'école moderne des Beaux-Arts; Salon de 1824: Recueil des principales productions des artistes vivans, exposées au Salon du Louvre, le 25 août 1824, gravées au trait et accompagnées d'explications et d'observations sur le genre et le mérite de leur exécution*. 50-52. Vol. 1. Paris: C. Ballard, Inprimeur du Roi, 1824.

Landon, Charles Paul. *"Jeanne d'Arc, pucelle d'Orléans; par Gois, fils."* In *Annales du Musée et de l'école moderne des beaux-arts*, 118-20. Vol. 3. Paris: C.P. Landon *de l'Imprimerie de* Migneret, *An XI* [1802].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Landon, C[harles] P[aul]. *Annales du Musée et et de l'école moderne des Beaus-Arts; Salon de 1819*. Vol. 2 Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1820.

Landon, [Charles Paul]. *"Suite de l'exposition au Salon du Musée."* *Journal des Arts, des sciences et de litterature* 86 (*10 vend. an 9* [October 2, 1800]): 211-213.

Landon, C[harles] P[aul], editor. *Nouvelles des Arts. peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure*. Paris: Migneret, *an XI* (1802).

Lenglet-Dufresnoy, M. l'Abbé [Nicolas]. *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, vierge, héroïne et martyre d'état, suscitée par la providence pour rétablir la Monarchie Françoise*. Paris: Coutellier, Pissot, Chardon, 1752.

Leroy, Alphonse. *"Sculpture: Aux rédacteurs de la Decade philosophique."* *La Décade philosophique* 35 (*an 11* [1802]): 109-113.

Leroy, Alphonse, *fils*. "Sculpture: Aux rédacteurs du Journal des Arts." *Journal des Arts, des Sciences et de Litterature* 232 (*20 vendémiaire, an* 11 [October 12, 1802]): 100-113.

Lescure, Mathurin de. *Jeanne d'Arc: L'héroïne de la France*. (*Illustré de douze gravures sur acier par Léopold Flameng*). Paris: Paul Durocq, Libraire-Éditeur, 1866.

Letard, l'Abbé François. *Jeanne d'Arc, la Pucelle: Hommage sympathique et patriotique*. Rond-Point S. Martin, France: Apprentis Orphelins, 1894.

Longin, Abbé. *Eloge de Jeanne d'Arc, pour l'Anniversaire de la Délivrance d'Orléans, le 8 mai 1429; prononcé dans la Cathédrale de cette ville le 8 mai 1825, et présenté à S.M. Charles X par M. l'Abbé Longin*. Paris: *Imprimerie ecclésiastique de* Beaucé-Rusand, 1825.

Loudun, Eugène. *Le Salon de 1852* (Paris: L. Hervé, 1852).

Marx, Karl. The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. New York: International Publishers, 1987.

Maurin. *Jeanne d'Arc ou le siège d'Orléans, comédie héroïque à grand spectacle en trois actes et en vers*. Metz: Lamort imprimeur, rue derrière le Palais, 1809.

Ménard, [Abbé]. *Panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d'Orléans par un admirateur de ses vertus. Orléans: Vᵉ. Huet-Perdoux, 1818.

Mirbel, Elisa de. *"Le Salon de 1852."* *La Révolution littéraire* III, no. 15 (May 10, 1852): 74-91.

Monnin, J.J.L.G. *"Exposition: Des ouvrages de peinture, de sculpture, de gravure, de lithographie et d'architecture des artistes vivants,"* *Annales des Arts, spécialement de l'architecture et des sciènces y relatives* I (Paris: J.M. Emberhart, 1824): 285-292.

Montaiglon, Anatole de. *"Salon de 1852. V. Sculpture."* *Revue des Beaux-Arts*. III (1852): 185-190.

"Ouverture du Salon." *Le Diable boiteux* No. 241 (August 28, 1824): 2-3.

Ovid. The Metamorphoses. Translated by Horace Gregory. New York: Viking Press, Inc., 1958.

Paris [pseud.]. *L'Observateur des spectacles, de la litterature et des arts* 208 (3 *vendémiaire an 11* [Sept. 25, 1802]): 2-3.

Paris, Exposition Universelle, 1855. *Rapport sur l'Exposition universelle de 1988 présenté a l'Empereur par S.A.I. le prince Napoléon*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1857.

Parocchi, L.M. *Le surnaturel dans la vénérable Jeanne d'Arc; conférence au convent des Dames de l'Assomption de Rome le 17 janvier 1895*. Orléans: H. Herluison, Librairie-Éditeur, 1895.

Pays, A.-J. du. *"Salon de 1852: Sculpture."* *L'Illustration, journal universel* XX, no. 488 (July, 3, 1852): 11-14.

Peignot, Étienne Gabriel. [L.G.P., pseud.] *Dictionnaire biographique et bibliographique, portatif, des personnages illustres, célébres ou fameux de tous les siècles et de tous les pays du monde, avec les dieux et les héros de la mythologie*. 3 vols. Paris: Haquart, 1815.

Pisan, Christine de. *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*. Translated and edited by Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty. Vol. IX of *Medium Ævum Monographs*. Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1977.

Pisan, Christine de (see also Pizan).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pitray, Vtesse de. "*Les vertus chrétiennes féminines: Le patriotisme.*" *Jeanne d'Arc* 1, no.4 (May 1889): 52.

Pitray, Vtesse de. "*Les vertus chrétiennes féminines: L'obéissance et l'amour de la discipline.*" *Jeanne d'Arc* 1, no.8 (June 1889): 115-116.

Pitray, Vtesse de. "*La vraie guerre du Dieu des armées.*" *Jeanne d'Arc* 1, no.12 (July 1889): 186.

Pitray, Vtesse de. "*Le Sacre-Coeur et Jeanne d'Arc.*" *Jeanne d'Arc* 1, no.9 (June 1889): 139-140.

Pitray, Vtesse de. "*Les vertus chrétienne féminines: Le dévouement et l'amour de la famille.*" *Jeanne d'Arc* 1,no.20 (September 1889): 307-308.

Pitray, Vtesse de. "*L'Héroïne et l'artiste.*" *Jeanne d'Arc* 1, no.19 (August-September 1889): 295.

Pizan [sic], Christine de. A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor: The Treasury of the City of Ladies. Translated by Charity Cannon Willard, and edited by Madeleine Pelner Cosman. New York: Bard Hall Press, 1989.

Ponroy, Arthur. "*Exposition des Beaux-arts: Salon de peinture, École française. M. Ingres.*" *Le Globe industriel et artistique* no. 21 (July 1, 1855): 143-144.

"*Project de prospectus d'un souscription, pour la réédification d'un monument en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc, libératrice de la France envahie par les Anglais, sous le règne de Charles VII,*" *Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel* 148 (*Jeudi, 28 pluviôse an 11 de la République* (Thursday, February 17, 1803): 596.

Prospectus d'une souscription autorisée par le gouvernement, pour la réédification, à Orléans, d'un Monument en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc, libératrice de la France envahie par les Anglais, sous le règne de Charles VII. Orléans: Chez Jacob l'aîné, Imprimeur de la préfecture, [1803].

"R***" [pseud.] "*Salon de 1824.*" *Annuaire historique universel pour 1824* (1824): 867-874.

Réédification du monument de Jeanne d'Arc, dans la ville d'Orléans, par le citoyen Gois fils, artiste statuaire...de Paris, sous le consulat de Bonaparte, la préfecture de J.B. Maret et la Mairie de Grignon-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Désormeaux. Orléans: Jacob *l'aîné, an XI* (1802).

Salesses. *Jeanne d'Arc aux Tourelles: Cantate, exécutée le 6 mai 1855, aux fêtes de l'inauguration de la nouvelle statue de la Pucelle*. [Orléans, or Paris?]: A. Jacob, 1855.

"Salon de 1824." *L'Année française* (1825): 98-146.

"Salon de 1824: Mm. Schnetz, Delaroche, Steube, Gaissies, Mauzaisse, Rouget, Ingres et Belloc." *Le Diable boiteux* No. 257 (Sept. 13, 1824): 3.

Schiller, Johann Christoph Frédéric von. *Jeanne d'Arc ou la Pucelle d'Orléans, tragédie en cinq actes*. Translated by Charles Frédéric Cramer, and edited by L.S. Mercier *de l'Institut national*. Paris: Cramer, *an X* (1802).

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von. *Kalenderauf das Jahr 1802: Die Jungfrau von Orleans, Eine Romantische Tragödie von Schiller* Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, [1801].

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von. The Maid of Orleans, and Other Poems. Edited and translated by William Peter. Cambridge: John Owen, 1843.

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von, Schiller's DIE JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS. Edited by William Addison Hervey. New York: Hinds & Noble, 1900.

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von, Schiller's Jungfrau von Orleans, with introduction and notes. Edited and translated by Willard Humphrys. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von. Schiller's Works. Edited and translated by J.G. Fischer. Vol. II: The Maid of Orleans: A Romantic Tragedy. Philadelphia: George Barrie, Publisher, 1883.

Schlegel, Friedrich. *Geschichte der Jungfrau von Orleans* Berlin: J.D. Sander, 1802.

Shakespeare, William. The First Part of Henry the Sixth. Edited by Louis B. Wright and Virginia A. LaMar. The Folger Library General Reader's Shakespeare. New York: Washington, Square Press, Inc., 1966.

Shakespeare, William. The Tragedy of Macbeth. Edited by Louis B. Wright and Virginia A. LaMar. The Folger Library General Reader's Shakespeare. New York:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Washington, Square Press, Inc., 1959.

Shaw, George Bernard. Saint Joan. 3d edition. New York: Penguin Books, 1946.

Soumet, Alexandre. *Jeanne d'Arc: tragédie en cinq actes et en vers*. Paris: J.-N. Barba, 1825.

Taxil, Léo. "*L'insulteur de notre Jeanne.*" *Jeanne d'Arc* 1, no. 5 (22-28 May 1889): 65-68.

Vielcastel, H. Comte de. "*Le Salon de 1852.*" *Anthenaeum français, journal universel de la littérature, de la science et des Beaux-Arts* VI (August 1, 1852): 93-95.

V[ieillard], P[ierre]-A[nge]. *Salon de mil huit cent vingt-quatre; Revue des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, etc. des artistes vivans (extrait du JOURNAL DES MAIRES*. Paris: Pillet ainé, 1825.

Vignon, Claude [Noémie Cadiot]. *Exposition universelle de 1855, Beaux-Arts*. Paris: Librairie d'Auguste Fontaine, 1855.

Vignon, Claude [Noémie Cadiot]. *Salon de 1852*. (Paris: Chez Dentu, 1852).

Vinaty, J.A. "Jeanne d'Arc: Cantate." Published in *Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts: Séance publique annuelle du Samedi 3 Octobre 1818. Programme et ordre de la séance*. Paris: Firmin Didot, Imprimeur du Roi, [1819].

Vinet, Ernest. "*La Jeanne d'Arc de M. Ingres.*" *Revue des Deux Mondes* VII (July 31, 1854): 615-618.

Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de. "*La Pucelle d'Orléans, poem heroi-comique par M. de Voltaire.*" 1744. Manuscript. Centre Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans.

Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de. *La Pucelle; or The Maid of Orleans, A Poem in XXI Cantos*. 2 vols. Translated by Lady Charleville. Dublin: "privately printed," 1796-97.

Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de. *La Pucelle, The Maid of Orleans: An Heroic-Comical Poem in Twenty-One Cantos by Arouet de Voltaire; a New and Complete Translation...* Translated by Ernest Dowson ("Revised, Corrected and Augmented from the Earlier English Translation of W.H. Ireland and the one Attributed to Lady Charleville.") London: The Lutetian Society, 1899.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de. *La Pucelle, poème en XXI chants, avec les notes et les variantes*. *"Édition conforme a l'originale, publiée en 1784." 2 vols. [Paris]: De l'imprimerie de la* Société Littéraire-Typographique, 1789.

Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de. *La Pucelle, poème en vingt et un chants, avec les notes, suive de Corisandre par Voltaire*. Paris: Victor Masson, 1836.

Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de. *La Pucelle, poème en vingt et un chants, édition ornée de figures gravées par les meilleurs artistes de Paris*. 2 vols. Paris: Didot le jeune, *l'an III* [1794-95].

Voltaire, François-Maire-Arouet de. *La Pucelle d'Orléans: poème en vingt-et-un-chants*. 2 vols. Illustrated by Duplessis Berthault. Paris: Libraire-Editeur, 1865. Translated by Howard Nelson, under the title The Virgin of Orleans; or Joan of Arc. Denver: A. Swallow, 1965.

3. Secondary Sources

Agen, Boyer d'. *"Jeanne d'Arc."* *Figaro Illustré* (April 1903): 1-24.

Augulhon, Maurice. *Marianne au combat: l'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1789 à 1880*. Paris: Flammarion, 1979. Translated by Janet Lloyd. London: Evergreen Books Ltd., 1961.

Agulhon, Maurice. *Marianne au pouvoir: L'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1880 à 1914*. Paris: Flammarion, 1989.

Amishai-Maisels, Ziva. 1969. Gauguin's Religious Themes. Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts, 1985.

Amphlett, Hilda. Hats: A History of Fashion in Headwear. Letchworth, Hertfordshire: The Garden City Press Ltd, 1974.

Anderson, Bonnie S. and Judith P. Zinsser. A History of their Own. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1988.

Angrand, Pierre. *"L'État mécène: période autoritaire du*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Second Empire (1851-1860)," Gazette des Beaux-Arts LXXI (May-June 1968): 303-348.

Angrand, Pierre. *Monsieur Ingres et son époque*. Paris: La Bibliothèque des arts, 1976.

Angremy, Annie and Madeleine Barbin, Michel Brunet, Marie-Laure Chastange. *Voltaire: Un homme, un siècle*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1979.

Arc, Pierre d'. *"Mgr. Dupanloup et Jeanne d'Arc."* *Jeanne d'Arc* 1, no.21 (September 1889): 325-326.

Archives de l'art français, publiées par la société de l'histoire de l'art français. *Les Arts à l'époque napoléonienne* XXIV Paris: Librairie F. de Nobel, 1969.

Aron, Jean-Paul, editor. *Miserable et glorieuse: la femme du XIX^e siècle*. Brussels: Editions Complex, 1984.

Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830 to 1848. Exhibition catalogue. Columbia, MO: Museum of Art and Archeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1990.

Arthes, Émile. *Liste chronologique des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure & lithographie concernant Jeanne d'Arc, qui ont été admis aux expositions annuelles de Paris, de l'origine à nos jours*. Orléans: H. Herluison, 1895.

Ary Scheffer 1795-1858, dessins, aquarelles, esquisses à l'huile. Exhibition catalogue. Paris: Institut Néerlandais, 1980.

Aubrun, Marie-Madeleine. *Jules Bastien-Lepage, 1848-1884: catalogue raisonnée de l'oeuvre*. [Paris]: Imprimerie Chiffoleau, 1985.

Auer, Alfons; Richard Egenter and Fergel O'Connor. Celibacy and Virginity. Dublin: H.M. Gill and Son, Ltd., 1968.

Ayrols, Jeanne Baptiste Joseph. *Jeanne d'Arc sur les autels et la régéneration de la France*. Paris: Gaume et Cie, 1885.

Bann, Stephen. The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Barante, Amable Guillaume Prosper. *Histoire des ducs de*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bourgogne de la maison de Valois, 1364-1477. 6th ed. Vol. 4 Brussels: J.P. Meline, 1836.

Barr, Mary-Margaret H[arrison]. A Bibliography of Writings on Voltaire: 1825-1925. 1929. Reprint. New York: Lenox Hill Pub. & Dist. Co. (Burt Franklin), 1972.

Barrès, Maurice. *Autour de Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: Librarie ancienne Édouard Champion, 1916.

Barrett, W.P., trans. The Trial of Joan of Arc. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1931.

Barstow, Anne Llewellyn. Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman. Vol. 17 of Studies in Women and Religion. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1986.

Barthélemy, Ed. de and René Kerviler. *Un Tournoi de Trois Pucelles en l'honneur de Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: Chez Alphonse Picard, Libraire, 1878.

Barthélemy de Beauregard, J., L'Abbé. *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc d'après les chroniques contemporaines, les recheres des modernes et plusiers documents nouveaux*. Paris: T.-M. Aubry Dile-Roupe, 1847.

Barthes, Roland. Michelet. Translated by Richard Howard. New York: Hill and Wang, 1987. Originally published in French (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1954).

Bataille, Georges. Theory of Religion. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Zone Books, 1992.

Bauchy, Jacques-Henri. *Une Fête pas comme les autres (550 ans de fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc*. Orléans: Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1978.

Baudelaire, Charles. Art in Paris, 1845-1962; Salons and Other Exhibitions. Translated and edited by Jonathan Mayne. Ithaca: Cornell University Books, 1964.

Baudrillard, Jean. Seduction. Translated by Brian Singer. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990. Originally published in French as *De la séduction* (Paris: Editions Galilée, 1979).

Baudrillart, Alfred. *Le sacre de Charles VII et le triomphe de Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: Éditions Spes, 1929.

Beach, V.W. Charles X of France: His Life and Times. Boulder: Pruett Pub. Co., 1971.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bell, Rudolph and Donald Weinstein. Saints & Society: Christendom, 1000-1700. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Ben-Amos, Auner. "The Sacred Center of Power: Paris and Republican State Funerals." Journal of Interdisciplinary History XXLL, no.1 (Summer 1991):27-48.

Bénézit, Emmanuel. *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*. 10 vols. Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1976.

Benhabib, Seyla and Drucilla Cornell, eds. Feminism as Critique: On the Politics of Gender. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

Benjamin, Walter. Illuminations. Edited by Hannah Arendt. Translated by Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1969.

Bernstein, Henri. Charles de Gaulle and Joan of Arc. New York: France Forever, The Fighting French Committee in the United States Executive Offices, 1943.

Bertier de Sauvigny, Guillaume de. The Bourbon Restoration. Translated by Lynn M. Chase. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966.

Bertrand, Alexis. François Rude. *Les Artistes célèbres* series. Paris: Librairie de l'art, [1888].

Bezucha, R.J. The Lyon Uprising of 1834: Social and Political Conflict in the Early July Monarchy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

"Le Bibliophile Orléanais, recueil littéraire et bibliographique, consacré a l'histoire de la province." In *Livres anciens et modernes relatifs à Jeanne d'Arc et au siége d'Orléans*, 141-158. [Orléans]: H. Herluison, 1875.

Biez, Jacques de. E. Frémiet. Paris: Jouve & Cie., 1910.

Bizouard, Paule. *"La «Jeanne d'Arc» de la Place Saint-Augustin."* *L'Artiste* 4 (April, May, June 1901): 180-186.

Blaetz, Robin. "Strategies of Containment: Joan of Arc in Film." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1989.

Blanc, Louis. The History of Ten Years, 1830-1840.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Translated by Walter K. Kelly. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1848.

Blaze de Bury, Henri. "*Jeanne d'Arc dans la litterature, poésie et vérité.*" Revue des Deux Mondes 69 (June 1, 1885): 584-618.

Blom, Eric. Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians. 5th edition. Vol. VIII. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1954.

Bloom, Harold, editor. George Bernard Shaw's Saint Joan. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987.

Boime, Albert. The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

Boime, Albert. Art in an Age of Bonapartism, 1800-1815. Vol. 2 of A Social History of Modern Art. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Boime, Albert. "Declassicizing the Academic: A Realist View of Ingres." Art History 8 (March 1985) no.1: 50-65.

Boime, Albert. Hollow Icons: The Politics of Sculpture in 19th-Century France. Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1987.

Boime, Albert. "The Second Empire's Official Realism." In The European Realist Tradition, edited by Gabriel P. Weisberg, 31-52 and 85-123. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

Boisnard, Luc. "*Jeanne d'Arc dans les Histoires de France.*" *Bulletin des amis du vieux Chinon* 8 (1979): 321-327.

Bonnefin, Aimé. *Sacre des Rois de France*. Limoges: Imprimerie Touron et fils, 1982.

Bonnet-Roy, Flavien. Duc d'Orléans: Prince Royal. Paris: SEFI, 1941.

Boucher, François. 20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., [1966].

Bouteiller, E. de and G. de Braux. *Notes iconographiques sur Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: A. Claudin, Libraire-Editeur and Orléans: H. Herluison, Libraire, 1879.

Boyesen, Hjalmar Hjorth. Essays on German Literature. 1892.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reprint. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972.

Breton, Guy. *Histoires d'Amour de l'histoire de France: Les amours qui ont fait l'histoire*. Vol. 1. Paris: Éditions Noir et Blanc, 1955.

Bronfen, Elisabeth. Over her Dead Body: Death, femininity and the aesthetic. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Broude, Norma and Mary D. Garrard. The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992.

Brown, Beverly. "A Feminist Interest in Pornography: Some Modest Proposals." In Woman in Question, edited by Parveen Adams and Elizabeth Cowie, 134-148. Cambridge: An October Book, The MIT Press, 1990.

Brown, Peter. The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Brundage, James A. Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Buchan, Alice. Joan of Arc and the Recovery of France. New York: Macmillan Co., 1948.

Bugge, John. Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Ideal. Vol. 17 of International Archives of the History of Ideas. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975.

Burgin, Victor. The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1986.

Butler, Ruth. "Long Live the Revolution, the Republic, and Especially the Emperor!: The Political Sculpture of Rude." In Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics, edited by Henry A. Millon and Linda Nochlin, 90-107. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1978.

Caddy, Florence. Footsteps of Jeanne d'Arc, a Pilgrimage. London: Hurst and Blankett, Publishers, 1886.

Cadet, Véronique. *"Jeanne d'Arc racontee aux enfants de la Monarchie de Juillet aux années 1920-21."* M.A. thesis, Université de Rouen, 1987.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Caenegem, R.C. van. Guide to the Sources of Medieval History. Vol. 2, Europe in the Middle Ages, Selcted Studies, edited by Richard Vaughan. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1978.

Calmette, Joseph [Louis Antoine]. François Rude. Paris: H. Floury, 1920.

Cambell, Stuart. The Second Empire Revisited: A Study in French Historiography. New Brunswich, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1978.

Canet, Victor. *Jeanne d'Arc, et sa mission nationale*. Lille: Société de Saint-Augustin, 1887.

Carné, Louis de. *"Jeanne d'Arc et sa mission d'àpres les piecès nouvelles de son procès."* Revue des Deux Mondes (Jan. 15, 1856): 310-348.

Castillan, Marcel. *60 Visages des femmes (de Jeanne d'Arc à Jacqueline Auriol)*. Casablanca: Société Chétienne de Publications et d'Éditions, Casablanca, n.d.

Catalogue des oeuvres de Ary Scheffer, exposée au profit de la caisse de secours. Exposition catalogue. Paris: Imprimerie de J. Claye, 1859.

Catalogus der Kunstwerken en andere Voorwerpen. Museum Ary Scheffer, collection catalogue. Dordrecht: N.V. De Dordrechtsche Drukkerij en Vitgerers Maatschappij, 1934.

Cavanna. *Cavanna: Nos ancêtres les Gaulois, le temps des égorgeurs. (L'Histoire de France redécouverte par Cavanna)*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, S.A., 1992.

Chateaubriand, François-August-René. The Genius of Christianity: or the Spirit and Beauty of the Christian Religion. Translated by Charles I. White. New York: Howard Fertig, 1976.

Chaudonneret, Marie-Claude. *"La peinture en France de 1830 à 1848: chronique bibliographique et critique."* Revue de l'art 91 (1991):71-80.

Chaunu, Pierre. *La France: Histoire de la sensibilité des Français à la France*. Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1982.

Chenais, Margaret. "New light on the publication of the *Pucelle*." Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century (Institut et Musée Voltaire, Les Delices,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Geneva) XII (1960): 9-20.

Citron, Suzanne. *Le mythe national: L'histoire de France en question*. Paris: Les Editions ouvrières, 1987.

Clark, T[imothy] J. The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Cobban, Alfred. A History of Modern France, Vol. 1: Old Régime and Revolution: 1715-1799. 3d edition. New York: Penguin Books, 1982.

Cobban, Alfred. A History of Modern France, Vol. 2: From the First Empire to the Second Empire, 1799-1871. 2d edition. New York: Penguin Books, 1981.

Cochard, Th. *Comment "portraiturer" Jeanne d'Arc libératrice et bienheureuse*. Orléans: Marcel Marron, 1909.

Cochard, Th. *Les Fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans*. Orléans: Marcel Marron, 1907.

Cochard, Th. *La Mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans, Portraits, Panégyriques, complaintes*. Orléans: Herluison, 1892.

Collingham, Hugh. The July Monarchy: A Political History of France, 1830-1848. London: Longman, 1988.

Collins, Ross William. Catholicism and the Second French Republic, 1848-1852. Vol. CXII of Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. New York: Columbia University, 1923.

Columbani, Christian. "*Aux pieds de Jeanne d'Arc.*" *Le Monde* (11 May 1991): 17.

Concours de vitraux pour la Cathédrale d'Orléans: La Mission de Jeanne d'Arc; projet présenté par M. Ch. Champigneulle, de Paris avec la collaboration de M. Albert Maignan. Paris, 1893.

Condon, Patricia, Marjorie B. Cohen and Agnes Mongan. Ingres: In Pursuit of Perfection; The Art of J.-A.-D. Ingres. Exhibition catalogue. Louisville, KY: J.B. Speed Art Museum, 1984.

Contre les insulteurs de Jeanne d'Arc: meeting nationaliste du 5 décembre 1904. Paris: Bureaux de *L'Action française*, 1904.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cormouls-Houles, Edouard. Joan of Arc; lecture delivered in U.S.A. War Welfare Societies' Huts, November 1918. Paris: Berger-Levrault, Éditeurs, 1922.

Cosson, Mathieu. *Panégyriques de Jeanne d'Arc prononcés dans la Cathédrale d'Orléans, le mai 1771 et le 8 mai 1788*. Orléans: Librairie Jeanne d'Arc, Marcel Marron, 1923.

Coubé, R.P. *"Jeanne d'Arc - sa double mission, 1429-1899; discours prononcé à Notre-Dame de Paris, le '4 Mai 1899."* Paris: Dumoulin et Cie, [1899].

Coubé, Stéphen. *Jeanne d'Arc et la France: Jeanne et le patriotisme, Jeanne et l'antipatriotisme,...Jeanne et les femmes française*. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1910.

Cowie, Elizabeth. "Representations." In Woman in Question, edited by Parveen Adams and Elizabeth Cowie, 113-116. Cambridge: An October Book, The MIT Press, 1990.

Crouvezier, G. *Qui était Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: Matot-Braine, 1982.

Cuvillier-Fleury, Alfred-Auguste. *Journal intime de Cuvillier-Fleury*. Vol. 1: *La Famille d'Orléans au Palais-Royal, 1828-1831*. Paris: Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, [1900].

Cuvillier-Fleury, Alfred-Auguste. *Journal intime de Cuvillier-Fleury*. Vol. 2: *La Famille d'Orléans aux Tuileries et en exil, 1832-1851*. Paris: Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1903.

Dayot, A[rmand]. *Histoire contemporaine par l'image d'après les documents du temps, 1789-1872*. Paris: n.d.

Dayot, Armand. *Journées révolutionnaries, 1830-1848, d'après des peintures, gravures, sculptures, dessins, médailles, objets..., du temps*. Paris: Ernest Flammarion, ed., 1897.

Dawson, Robert L. "The *Mélange de poésies diverses* (1781) and the Diffusion of Manuscript Pornography in Eighteenth-Century France." In 'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment, edited by Robert Purks Maccubbin, 229-243. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Dealaruelle, E. *"La spiritualité de Jeanne d'Arc."* Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique no.1 (1964): 17-33 and no.2:81-98.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Debidour, Antonin. *Lettres adressées au Journal L'Espérance a propos du panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc*. Nontron: Imprimerie de Goubault, Libraire et Papetier, 1890.

Defourneaux, Marcelin. *La vie quotidienne en France au temps de Jeanne d'Arc* Paris, 1953.

Dekker, Rudolf and Lotte van de Pol. The Tradition of Female Cross-Dressing in Early Modern Europe. New York: MacMillian, 1988.

Delaborde, Henri. *Ingres, sa vie, ses travaux, sa doctrine, d'après les notes manuscriptes et les lettres du maître*. Paris: Henri Plon, 1870.

Denis, Léon. *Jeanne d'Arc, médium*. Paris: Éditions Jean Meyer, 1926.

Denis, Léon. The Mystery of Joan of Arc. Translated by Arthur Conan Doyle. London: John Murray, 1924.

Desnoiresterres, Gustave Le Brisoye. *Iconographie Voltairienne: Histoire et Description de ce qui a été publié sur Voltaire par l'art contemporain*. 1879. Reprint. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970.

Desnoyers, F.E. *L'Iconographie de Jeanne d'Arc*. Orléans: H. Herluison, 1891.

Doncoeur, Paul. *"Qui a brûlé Jeanne d'Arc?" (Les réponses Catholique)*. Paris: Ernest Flammarion, Éditeur, 1931.

Doncoeur, Père Paul and Yvonne Lanhers. *Documents et recherches relatifs à Jeanne la Pucelle*. 5 vols. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1952-61.

Dunand, Philippe-Hector. *Page d'Histoire: Qui a fait juger, condamner et brûler l'héroïne?*. Paris: P. Lethielleux, Libraire-Editeur, 1904.

Dussane, Mme. "*Jeanne d'Arc et le théatre.*" In *Mémorial de Jeanne d'Arc, 1456-1956*, edited by Joseph Fabre, 59-67. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1915.

Edelmann, Murray. The Symbolic Uses of Politics. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985.

Ellis, Kate, Beth Jaker, Nan D. Hunter, Barbara O'Dair and Abby Tallmer, eds. Caught Looking: Feminism, Pornography & Censorship. East Haven: LongRiver Books, 1992.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ellrich, Robert J. "Modes of Discourse and the Language of Sexual Reference in Eighteenth-Century French Fiction." In 'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment, edited by Robert Purks Maccubbin, 217-228. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Encyclopédie par l'image: Jeanne d'Arc. [Paris]: Librairie Hachette, Imprimerie Crété Corbeil (S.-et-O.), 1925.

Essarts, Emmanuel des. "*La fête annuelle de Jeanne d'Arc.*" *La Quinzaine* 30, no.118 (September 16, 1899): 245-247.

Etex, Antoine. *Ary Scheffer: étude sur la vie et ses ouvrages, exposition de ses oeuvres*. Paris: A. Lévy, 1859.

Fabre, Joseph. *Les Bourreaux de Jeanne d'Arc et sa fête nationale*. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1915.

Fabre, Lucien. Joan of Arc. Translated by Gerard Hopkins. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954.

Favrè, Jules. "*Mémoire a consulter, pour le sieur Pascal contre le sieur Foyatier et la Municpalité d'Orléans.*" Paris: Imprimerie de E. Donnaud, [1860].

Ferréol. "*Jeanne d'Arc et la Commune de Paris en 1790.*" *Jehanne la Pucelle* 4 (25 February 1910): 54-59.

Fidière, O. *Chapu: sa vie et son oeuvre*. Paris: Librairie Plon, E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1894.

Foissy-Aufrère, Marie-Pierre. *La Jeanne d'Arc de Paul Delaroche: Salon de 1824, dossier d'une oeuvre*. Exhibition catalogue. Rouen: *Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen*, 1983.

Fontenailles, Pierre. "*La Jeanne d'Arc de l'Hôtel de ville et la Princess Marie d'Orléans*," *Republique du Centre* (March 23, 1947), n.p.

Forceville, Émile de. "*Jeanne d'Arc dans l'art français du XIXe siècle.*" *Études* 119 (April 20, 1909): 206-228.

Foret, Joseph, editor. *Mémorial de Jeanne d'Arc, 1456-1956*. Paris: Joseph Foret and Comité nationale de Jeanne d'Arc, 1958.

Fort, Bernadette. "The French Revolution and the Making of Fictions." In Fictions of the French Revolution, edited by Bernadette Fort, 3-32. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Foster, Jeannette H. Sex Variant Women in Literature. New York: Vantage Press, c.1956.

Foucault, Michel. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage, 1979.

Foucault, Michel and Bernard-Henri Lévy, "Power and Sex." Translated by David J. Parent. In Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture; Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984, edited by Lawrence D. Kritzman, 110-124. New York: Routledge, 1990.

Fourchaud, Louis de. *François Rude, sculpteur, ses oeuvres et son temps (1784-1855)*. Paris: Libraire de l'art ancien et moderne, 1904.

Fraisse, Geneviève. Reason's Muse: Sexual Difference and the Birth of Democracy. Translated by Jane Marie Todd. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.

François Rude: catalogue de ses oeuvres conservées a Dijon. Exhibition catalogue. Dijon: Palais des états de Bourgogne, 1947.

François Rude, 1784-1844, commémoration du centenaire. Exhibition catalogue. Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1955.

Fraser, Antonia. The Warrior Queens. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989.

Furet, François. Revolutionary France: 1770-1880. Translated by Antonia Nevill. Oxford: Blackwell, 1988.

Gaehtgens, Thomas W. *Versailles: De la résidence royale au musée historique. La galerie des Batailles dans le musée historique de Louis-Philippe*. Translated from German by Patrick Poirot. Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1984.

Gallini, Brigitte. "*La création artistique sous la révolution: Concours et prix d'encouragement.*" In *La Révolution française et l'Europe, 1789-1799*, exhibition catalogue, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 829-851. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des muées nationaux, 1989.

Garber, Marjorie. Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing & Cultural Anxiety. New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc., 1992.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Garnier, François. *Le Langage de l'image au moyen âge*. Vol. 2, *Grammaire des gestes*. [Paris]: Le Léopard d'Or, n.d..

Gatteaux, Édouard. *Collection de 120 dessins, croquis et peintures de M. Ingres*. Paris: Armand Guérinet, [1926?].

Gavard, Charles. *Galeries historiques de Versailles*. 10 volumes. Paris: Ch. Gavard, 1837-1844.

Gay, Peter. Voltaire's Politics: The Poet as Realist. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959. [Xeroxed in part.

Gayeff, Felix. Joan of Arc: Legends and Truth. London: Philip Goodall, 1978.

Germann, Georg. Gothic Influence in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influence and Ideas. Translated by Gerald Onn. London: Lund Humphries with the Architectural Association, 1972.

Gies, Frances. Joan of Arc: The Legend and the Reality. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1981.

Gilbert, O.P. Women in Men's Guise. London: John Lane, 1932.

Girardet, Raoul. *Le nationalisme français, 1871-1914*. 2nd edition. Paris: Armand Colin, 1966.

Godard, André. "*Jeanne d'Arc et la psychologie transcendantale.*" *Revue Jeanne d'Arc* (January 1899): 6-12.

Goncourt, Edmond Louis Antoine Huot de. The Goncourt Journals, 1851-1870. Edited and translated by Lewis Galantière. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1937.

Goncourt, Edmond Louis Antoine Huot de. Paris and the Arts, 1851-1896: From the Goncourt *Journal*. Edited and translated by George J. Becker and Edith Philips. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.

Gorce, Pierre de La. *Histoire religieuse de la révolution française*. 5 vols. Paris: Plon: 1909-1923.

Gorce, Pierre de La. *Napoléon III et sa politique*. 10th edition. Paris: Plon: 1933.

Goy, Jean. *Le Sacre des rois de France: Saint Louis, Jeanne d'Arc*. Reims: Coulon, 1978.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Goyau, Georges. *Sainte Jeanne d'Arc: les étapes d'une gloire religieuse*. Paris: Henri Laurens, 1920.

Grant, Hamil. Napoleon and the Artists. London: Grant Richards Ltd., 1917.

Groethuysen, Bernard. The Bourgeois: Catholicism vs. Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century France. Translated by Mary Ilford. London: Barrie & Rocliff, the Cresset Press, 1968.

Grote, Mrs. [Harriet]. Memoir of the Life of Ary Scheffer. London: John Murray, 1860.

Guérard, Albert. French Prophets of Yesterday: A Study of Religious Thought under the Second Empire. New York: Appleton, 1913.

Guérard, Albert. Napoleon III. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943.

Guillemin, A. *Jeanne d'Arc: l'épée de Dieu*. Paris, 1875.

Guillemin, Henri. *Jeanne dite "Jeanne d'Arc"*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1970.

Gury, Jacques. "*L'Historien et les mythes de Jeanne d'Arc des lumières au romantisme.*" In *Jeanne d'Arc: Un époque, un rayonnement* (Colloque d'histoire médiévale, Orléans - Octobre 1979), 267-275. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982.

Hargrove, June. "Shaping the National Image: The Cult of Statues to Great Men in the Third Republic." In Nationalism in the Visual Arts, edited by Richard A. Etlin, 48-63. Studies in the History of Art, 29. Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XIII. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991.

Harmand, Adrien. *Jeanne d'Arc: ses costumes, son armure, essai de reconstitution*. Paris: Librairie Ernst Leroux, 1929.

Harrison, Michael. The History of the Hat. London: Herbet Jenkins, 1960.

Haskell, Francis and Nicolas Penny. Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.

Haupt, Heinz-Gerard. *Nationalismus und Demokratie: Zur*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Geschichte der Bourgeoise im Frankreich der Restauration. Frankfurt am Main: *Europäische Verlaganstalt*, 1974.

Hayes, Carlton. The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism. New York: R.R. Smith, Inc., 1931.

Hayes, Carlton. Nationalism: A Religion. New York: Macmillan, 1960.

Haythornwaite, Philip J. The Napoleonic Source Book. London: Arms & Armour Press, 1990.

Herluison, H. editor. *Livres anciens et modernes relatifs à Jeanne d'Arc et au siége d'Orléans, en 1429*. Orléans: H. Herluison, 1875.

Herold, J. Christopher. The Age of Napoleon. The American Heritage Library. Reprint. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987.

Hertz, Friedrich Otto. Nationality in History and Politics: A Study of the Psychology and Sociology of National Sentiment and Character. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1944.

Heuvel, J. van. *Album Voltaire: Iconographie choisie et commentée*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1983.

Holtmann, Robert B. Napoleonic Propaganda. New York: Greenwood Press, 1950.

Holtmann, Robert B. The Napoleonic Revolution. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1967.

Houyoux, R. and S. Sulzberger. "*Fernand Knopff et Eugène Delacroix.*" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* LXIV (Sept. 1964): 183-185.

Howarth , T.E.B.. Citizen-King: The Life of Louis-Philippe, King of the French. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1961.

Hubert, Gérard. "*Musée du Louvre, nouvelle esquisses de Rude.*" *La Revue des Arts* 3 (1952): 172-174.

Huet, Emile. *Jeanne d'Arc et la musique, bibliographie musicale*. 2d edition. Orléans: Herluison, 1909.

Hunt, Lynn. "The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution." In Eroticism and the Body Politic, edited by Lynn Hunt, 108-130. Baltimore: The Johns

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Hunt, Lynn. Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Images de Jeanne d'Arc: Hommage pour le 550e anniversaire de la libération d'Orléans et du sacre. Exhibition catalogue. Paris: Hôtel de la Monnaie, 1979.

Jacob, Andrée. *"Paris et Jeanne d'Arc."* *Les Dossiers de l'archéologie* 34 (May 1979): 123-127.

Jacomet, Daniel. *1412-1413: Jehanne d'Arc; Quarante-cinq documents originaux et iconographiques réunis par Daniel Jacomet*. Paris: Librarie Floury, 1939.

Jameson, Frederick. "Political Painting, New Perspectives on the Realism Controversy." Praxis I (Winter 1976): 225-230.

Janson, H.W. and Robert Rosenblum. 19th-Century Art. New York: Abrams, 1985.

Jay, Robert Allen. Art and Nationalism in France: 1870-1914. (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1979).

"La Jeanne d'Arc de Gois retrouvera-t-elle un piédestal?," *Republique du Centre* [September 4, 1953]: n.p.

Jeanne d'Arc: Encyclopédie par l'image. Paris: Librarie Hachette, n.d.

Jeanne d'Arc: Modèle et patronne du patriotisme chrétien et français; discours prononcé le 10 mai 1896 à Notre Dame de Paris. Paris: Comité de Jeanne d'Arc, 1896.

Jeanne d'Arc: Notice historique servant d'explication aux Bas-Reliefs du monument élevé sur la place du Martroi. *Orléans: H. Herluison, 1869.*

Jeanné, Egide. *L'Image de la Pucelle d'Orléans dans la Littérature historique française depuis Voltaire*. *(Thése présentée à la Faculte des Lettres de l'Université de Paris)*. Liége: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, S.A., 1935.

Joan of Arc: Loan Exhibition Catalogue. New York: Joan of Arc Statue Committee, [1913].

Jouvellier, P. *"L'Iconographie de Jeanne d'Arc au XVe siècle: Un dessin inédit."* *Bulletin de la Société*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais. 235 (1937):1-3.

Julia, Isabelle. "*Romantiques et Pompiers.*" *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* (1983): 419-425.

Kaplan, Alice Yaeger. Reproductions of Banality: Fascism, Literature and French Intellectual Life. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

K[armin], O[tto]. "*Jeanne d'Arc et la Révolution.*" *Revue historique de la révolution française et de l'Empire* 11 (July-September 1912): 488.

Kendrick, Walter. The Secret Museum: Pornography in Modern Culture. New York: Penguin Books, 1988.

Kolb, Marthe. *Ary Scheffer et son temps, 1795-1858*. Université de Paris - Faculté des Lettres, *Thése pour le Doctorate des Lettres*. Paris: Boivin & Cie, éditeurs, 1937.

Komonchak, Joseph A., Mary Collins and Dermot A. Lane, eds. The New Dictionary of Theology. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1987.

Krumeich, Gerd. "*Controverses historiographiques autour de la maison de Jeanne d'Arc au XIX^e siècle.*" *Association des Amis du Centre Jeanne d'Arc* 10 (1986): 33-40.

Krumeich, Gerd. *Jeanne d'Arc in der Geschichte: Historiographie - Politik - Kultur*. Beihefte der Francia, vol. 19. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag GmbH & Co., 1898.

Kselman, Thomas A. Miracles & Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983.

Lacour, Paul. *Les Amazones: les femmes dans l'histoire*. Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1901.

Lagny, Pauline. "*Culte et images de Jeanne d'Arc, 1870-1921.*" Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Nancy, 1973.

Lami, Stanislas. *Dictionnaire des sculptures de l'école française du XIXe siècle*. 4 vols. Paris: E. Champion, 1914-21. Reprint. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1970.

Lamy, Michel. *Jeanne d'Arc: Histoire vraie et genèse d'un mythe*. Paris: Payoy, 1987.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Landes, Joan B. Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.

Lanéry d'Arc , Pierre. *Le Livre d'or de Jeanne d'Arc: bibliographie raisonnée*. Paris: Techner, 1894.

Lang, Andrew. The Maid of Orleans: Being the Story of the Life and Death of Jeanne d'Arc. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908.

Lapauze, Henry. *Ingres, sa vie et son oeuvre (1780-1867) d'après les documents inédits*. Paris: Impr. G. Petit, 1911.

Laprade, Victor de. *À Jeanne d'Arc*. Nantes: Imp. Vincent Forest et Émile Grimaud, 1874.

Lassus, J.-B.A. *Réaction de l'académie des Beaux-Arts contre l'art Gothique*. Paris: Librarie Archologique, 1846.

Lavedan, Henri Léon Émile. *Les yeux levés vers Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: A la Librairie de l'art Catholique, 1916.

Legrand, J[aques] G. and C[harles] P[aul]. *Description de Paris et de ses édifices*. 2 vols. Paris: C.P. Landon, 1806-1809.

Legrand, Maximin. *Rude, sa vie, ses oeuvres, son enseignement, considérations sur la sculpture*. Paris: Dentu, 1856.

Lehmann, André. *Le rôle de la femme dans l'histoire de France au Moyen âge*. Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1952.

Lemaire, H. *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc, surnommée la Pucelle d'Orléans*. Paris: chez Belin Le Prieur, 1833.

Lemerle, B. *Essai d'une Bibliographie raisonnée de Jeanne d'Arc, les éloges et panégyriques*. Orléans: H. Herluison, 1886.

Lemerle, [B.]. *Les Panégyriques de Jeanne d'Arc des Fêtes d'Orléans; plans de quatre-vingt-dix panégyriques de la Sainte Héroïne prononcés dans la Cathédrale d'Orléans; nouvelle édition de la bibliographie analytique de 75 panégyriques de Jeanne d'Arc (de 1672 à 1908)*. Orléans: Marcel Marron, 1921.

Lemerle, B. (M. L'Abbé). *Soixante-Quinze panégyriques de la bienheureuse Jeanne d'Arc, prononcés a Orléans, aux fêtes annuelles célébrées en l'honneur de la Pucelle*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Orléans: Marcel Marron, éditeur, Librairies Jeanne d'Arc, 1909.

Leymarie, Michel. "*Jeanne d'Arc au théâtre: contribution à l'étude de l'exploitation dramatique et thématique de l'image de Jeanne d'Arc dans le théâtre français de 1800 à 1830.*" M.A. thesis, Université de Nancy, 1972.

Libis, Jean, Luc Brisson, Francis Bertin [et al]. Androgyne Paris: Éditions Albin Michel S.A., 1986.

Liger, Albert. *Jeanne d'Arc: épisode de l'histoire de France. (Illustration de l'imagier André des Gachons).* Orléans: H. Herluison, 1897.

Lightbody, Charles Wayland. The Judgements of Joan: Joan of Arc; a Study in Cultural History. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1961.

Lis, Charles du [Haldat]. *Recueil d'inscriptions et poésies en l'honneur de la Pucelle d'Orléans*. Rouen: Imprimerie Léon Guy, 1910.

Loiseleur, Jules. *La Jeanne d'Arc de Foyatier: Histoire du monument - Procès qu'il suscita; drame lyrique composé pour son inauguration et lettres de Louis Lacombe sur ce drame*. Orléans: H. Herluison, 1892.

Louis-Philippe, l'Homme et le Roi (1773-1850). Exhibition catalogue. [Paris]: Archives Nationales, Hôtel de Rohan, 1974.

Lucas-Dubreton, J. The Restoration and the July Monarchy. London: W. Heinemann Ltd., 1929.

Lucas-Dubreton, J. *Le culte de Napoléon, 1815-1848*. Paris: A. Michel, 1960.

Luce, Simon. "*Les Origines de «La Pucelle» de Voltaire.*" *Le Correspondant* 153 (10 Nov. 1888): 474-492.

Malraux, André. *Oraisons funèbres*. [Paris]: Gallimard, 1971.

Mainardi, Patricia. Art and Politics of the Second Empire. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Maire, Jean La. *Notes pour servir a l'histoire de la statue de Jeanne d'Arc de Gois*. Orléans: R. Houzé, 1945.

Manach, Daniel. *La Descendance de Louis-Philippe I^er^, roi des Français*. Paris: Editions Christian, 1988.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mansel, Philip. The Court of France 1789-1830. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Mantellier, Philippe. *Notice des collections composant le Musée de Jeanne d'Arc*. Orléans: H. Herluison, Libraire-Éditeur, 1880.

Margolis, Nadia. Joan of Arc in History, Literature and Film. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990.

Marie d'Orléans, duchesse of Württemberg. *Une Correspondance inédite de la princesse Marie d'Orléans, duchesse de Wurtemberg*. Marthe Kolb, ed. Paris: Boivin & Cie, Éditeurs, 1937.

Mariette, P. J. *"Iconographie de Jeanne d'Arc d'après des publications illustrées."* *Jehanne la Pucelle* 11-12, 13-14, 15-16, 17-18, 19-20 (June 10-25, July 10-25, August 10-25, September 10-25, October 10-25, 1911): 161-192, 202-220, 233-256, 257-288, 289-320.

Markham, Felix. Napoleon. New York: Mentor, Penguin Books USA, 1966.

Marot, Pierre. *Le Culte de Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy: son origine et son développement*. Nancy: Palais Ducal, Éditions du pays lorrain, 1956.

Marot, Pierre. *Jeanne la Bonne Lorraine à Domremy*. [No location]: Imprimerie S.A.E.P. Colmar-Ingersheim, 1980.

Marot, Pierre. *Le Pays de Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: Éditions Alpina, 1951.

Marot, Pierre. *"De la réhabilitation à la glorification de Jeanne d'Arc: Essai sur l'historiographie et le culte de l'héroine en France pendant cinq siècles."* In *Mémorial de Jeanne d'Arc, 1456-1956*, edited by Joseph Foret, 85-164. Paris: Jospeh Foret and Comité national de Jeanne d'Arc, 1958.

Marrinan, Michael. Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orléanist France, 1830-1848. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

Maulnier, Thierry. *"Jeanne d'Arc et son mythe."* In *Mémorial du V^e Centenaire de la réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc, 1456-1956*. Paris: J. Foret, Éditeur and Comité national de Jeanne d'Arc, 1958.

Maurain, Jean. *La Politique ecclésiastique du Second Empire*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

de 1852 à 1869. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1930.

Maurras, Charles. *Jeanne d'Arc, Louis XIV, Napoléon*. Paris: E. Flammarion, 1937.

Maurras, Charles. *La politique de Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: Éditions de "La seule France," 1955.

Maza, Sarah. "The Diamond Necklace Affair Revisited (1785-1786): The Case of the Missing Queen." In Eroticism and the Body Politic, edited by Lynn Hunt, 63-89. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

McConkey, Kenneth. "Listening to the Voices: A Study of Some Aspects of Jules Bastien-Lepage's Joan of Arc Listening to the Voices." Arts Magazine LVI, no. 5 (January 1982): 154-160.

McManners, John. Church and State in France, 1870-1914. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972.

McNay, Lois. Foucault & Feminism: Power, Gender and the Self. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992.

Mellon, Stanley. The Political Uses of History. A Study of Historians in the French Restoration. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958.

Merkle, Gertrude Marie Hunziker. *"Palingénésie de Jeanne d'Arc: Étude de thèmes."* Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1988.

Metz, Jean de. *Au pays de Jeanne d'Arc*. Grenoble: Jules Rey, 1910.

Michaud, Eugène. *L'Église catholique-romaine en France*. Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1875.

Michel, André. *"Jeanne d'Arc au Salon."* *Jeanne d'Arc* 1, no. 11 (July 1889): 173-174. [Reprinted from *Journal des Debats*].

Michelet, Jules. *L'Amour*. 3rd edition. Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie, 1859. Translated by John Willimason Palmer under the title of Love. New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1860.

Michelet, Jules. *La Femme*. 15th edition. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1885. Translated by John Williamson Palmer. New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1860.

Michelet, Jules. *Histoire de France*, 6 vols., 1833-1844;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reprint edition, Paris: Robert Laffont & Le Club Français du Livre, 1979.

Michelet, Jules. *Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: Hachette, 1853. [BN: Lb26 67] Translated by Albert Guérard under the title of *Joan of Arc*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957.

Millet, Bella. *Hali Meidhad*. London: Oxford University Press, for the Early English Text Society, 1982.

Mirolli, R.B. and J. van Nimmen. Nineteenth-Century Sculpture: Monuments for the Middle Class. Louisville, KY: J.B. Speed Art Museum, 1971.

Missel de Jeanne d'Arc. Paris: Lelarge et Chambard, Editeurs, 1895.

Misset, E. *Jeanne d'Arc Champenoise: étude critique sur la véritable nationalité de la Pucelle, d'après les documents officiels de son époque et les plus récentes publications*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1895.

Mitchelet [sic], Jules, Alphonse de Lamartine and T.A. Trollope. Lives of Celebrated Women. New York: Wm. L. Allison, 187[-].

Moël, Michel le. *Le sacre des rois de France*. Paris: S.I.D.E.S./ Editions de la Tourelle, 1983.

Momméja, J. Ingres. Paris: Henri Laurens, éditeur, [1903].

Montauban, Musée Ingres. *Ingres et la femme*. Exhibition catalogue. Montauban: Musée Ingres, 1970.

Montauban, Musée Ingres. *Ingres et son temps*. Exhibition catalogue. Montauban: Musée Ingres, 1967.

Moreau, Thérèse. *Le Sang de l'histoire: Michelet, l'histoire et l'idée de la femme au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Flammarion, 1982.

Moses, Claire Goldberg. French Feminism in the Ninteenth Century. SUNY Series in European Social History, edited by Leo A. Loubère. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York, 1984.

Mourot, V. *Domremy et le monument national de Jeanne d'Arc*. Nancy: A. Crépin-Leblond, [1897?].

Mourot, V. *Pourquoi la France catholique demande à l'église romaine la canonisation de Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Librairie catholique de l'oeuvre de Saint Paul, 1888.

Napoléon, Louis. *Oeuvres de Napoléon III*. 4 vols. Paris: Henri Plon, 1861.

Nead, Lynda. Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain. (New York: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1988).

New York, American Numismatic Society. Joan of Arc. Exhibition catalogue. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1913.

New York, Shepherd Gallery. Christian Imagery in French Nineteenth-Century Art, 1789-1906. Exhibition catalogue. New York: Shepherd Gallery, 1980.

Nîce, Musée Jules Chréret. *Exposition Retrospective Bastien-Lepage/Marie Bashkirtseff/Louise Breslau*. Exhibition catalogue. Nîce: Musée Jules Chéret, 1939.

Nordez, [Albert Marie Léon] Le. *Jeanne d'Arc: Racontée par l'image*. Paris: Hachette & Cie, 1898.

Norman, Vesey. Arms and Armour. 2nd ed. London: Octopus Books Limited, 1972.

"*Notes Iconographiques: La Princesse Marie d'Orléans.*" Almanach patriotique de Jeanne d'Arc (1890): 68-70.

Nzekwu, Bridgid. "*Sainte Jeanne d'Arc: La Légende et la politique.*" M.A. thesis, University of London, 1991.

O'Connor, R.F. "The Saint of Patriotism." American Catholic Quarterly Review 49 (1919): 529-555.

O'Faolin, Julia and Lauro Martines, eds. Not in God's Image: Women in History from Greeks to Victorians. London: Temple Smith, 1973.

O'Reilly, Isabel M. "The Maid of France and the New Womanhood." American Catholic (quarterly review) 19, no.75 (July 1894): 582-606.

Odin, Roger. *Jeanne d'Arc à l'École: Essai sémiotique*. Vol. 6, *Sémiosis*. Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1980.

Ojalvo, David. "*Jeanne d'Arc délivrant Orléans par Etty.*" Revue du Louvre (1983): 434-435.

Osgood, Samuel M. French Royalism Under the 3rd and 4th Republics. 2d edition, enlarged. The Hague: Martinus

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nijhoff, 1970.

Osgood, Samuel M., ed. Napoleon III and the Second Empire. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1973.

Ozouf, Mona. Festivals and the French Revolution. Translated by Alan Sheridan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Paine, Albert Bigelow. "Joan Obeys the Voices." St. Nicolas 52 no.9 (July 1925): 955-961.

Paris, Grand Palais. *La Révolution française et l'Europe: 1789-1799*. Exhibition catalogue. Paris: *Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux*, 1989.

Paris, Petit Palais. Ingres. Exhibition catalogue. Paris: Petit Palais, 1967.

Paris, Hôtel de Rohan. *En France après Jeanne d'Arc*. Exhibition catalogue. Paris: Archives Nationales, Hôtel de Rohan, December 3, 1890-March 1, 1981.

Paris, Hôtel de Rohan. Louis-Philippe, l'homme et le roi (1773-1850). Exhibition catalogue. Paris: Archives Nationales, Hôtel de Rohan, October 1974-February 1975.

Pastoureau, Michel, ed. *Le Vêtement: Histoire, archéologie et symbolique vestimentaires au Moyen Age*. Paris: Éditions Léopard d'Or, 1989.

Pau, Musée des Beaux-Arts. *Eugène Deveria (Paris 1805 - Pau 1865)*. Exhibition catalogue. Pau: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1965.

Pernoud, Régine. *Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1959. Translated by Jeanne Unger Duell under the title of Joan of Arc. London: Evergreen Books Ltd., 1961.

Pernoud, Régine. Joan of Arc: By Herself and her Witnesses. Translated by Edward Hyams. New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1982.

Pernoud, Régine. The Retrial of Joan of Arc. Translated by I.M. Cohen. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1955.

Perrot, Michelle. Writing Women's History. Translated by Felicia Pheasant. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

Peyre, Sophie [Alone, pseud.]. *Eugène Devéria d'aprés des documents originaux (1805-1865)*. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1887.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Phillips, Charles Stanley. The Church in France, 1789-1848: A Study in Revival. 2nd edition. New York: Russell & Russell, 1966.

Picon, Gaëtan. Dominique Ingres. Paris: Skira Press, 1967.

Pingeot, A. *La sculpture française au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1986.

Pinkey, D.H. The French Revolution in 1830. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Playe, George Louis. The Reputation of Voltaire in Nineteenth-Century France (1840-1870). Urbana, ILL: University of Illinoise, 1949.

Pradelle, Marie-Françoise. "*Les Fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans au XIXème et au debut du XXème siècle. (Étude patrimoniale: Rapport de stage effectué au Centre Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans et réalisé dans le cadre du diplôme).*" Orléans: *Conservation et amenagement du patrimonie et de l'environnement*, 1982.

Pradier, James. *Correspondance*. Vol. 2: 1834-1842. Edited by Douglas Siler. Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 1984.

Pradier, James. *Statues de Chair: Sculptures de James Pradier (1790-1852)*. Geneva: Musée d'Art et d'histoire de Genève, 1985.

Price, Roger. A Social History of Nineteenth-Century France. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1987.

Procès de l'ordinaire, relatif à la béatification et à la canonisation de Jeanne d'Arc, surnommée la Pucelle d'Orléans: Questions, instructions et répertoire des matières concernant l'interrogatoire des témoins à appeler du procès. Orléans: Collin and Desnoyers, 1874.

Quebec, Centre Canadien d'Architecture. *Le Panthéon: symbole des révolutions, de l'église de la nation au Temple des grandes hommes*. Exhibition catalogue. Quebec: Centre Canadien d'Architecture, Picard éditeur, 1989.

Quicherat, Jules. *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite la Pucelle. Publiés pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliotèque Nationale, suivis de tous les documents historiques qu'on a pu réunir et accompagnés de notes et d'éclaircissements*. 5 vols. Paris: Crapelet, 1841-1849.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Quicherat, Jules. *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La Pucelle*. 5 vols. 1841-49. Reprint. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965.

Raknem, Ingvald. Joan of Arc in History, Legend and Literature. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1971.

Rankin, Daniel and Claire Quintal, transl.. The First Biography of Joan of Arc. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964.

Rastoul, Amand. *Sainte Jeanne d'Arc*. Vol. 7, *L'Art et les Saints*. Paris: Henri Laurens, Éditeur, 1930.

Reardon, Bernard. Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-Century France. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Rémond, R. The Right Wing in France from 1815 to de Gaulle. Translated by J.M. Laux. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966.

Renan, Ernest. *Oeuvre complètes de Ernest Renan*. Vol. 10. Paris: Calman-Lévy, éditeur, 1961.

Renard, Athanase. *Jeanne d'Arc, ou la fille du peuple au XV^e siècle, drame, histoire et critique*. Paris: Imprimerie de J. Claye, 1869.

Rifkin, Adrian. "Ingres and the Academic Dictionary." Art History 6, no.2 (June 1983): 153-170.

Rigaud, I. *Atlas général des voyages et expéditions militaires de Jeanne d'Arc*. Orléans: H. Herluison, 1888.

Ris, L. Clément de. *Notice du Musée Historique de Versailles par L. Clément de Ris, Supplément*. Paris: Charles de Mourguen frères, 1881.

Roessler, Charles. Jeanne d'Arc: Heroine and Healer. Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et fils and London: Dulau & Co. and Williams & Northgate, 1909.

Roos, Jane Mayo. "Within the 'Zone of Silence': Monet and Manet in 1878." Art History 11, no.3 (September 1988):372-407.

Rosenblum, Robert. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1990.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rosenblum, Robert. "Painting during the Bourbon Restoration, 1814-1830." In French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution, 231-244. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975.

Rosenblum, Robert. "Painting under Napoleon, 1800-1814." In French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution, 161-173. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975.

Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts. *Jeanne d'Arc: Images d'une légende*. Exhibition catalogue. Edited by Anne Jardin. Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1979.

Rudler, Gustave. *Michelet: Historien de Jeanne d'Arc*. 2 vols. Paris: *Les Presses Universitaires de France*, 1925-6.

Rudorff, Raymond. The Myth of France. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1970.

Rueff, J. editor. *Jeanne d'Arc par les maîtres de l'Art Français*. Paris: Rueff, 1909.

Sackville-West, Vita. Saint Joan of Arc. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1936; reprint edition, New York: Doubleday, 1991.

Salisbury, Joyce E. Church Fathers, Independent Virgins. New York: Verso, 1991.

Sanson, R. *"La 'fête de Jeanne d'Arc' en 1894, controverse et célébration."* Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 20 (1973): 444-63.

Sarion-Audier, Marie France. *Essai d'historiographie: la mentalité de Jeanne d'Arc au XIXème et au XXème s.* M.A. thesis, Université de droit, d'economie et des sciences d'Aix-Marseille, 1985.

The Second Empire, 1852-1870: Art in France under Napoleon III. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1978.

Schama, Simon. Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989.

Schlenoff, Norman. *Ingres: ses sources littéraires*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956.

Scott, Joan Wallach. Gender and the Politics of History. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Seznec, Jean. *"Renan, Zola et les visions de Jeanne d'Arc."* In Balzac and the Nineteenth Century: Studies in French

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Literature Presented to Herbert J. Hunt by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends, edited by D.G. Charlton, J. Gaudon, and Anthony R. Pugh, 364-375. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1972.

Showalter, Elaine. "Critical Cross-Dressing; Male Feminists and the Woman of the Year." In Men in Feminism, edited by Alice Jardine and Paul Smith, 116-132. New York: Methuen, 1986.

Simond, Charles, editor. *La vie parisienne à travers le XIXe siècle d'après les estampes et les mémoires du temps*. Vol. 2, 1830-1870. Paris: Librarie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1900.

Smith, John Holland. Joan of Arc. London: Sidwick & Jackson, 1973.

Smith, W.H.C. Napoleon III. London: Wayland Publishers, 1972.

Soltau, Roger Henry. French Political Thought in the 19th Century. New York: Russell & Russell, 1959.

Soret, J.-B.P. *Éloge de Jeanne d'Arc: dite la Pucelle d'Orléans prononcé dans l'église Cathédrale d'Orléans. Jour anniversaire de la délivrance de cette ville en 1429*. Orleans: H. Herluison, Librairie-Éditeur, 1889.

Souchal, François. *Les Slodtz: sculpteurs et décorateurs du roi (1685-1764)*. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1967.

Spencer, Philip Herbert. Politics of Belief in Nineteenth-Century France. London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1954.

Les Statues de Jeanne d'Arc, Orléans. Orléans: Photographie Richou, n.d..

Steele, Valerie. Paris Fashion: A Cultural History. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Stewart, Hugh Fraser and Paul Desjardins. French Patriotism in the Nineteenth Century, Traced in Contemporary Texts Vol. I: (1814-1833). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923.

"The Story of a Picture: Joan of Arc, by Bastien-Lepage." The Mentor 12 (October 1927): 48-49.

Stowell, William Henry Harrison. The Separation of the Churches and the State in France. Boston: Stanhope Press, F.H. Gilson Co., 1917.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

«Sur les pas de Jeanne d'Arc»; 2 et 3 octobre 1976. Paris: *Office International des oeuvres de formation civique et d'action culturelle et d'action culturelle selon le droit naturel et chrétien*, 1976.

Syone, Gérard de. "*Jeanne d'Arc et l'Académie.*" *Jeanne d'Arc* 1, no.6 (15-21 May 1889): 84-88.

Taxil, Léo. "*Les fête de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans.*" *Jeanne d'Arc* 1, no.4 (May 1889): 49-52.

Taylor, William Cooke. Memoirs of the House of Orleans. 3 vols. London: Richard Bentley, 1849.

Ternois, Daniel. "*L'éros ingresque.*" *Revue de l'art* 64 (1984): 35-56.

Ternois, Daniel. Ingres. Milan: Arnoldo Monadori and Verona: Fernand Nathan & Co., 1980.

Terry, Altha Elizabeth. Jeanne d'Arc in Periodical Literature, 1894-1929. New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., 1930.

The Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 8. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910.

Thiébault-Sisson. "Emmanuel Frémiet." *Le Temps* 12 September 1910.

Thieme, Ulrich and Fred C. Willis. *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*. Leipzig, Verlag von E.A. Seemann, 1921-1936.

Tint, H. The Decline of French Patriotism. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964.

Touchet, Stanislas-Xavier. *La Sainte de la Patrie*. Paris: P. Lethielleux, Libraire-Éditeur, 1920.

Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tours. *Jeanne d'Arc et sa légende*. Exhibition catalogue. Tours: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tours, April 21, 1979-May 21, 1979.

Toussaint, Hélène. *Les portraits d'Ingres: peintures des musées nationaux*. Paris: Ministère de la Culture, Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1985.

Tranchant, Alfred and Jules Ladimir. *Les Femmes militaires de la France*. Paris: Cournol, Librairie-Éditeur, 1866.

Triger, Robert. "*Le sacre de Charles VII à Reims par MM.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Latteux-Bazin et Lionel Royer." Revue Historique et archéologique du Maine 35 (1894): 268-271.

Triger, Robert. "*Les vitraux de Jeanne d'Arc."* Revue historique et archéologique du Maine 35 (1894): 266-270.

Triger, Robert. "*Hommages à Jeanne d'Arc."* Revue historique et archéologique du Maine 35 (1894): 256-265.

Un Curieux [pseud.]. "*Statue de la Pucelle, par Foyatier, et bas-reliefs, par Vital-Dubray, sur la place du Martroi, à Orléans (1855-1861)."* Jehanne la Pucelle (Paris: Librairie Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie, 1912): 62-64, 147-152, 180-184, 249-253.

Un Curieux [pseud.]. "*Statue de la Pucelle, par Gois, sur le place Dauphine, antérieurement sur la place du Martroi, à Orléans (1804)."* Jehanne la Pucelle 11-21 (June 10-November 10, 1910): 172-173, 188-191, 205-206, 220-221, 234-237, 249-251, 267-269, 299-302, 313-317, 330-332.

Uhlenbrock, Jaimee Dugliese. Herakles: Passage of the Hero through 1,000 Years of Classical Art. New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, Pub. and Edith C. Blum Art Institue, 1986.

Vale, M.G.A. Charles VII. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

Vallet de Viriville. *Additions au mémoire intitulé; observatuions sur l'ancien monument érigé en l'honneur de la Pucelle. ("Extrait du XXIVe volume des Mémoires de la Société imperiale des Antiquaires de France.")* Paris: Ch. Lahure et Cie, [1859?].

Vallet de Viriville. *"Recherches iconographiques sur Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle d'Orléans."* Revue archéologique.

Varagine, Jacobus de. The Golden Legend: or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton. Translated by William Caxton. 7 vols. London: J.M. Dent & Co., Aldine House, 1900.

Vercruysse, Jeroom. "*Jeanne d'Arc au siècle des Lumières."* Studies in Voltaire and the 18th Century 90 (1972): 1679-1729.

Verdun, Paul. *"La France aux Français: Les ouvriers étrangers."* Jeanne d'Arc 1, no.15 (July-August 1889): 236-237.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vergnaud-Romagnési, C.-F. *Fête de Jeanne d'Arc, à Orléans les 6, 7, 8, 9 et 10 mai. Précis sur la vie et les exploits de Jeanne d'Arc; ses portraits, les monumens en son honneur...*. Paris: Chez Roret, 1855.

Vergnaud-Romagnési, C.F. *"Fêtes de la délivrance d'Orléans dites de Jeanne d'Arc."* In *Notes curieuses, dont plusieurs inédites, sur les fêtes de la ville d'Orléans, dites Fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc, le 8 mai sur les monuments, à Orléans*. Orléans: H. Herluison, 1862.

Vergnaud-Romagnési, C.F. *Mémoire et documents curieux inédits sur les anciens et sur les nouveaux monuments élevés a la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans, à Rouen, à Domremy, etc.*, [1861].

Vial, Marie-Léon. *Jeanne d'Arc et La Monarchie*. Tournai: Établissements Casterman, 1910.

"Vierges folles et vierges sages: Jeanne d'Arc." *Papiers d'Ingres*. Collections Graphiques du Musée Ingres, no. 8 (Montaubon: Musée Ingres, 1992), pp. 7-11.

Wagenknecht, Edward, editor. Joan of Arc: An Anthology of History and Literature. New York: Creative Age Press, 1948.

Wallon, H. *Jeanne d'Arc: les monuments de l'Art depuis le quinzième siècle jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1879.

Warner, Marina. Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981.

Warner, Marina. Monuments & Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1985.

Weedon, Chris. Feminist Practice & Poststructuralist Theory. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1987.

Wheelwright, Julie. Amazons and Military Maids: Women Who Dressed as Men in the Pursuit of Life, Liberty and Happiness. London: Pandora Press, 1989.

White, Sam. De Gaulle. London: Harrap Limited, 1984.

Wilcox, R[uth] Turner. The Mode in Hats and Headdresses. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.

Wildenstein, Georges. The Paintings of Ingres. London: Phaidon Press, 1954.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Williard, Charity Cannon. Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works. New York: Persea Books, 1984.

Wilson, Stephen. "*La France et l'étranger: aspects du nationalisme de l'Action française.*" Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 20 (1973): 464-479.

Wincock, Michel. "*Jeanne d'Arc et les juifs.*" In Edouard Drumont et C^{ie}: antisémitisme et fascisme en France, 67-79. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982.

Wood, Charles T. Joan of Arc and Richard III: Sex, Saints and Government in the Middle Ages. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Xerri, Jean-François. *Jeanne d'Arc n'a pas existé*. Paris: La Pensée universelle, 1973.

Ziff, Norman D. "Jeanne d'Arc and French Restoration Art." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* XCIII (January 1979): 37-48.

Ziff, Norman D. "Paul Delaroche: A Study in Nineteenth-Century French History Painting." Ph.D dissertation, New York University, 1974. New York: Garland Publications, 1977.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.