

Joan of Arc in French Art and Culture (1700-1855)

From Satire to Sanctity

NORA M. HEIMANN



JOAN OF ARC
IN FRENCH ART AND CULTURE
(1700–1855)

*To Jeanne and John Heimann
and
John Emad Arbab*

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- 60 Attributed to André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, [Ingres installation at the Universal Exposition of 1855, Paris]. 1855. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Acknowledgments

The largest collection of books in the world, the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, houses over eighteen million volumes, of which over five hundred and fifty are devoted to Joan of Arc. In France, Joan of Arc's memory has inspired an even more vast body of work. At the end of the nineteenth century, Pierre Lanéry d'Arc documented over two thousand fictional and nonfictional books, ballads, plays, and speeches on the Maid; by 1920, the year of her canonization, that number swelled to over twelve thousand. Making my way through the densely forested path of all this documentation in tracing the metamorphoses of Joan of Arc's posthumous image over the centuries has been a long, labyrinthine, and, at times, daunting task. I could not have made it without the help and guidance of fellow travelers on this path.

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List of Abbreviations

In citing works in the notes, short titles generally have been used. Works frequently cited have been identified by the following abbreviations. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are the author's.

Barrett Barrett, W[ilfred] P[hilip], trans. *The Trial of Joan of Arc. Translated into English from the Original Latin and French Documents*. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1931.

Heimann 1994 Heimann, Nora M. "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." PhD diss., Graduate Center of the City University of New York, 1994.

Images de Jeanne d'Arc *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.

Lanéry d'Arc Lanéry d'Arc, Pierre. *Le Livre d'Or de Jeanne d'Arc: bibliographie raisonnée*. Paris: Techner, 1894.

Quicherat 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 Bibliothèque Nationale, suivis de tous les documents historiques qu'on a pu réunir et accompagnés de notes et d'éclaircissements*. 5 vols. Paris: Jules Renouard, 1841–49. Reprint. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965.

- Schiller 1802 Schiller, Frédéric. *Jeanne d'Arc ou la Pucelle d'Orléans, tragédie en cinq actes*. Translated by Charles Frédéric Cramer, edited by L.S. Mercier. Paris: chez Cramer, an X [1802].
- Schiller 1898 Schiller, Friedrich. *Schiller's Jungfrau von Orleans, with introduction and notes*. Edited and translated by Willard Humphreys. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.
- Schiller 1905 Schiller, Friedrich. *Schiller's Jungfrau von Orleans: eine romantische Tragödie*. Translated by Benjamin W. Wells. Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1905.
- Schillers Werke* Schiller, Friedrich. *Schillers Werke*. Edited by Julius Petersen, Gerhard Fricke, Lieselotte Blumenthal, and Benno von Wiese. 43 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1943–2000.
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- Voltaire 1761 Voltaire. *La Pucelle d'Orléans, poème héroï-comique en dix-huit chants*. London: chez les Héritiers des Elizérs, Blaew et Vascosan, 1761.
- Voltaire 1762 Voltaire. *La Pucelle d'Orléans: poème divisé en vingt chants, avec des notes. Nouvelle édition corrigée, augmentée et collationnée sur le manuscrit de l'auteur*. Geneva: Cramer, 1762.
- Voltaire 1775 Voltaire. *La Pucelle d'Orléans: poème suivie du Temple du goût & c.* Vol. 11 of *Oeuvres de M. de Voltaire*. Geneva: Cramer et Bardin, 1775.

Voltaire 1899

Voltaire. *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 (revision of earlier translation by W.H. Ireland and Lady Charleville). London: The Lutetian Society, 1899.

Introduction

“What Honor for the Feminine Sex?” The Life and Trials, Death and Afterlife of Joan of Arc

Oh! What honor 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 of thousands of men!
Neither Hector nor Achilles had such strength!
This is God's doing, it is He who leads her.

Christine de Pisan, “Ditié de Jeanne d’Arc”¹

Joan of Arc’s spectacular, triumphal, and tragic life story has more of the elements of heroic legend than of veritable history. The barest details of the narrative seem fantastic: In the spring of 1429, when the fortunes of the French

1 Completed on 31 July 1429, fourteen days after the coronation of Charles VII at Reims, Pisan’s poem “Ditié de Jeanne d’Arc” is the earliest literary celebration of the Maid’s accomplishments (Christine de Pisan, *Ditié de Jehanne d’Arc*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty, vol. 9 of *Medium Ævum Monographs* [Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1977], 34–55, 46).

crown were at their nadir, a young, illiterate peasant girl, a charismatic mystic from the duchy of Lorraine, won the confidence of the disinherited crown prince, the dauphin Charles de Valois, and his Armagnac courtiers in exile. With no military experience, she was named “chef de guerre” (warlord). Granted arms and troops, she led the Armagnac army from retreat to victory against the Anglo-Burgundians, and her men banished the forces of the English and their allies from the countryside, villages, and towns of France, recapturing Vaucouleurs, Chinon, Poitiers, Orléans, Tours, Jargeau, Meung-sur-Loire, Beaucency, Patay, and Reims. Within six months this unlikely soldier had turned the tide of the Hundred Years War. In July 1429 she escorted the 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. She was then no more than eighteen years old.²

In early September, however, the fortunes of Joan the Maid (or Jeanne la Pucelle, as she called herself) began to turn.³ In battle to the north of the city,

2 The exact date of Joan of Arc’s birth is not known. When asked her age at her trial for heresy on 21 February 1431, Joan responded with uncertainty: “As far as I know, I am about nineteen years old” (Pierre Tisset and Yvonne Lanhers, eds, *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d’Arc*, 3 vol. [Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1960–71], 1: 41 [hereafter cited in text as T.L.]). According to these calculations, she was probably born in 1412.

3 An historic uncertainty has surrounded both Joan of Arc’s given and surnames from her own day forward. Asked her name during the opening interrogation at her trial for heresy, she said that “in her own village she had been called Jhannette, after she came to France she was called Jhenne, and regarding her surname, she knew nothing” (T.L., 1: 40). Later, she was asked what her “voices” called her. In the official court documents, her reply is recorded in Latin as: “Iohannam Puellam, filiam Dei”; in their definitive modern edition of the Maid’s trial transcripts, Tisset and Lanhers translate this into French as “Jehanne la Pucelle, fille de Dieu” (“Joan the Maid, daughter of God,” T.L., 1: 126). “Jehanne” (also spelled “Jhenne”) and its diminutive “Jhannette” are the medieval antecedents of the modern French and English proper names “Jeanne” and “Joan.” When asked her father’s name, the official transcripts register Joan’s response as: “Respondit quod pater vocabatur Iacotis d’Arc, mater vero Ysabellis” (T.L., 1: 40). Contemporary vernacular records of the Maid’s trial (such as the “O” minutes, now in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Orléans) transcribe this variously as “Jacques Tarc” and “Jacques Darc”; other recorded spellings of her father’s name range from “Jacob d’Arc,” “Jaques d’Arc,” “Jacques Tart,” “Jacobz Daix,” and “Jacobz Dar,” which only further confuse the issue of Joan’s patronymic. For a discussion of the spelling and origin of the “d’Arc” surname, see W. S. Scott, ed. and trans., *The Trial of Joan of Arc: Being the verbatim report of the proceedings from the Orleans manuscript* (London: The Folio Society, 1956), 25; Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 22; and T.L., 1: 40, 2: 39 n. 1. When asked the last names of her parents again one month later, Joan responded that they were “d’Arc and Rommée, and that where she came from daughters used the surnames of their mothers” (T.L., 1: 181 and 2: 148). To her family and friends,

her army's assault on Paris failed, and the Maid herself was wounded in the thigh by a crossbow bolt. The coming of winter and the fatigue of her soldiers necessitated her first substantial retreat – from St 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, Joan was captured in the spring by her Burgundian foes. When the Armagnacs refused to ransom her in 1430, she was sold to the British. Within a year, following a lengthy trial conducted by over one hundred theologians, clerics, and legal scholars from the University of Paris, the Maid was condemned as a heretic and witch, and burned at the stake in the Old Market Place in Rouen on 30 May 1431.⁴

The struggle for sovereignty in France did not end with Joan of Arc's death. Indeed, it was not until 1453 that the fierce and bloody Anglo-French conflict drew to a close with England renouncing all of its possessions in France except for Calais, thereby ending the century-long war that had begun in 1337 when Edward III of England claimed the crown of France. It thus took more than two decades for the Maid's visionary aspirations of a unified, autonomous France to be fully realized. It took even longer for her conviction for heresy

then, Joan was probably known as "Jhannette Rommée." In signing official documents, however, Joan used neither of her parent's surnames, preferring "Jehanne" or "Jehanne la Pucelle." In this text, the common modern renderings of her name in English – Joan of Arc and Joan the Maid – will be employed for the sake of clarity and consistency.

- 4 Joan of Arc was not notified of the specific charges levied against her until near the end of her trial. On 27–28 March 1431, a total of sixty-nine "articles of accusation" were read to her by Thomas de Courcelles, an officer of the court, who summarized the Maid's transgressions as a relapsed heretic, apostate, and idolater as follows: "... The woman commonly called Jeanne *the Maid* ... [is] to be dealt with by the law and corrected, 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 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[ilfred] P[hilip] Barrett, trans., *The Trial of Joan of Arc* [London: George Routledge and Sons, 1931], 139–40 [hereafter cited in the text as Barrett]).

in 1431 to be officially overturned. Serious reconsideration of the Maid's trial verdict began in 1450, after the Armagnacs finally expelled the English from Normandy. Shortly after Charles VII's victorious entry into Rouen in December 1449, the king ordered an inquiry into Joan's trial and execution.⁵ This inquiry, led by the royal counselor M. Guillaume Bouillé, determined that the "procès de condamnation" (or trial for heresy) against the Maid had been political in nature, motivated by the Anglo-Burgundian desire to destroy the woman they deemed responsible for Charles VII's ascendance and coronation. However, because her trial had been conducted by an ecclesiastic court, not by a secular tribunal, the Maid's condemnation – however politically impelled – could be overturned only 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. He, 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, Joan's aged mother, that official rehabilitation hearings were finally authorized by the pope. In 1456, after 115 witnesses were called to give evidence, this "procès en nullité" (ecclesiastic retrial of the Maid's conviction) was concluded, and the verdict of heresy against Joan was rescinded.⁶

The rehabilitation of Joan's good standing by the Catholic Church is relevant to the study of her subsequent representation and reception in French art and culture because prominent clerics and loyal members of the laity in France who embraced the Maid of Orléans's memory played important roles in promoting her reverence, especially from the late 1850s through the first decades of the twentieth century.⁷ Joan of Arc's ecclesiastic exoneration is also significant because the voluminous surviving transcripts of her two trials have provided generations of historians, authors, and artists an insight into the life of Joan of Arc as understood and recorded by her contemporaries.

Among the extant official documents detailing the events of her conviction and rehabilitation are three complete notarized copies of the transcripts of Joan

5 Régine Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witnesses*, trans. Edward Hyams (New York: Dorset Press, 1988), 3.

6 Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself*, 271.

7 Prominent French Catholics such as Bishop Dupanloup of Orléans, Cardinal Bonnechose of Rouen, the duchesse de Chevreuse, and Archbishop Gouthé-Soulard of Aix promoted the construction and veneration of commemorative sculptures, paintings, stained-glass windows, and shrines to the Maid. These shrines and monuments, built primarily in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, can be found throughout France, especially in the Île-de-France, the Loire valley, the Champagne-Ardenne, and along the frontier between Alsace and the Lorraine.

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 *procès en nullité* of 1455–56.⁸ In the pages of 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 personal memories from her childhood; reflections on her faith; accounts of her arrival at the court, her rise to power, and her experiences in battle; and a description of her stylish masculine attire, armor, battle standard, and boyish haircut. Even the very words of the Maid herself and her most intimate associates (including her mother, her brothers, and her squire) are recorded for posterity. Together, these original texts make Joan of Arc one of the most thoroughly documented figures of the Middle Ages.⁹

Yet, although literally hundreds of pages of recorded contemporary testimony on her life have been preserved, there is much that remains speculative, including not only such details as Joan's exact age and the precise spelling of her name, but also, above all, a plausible explanation as to how and why this illiterate peasant, described by those who knew her best as a "good, simple and sweet-natured girl," became a cross-dressed woman warrior, who led an army and restored a prince to his throne, before dying condemned of sorcery and heresy. Moreover, it was not until the 1840s that the French public was afforded practicable access to the documents related to Joan of Arc's inquisition and rehabilitation, for only then were they published in their first widely distributed, modern transcription by Jules Quicherat.¹⁰ As a consequence, a lack of accurate and widely available historical information may account, at least in part, for the many fanciful

8 According to Barrett, these notarized transcripts were translated and transcribed into Latin no earlier than 1435 by Thomas de Courcelles and Guillaume Manchon for the king of England, the inquisitor of France, and the bishop of Beauvais, who led the trial proceedings in 1431 (Barrett, 17). While complete copies of this official Latin transcript survive, only fragments of the French minutes of Jeanne's original testimony are preserved today in Paris and Orléans. For a discussion of the various manuscript and printed editions of the Maid's trials, see Nadia Margolis, *Joan of Arc in History, Literature and Film* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 12–28, items 1–65.

9 Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself*, 276.

10 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 Bibliothèque Nationale, suivis de tous les documents historiques qu'on a pu réunir et accompagnés de notes et d'éclaircissements*, 5 vols (Société de l'Histoire de France. Paris: chez Jules Renouard et Cie, 1841–49) [hereafter cited in text as Quicherat].

portrayals of the Maid produced over the centuries that followed her death, including the first monument to the Maid from the nineteenth century, Edmé-Étienne-François Gois's sculpture of Joan of Arc leading a call to arms in a long flowing gown with great waves of wind-swept curls flying behind her (circa 1801) [Plate 1].

Gois's misrepresentation followed a long and venerable tradition. From the very beginning, in the mid-fifteenth century, images of Joan of Arc diverged from both the evidence of countless witnesses that the Maid wore her hair cut "above her ears" in the manner of contemporary fashionable young men, and Joan's own insistence that she wore only masculine attire from the start of her mission in the Winter of 1429 until the last days of her captivity in May 1431.¹¹ Indeed, the only known image of the Maid to survive from her lifetime, a small sketch penned in the margins of the register of the Parliament of Paris in the Spring of 1429, depicts Joan brandishing a sword and standard, wearing a fierce expression and a scoop-necked gown with long hair that falls down her back [Plate 2]. The abundant hair and voluptuous appearance of the Maid in this seminal image had no bearing in actual fact; but Clément de Fauquembergue, the Burgundian registrar who drew the image beside the official announcement of the defeat of the Anglo-Burgundians at Orléans, may not have known that, for he never actually saw the Maid.¹²

In the centuries that followed Joan of Arc's death, artists and illustrators continued to depict Joan of Arc with the signal, inaccurate attribute of long

11 Barrett, 152; T.L., 2: 171–2; see also T.L., 1: 48, 93, 2: 246.

12 Fauquembergue's portrayal may have been intended to cast the woman known derisively by the Anglo-Burgundians as "the Harlot of the Armagnacs" as an immodest woman. In the mid-fifteenth century, respectable women in France usually wore their hair bound-up and covered by a wimple, coif, scarf, or hennin (a tall, horned hat with a long veil attached). By convention then, a mature woman's undressed hair in public indicated her moral laxity, as can be seen, for example, in the miniature illumination in Martial d'Auvergne's *Les Vigiles du Roi Charles VII* [1484], of the Maid driving away camp followers. The identity of these dissolute women is signaled by the unbound, uncovered hair that one of the fleeing women displays. Because in Joan of Arc's day, long unadorned hair could also signal a youthful maiden's unmarried status, the interpretation of Fauquembergue's Maid as wanton depends not only on his treatment of her coiffure, but also on the exaggerated prominence of her voluptuous breasts (I am grateful to Olivier Bouzy for this interpretation of Fauquembergue's image). For more information regarding women's hair and head-dresses during the fifteenth century, see François Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1966), 200–201; and Hilda Amphlett, *Hats: A History of Fashion in Headwear* (Letchworth, Hertfordshire: The Garden City Press, 1974), 41–62. Regarding the prevailing Anglo-Burgundian opinion of the Maid as an immoral dissolute, see Warner, *Joan of Arc*, 103–4.

hair, while often also persisting in dressing her in at least some modified version of female attire – typically a gown, or a long or short skirt – even when including portions of a suit of armor, such as a plumed helmet or a breast-plate, in their varied depictions of her as a warrior in battle, a defendant before her inquisition, a martyr at the stake, or simply a model of feminine virtue. For example, one of the earliest surviving images of the Maid, an anonymous illumination of Joan of Arc from Martin le Franc's *The Champion of Women* (Arras, 1440) portrayed "Jehanne la Pucelle" (standing in the right foreground) with a lance and shield in hand wearing plate armor over her torso and legs, a short skirt, and unbound hair that falls down her back in the company of the patriotic Old Testament heroine Judith (at left) [Plate 3]. Similarly, the first monument to Joan of Arc, erected around 1502 on the pont d'Orléans (the site of her first major victory), depicted the Maid with unfettered, waist length hair in a suit of armor kneeling with Charles VII before an image of the mourning Virgin Mary and the crucified Christ [Plate 4].¹³ This seminal sculpture inspired numerous subsequent images of Joan of Arc kneeling in armor with abundant long hair, including a late sixteenth-century carved stone statue of Joan with long locks (visible from the side) that fall almost to her knees, wearing a starched ruff and a suit of armor set in a niche over the doorway of her birth place in Domremy [Plate 5]; and a painting of Joan of Arc in a suit of armor with waist-length red hair, kneeling with her hands raised in prayer before a crucifix from the workshop of Peter Paul Rubens (circa 1620) [Plate 6].

Artist's renditions of the Maid became even less true to life as time progressed. In the eighteenth century, the sculptor Paul-Ambroise Slodtz went so far as to dispense with any visual reference to the physical attributes known to have characterized the Maid's actual appearance in his now lost *Joan of Arc as Bellona* (1756, formerly Rouen) [Plate 7]. Instead, Slodtz transformed his medieval protagonist into a classical allegorical image in a Roman matron's robes, with a braided coil of hair around her head and long curls at the nape of the neck, as was fashionable for noblewomen in the late Roman Empire. While the statue's status as a latter-day Goddess of War is signaled by her sword and shield, her identity as the heroine of Orléans depends entirely on

13 The precise dating of this calvary scene is not easy to determine for by 1792, when the monument was finally destroyed, the bronze sculpture had already been damaged by rust and iconoclastic vandals, and "restored" twice over in an altered form each time. For more information on this sculpture, and its appearance in each of its three states, see Pierre-Marie Brun, "Le premier monument à Jeanne d'Arc sur l'ancien pont d'Orléans," in *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, 27–34 cat. 15–24.

the work's title.¹⁴ In a similarly anachronistic manner, Joan was portrayed in the famous *Portrait "des Échevins"* ("Aldermen" Portrait, circa 1581) with long, dark hair flowing down her back and shoulders, wearing a man's plumed toque, and a gown with a tightly-laced bodice and puffed and slashed sleeves in the style of the French renaissance [Plate 8]. Long-believed, erroneously, to have been rendered from life, this venerable if wholly fanciful portrait influenced generations of subsequent images. The distinctive costume and singular hat worn by the Maid in the *Aldermen Portrait* can be found in Joan of Arc iconography from the late-sixteenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries – including Philippe de Champaigne's celebrated portrayal of the Maid brandishing an épée with long flowing hair, a sweeping gown with puffed and slashed sleeves, a large plumed hat, a cuirass, and a coat of mail, painted in 1635 for the cardinal de Richelieu's gallery of portraits of famous men and women [Plate 9];¹⁵ Gois's *Joan of Arc in Battle*, circa 1801 [Plate 1]; and Auguste-Jacques Régnier's *Landscape* from 1819 [Plate 38].

Consequently, not only ignorance of the historical record, but also the ponderous weight of iconographic tradition could explain the persistent inaccuracy of virtually every representation of the Maid produced over four hundred years after her death. Yet even after details of Joan of Arc's actual appearance became increasingly well-known in the first half of the nineteenth century through the publication of numerous scholarly accounts of her life,¹⁶

- 14 Designed on commission for the Parliament of Normandy, Slodtz's *Joan of Arc as Bellona* was dedicated in Rouen in 1755. Although Slodtz's sculpture had the good fortune to escape destruction by revolutionary iconoclasts in 1793, it was lost in the Battle of Normandy in 1944. For further information on Slodtz's *Joan of Arc*, see François Souchal, *Les Slodtz: sculpteurs et décorateurs du Roi, 1684–1764* (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1967), 172–74, pl. 9; see also Dennis Sexsmith, "The Radicalization of Joan of Arc Before and After the French Revolution," *RACAR* 17 (1990): 125–30.
- 15 Champaigne's canvas, formerly attributed to Simon Vouet, was destroyed in 1940; his image of the Maid, however, survives in numerous reproductions, such as Zacharie Heince and François Bignon's *PUELLA AURELIACA sub Carolo 7^o* from 1690 [Plate 9] and L.J. Cathelin's print of 1746 (*Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, 37–8, 45–6, cats 30–32).
- 16 The most notable early studies of the Maid's life include Clément de L'Averdy's pioneering investigation of the Maid's trial transcripts in 1790, *Notice et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1790), which laid the ground for both Jules Quicherat's transcription of the Maid's trial in 1841–49, and Jules Michelet's pivotal history of her life, first published in 1841 as volume five in his great *Histoire de France* (1822–67); Nicolas Lenglet-Dufresnoy's *Histoire de Jeanne Darc, vierge, héroïne et martyre d'état*, 3 vols (Paris: Coutellier, Pissot and Chardon, 1753–55), a text that was largely plagiarized from an unpublished manuscript by Edmond Richer from 1628; and Philippe-Alexandre Le Brun de Charmettes's *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc surnommé la*

artists continued to employ conventionally feminine attributes of dress and hair in both popular cultural and monumental portrayals of the Maid. Even Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, a painter who was almost pedantic in his use of historicizing detail, depicted Joan of Arc with long hair in his famous canvas of 1854, despite the fact that he knew otherwise, as his design for an 1844 book illustration of Joan wearing short hair demonstrates [Plates 57 and 58].

While Joan of Arc's cross-dressed appearance and masculine hairstyle may seem of little moment today in the early twenty-first century, the grave significance of these unconventional traits during her own lifetime can be seen vividly illustrated by the manner in which contemporary Church authorities and Joan herself treated the matter. Joan of Arc's ecclesiastic judges condemned her "monstrous brazenness" in wearing "garments belonging to the male sex" in the very opening moments of her trial.¹⁷ When the Maid refused to obey her assessors's subsequent orders that she return to "female attire, as befits her sex," insisting instead defiantly 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," her judges responded by declaring her a schismatic and heretical apostate, and by excommunicating her from the Catholic Church.¹⁸ Only when threatened with torture and death did Joan finally agree to put on the costume of a woman again, acknowledging in her abjuration on 24 May 1431 that she had defied "the decency of nature" and "all the modesty of womankind" in her actions and appearance.¹⁹ For her recantation, and the promise that she would obey and submit to the Church Militant in all things, including the re-adoption of women's dress, she was given the reduced sentence of life in prison. However, when Joan of Arc was found in her cell wearing men's clothing again three days later, the judgment of the authorities was swift: On 28 May, Joan of Arc was condemned as a relapsed heretic, and sentenced to death. Two days later, for her disobedience of the Church as expressly signified by her refusal to wear women's clothing, she

Pucelle d'Orléans, tirée de ses propres déclarations, de cent quarante-quatre dépositions de témoins oculaires et de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et de la Tour de Londres, ornée du portrait de Jeanne d'Arc et de sept jolies figures, 4 vols (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1817).

17 T.L., 1: 1, 2: 1; Barrett, 19.

18 T.L., 2: 248, 176, 315–17; Barrett, 156, 230, 292–93. Regarding Joan's stubborn refusal to give up her masculine habit, and her insistence that it was at the command of her voices and God that she so dressed, see T.L., 1: 67, 75, 94–5, 128, 153, 206, 210.

19 T.L., 2: 338; Barrett, 313.

was handed over to the secular arm of justice for execution, and summarily burned at the stake.²⁰

Clearly Joan of Arc's cross-dressed appearance represented a symbolically pivotal issue in her life, one that far transcended mere disregard for prevailing feminine fashion, both for the Church authorities, who regarded her flouting of the teachings of the Old and New Testament regarding the essential rules of gender-specific dress and behavior as an express sign of her heresy, and for the Maid herself, who ultimately accepted death rather than obey the Church in a manner that she insisted was contrary to the direct command of God as made known to her through the intervention of her angelic voices.²¹ For this reason, the representational depiction and omission of Joan's cross-dressing and masculine coiffure will be treated as signal concerns in the ensuing analysis of her representation in French art and culture. In this process, the treatment of her gendered body – of her dress and hairstyle, and her sexual life (an ongoing concern of no less focal concern as well) – will be understood ultimately

20 Why the Maid resumed wearing men's clothing after swearing that she would not have been a source of controversy since her death. In her defense, witnesses at her rehabilitation trial and numerous subsequent authors and historians have argued that Joan of Arc either returned to male clothing in late May to protect her chastity in the company of lascivious male jailors, or – as Pope Pius II suggested in his memoirs of 1463 – that she was tricked or even forced to return to this attire (Quicherat, 2: 8, 18, 305, 4: 517; Pernoud, *Retrial of Joan of Arc*, trans. I. Cohen [New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955], 209–10; Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself*, 218–19; Karen Sullivan, *The Interrogation of Joan of Arc* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999], 134, 175–6 n. 5; Warner, *Joan of Arc*, 139–58). During her final questioning on 28 May, Joan of Arc explained that she did not realize that she had promised never again to wear a masculine costume, and that she had re-adopted this attire because it was more suitable in the company of men; she added that she had only recanted – denying the divine origin and authority of her voices – because of “fear of fire” (T.L., 1: 399, 2: 344–6). When she acknowledged that she had heard her voices again, the clerk transcribing the interview noted that this response constituted a fatal heretical relapse (Warner, *Joan of Arc*, 141).

21 Among the first judgments determined against Joan of Arc was the accusation “that this woman is apostate, for the hair which God gave her for a veil she had untimely cut off, and also with the same design has rejected woman's dress and imitated the costume of men” (T.L., 2: 316; Barrett, 292). The indictment derived directly from Saint Paul's commandment that Christian women wear their hair long and veiled as a sign of their obedience, modesty, and submission to man (1 Corinthians 11: 3–15). Relying also on the condemnation of women who wear male clothing in Deuteronomy (22: 5), and Thomist teachings forbidding cross-dressing as a path to lasciviousness, Joan of Arc's assessors further denounced her male attire as “shameless,” “immodest,” “indecent,” “abominable to God and man,” and “contrary to laws both divine and natural” in five charges made against her at the end of her trial (T.L., 1: 1, 14, 192, 205–8, 219, 245, 248 [art. I, III–IV, XII–XIV]; Sullivan, *The Interrogation of Joan of Arc*, 42–5).

as political expressions, little different from her latter-day reincarnation as a loyal monarchist, a militant nationalist, a fervent Catholic, or an obedient and humble peasant girl by the varied ecclesiastic and governmental powers in France.

During the Hundred Years War, Joan of Arc became a defining figure in French history. In every subsequent historical epoch, her life and death have remained evocative of France's medieval past, of the French people's resilient capacity to endure the suffering of feudalism and the yoke of foreign domination, and of France's venerable Christianity and once ascendant monarchy. As an enduring symbolic presence, individuals and institutions in France have looked to her again and again for authorization and validation. While Joan of Arc's remarkable life story has been retold many times over the ages, and the process leading to her canonization in the early twentieth century has been the subject of thorough research,²² the period in which her public persona grew from relative provincial renown after her death to widespread celebrity throughout Europe in the 1700s has been virtually ignored in the scholarship, as have the years in which she became first recognized as an embodiment of heroic virtue in the mid-1800s. *Joan of Arc in French Art and Culture (1700–1855): From Satire to Sanctity* tells the story of this crucial, critically ignored, one-and-a-half century period in Joan of Arc's symbolic journey through time.

As will be detailed below, the crucial catapult in her rise to international fame came ironically during the Enlightenment when Voltaire used Joan of Arc as a satirical, highly sexualized instrument in an effort to criticize the abuses of the Catholic Church and the French monarchy. Responding to Voltaire's political inversion of the medieval equation that measured Joan of Arc's virtue by recognizing her either as a heroic virgin by her Armagnac allies or as a bewitching whore by the Anglo-Burgundians, the German playwright Friedrich Schiller transformed these antipodes of sexual virtue and vice into tragic romance by presenting an internally conflicted heroine – the steely Minerva on the battlefield and the beautiful woman vulnerable to love. Schiller's heartlessly aggressive and then romantically suffering Johanna became prototypical for French representations of the Maid during the first

22 See, for example, Gerd Krumeich, *Jeanne d'Arc in der Geschichte: Historiographie – Politik – Kultur, Beihefte der Francia*, vol. 19 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag GmbH & Co., 1989), esp. 127–76, 249–55; Henry Ansgar Kelly, "Joan of Arc's Last Trial: The Attack of the Devil's Advocates," in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, ed. Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 205–36; and Georges Goyau, *Sainte Jeanne d'Arc: les étapes d'une gloire religieuse* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1920).

decades of the nineteenth century. In this way, the medieval Joan was reborn first during the Revolution and its Napoleonic sequel as an antique figure, a classical goddess of liberating war who both antedated and succeeded France's feudal past, and then as a love-sick heroine of heroic self-sacrifice.

Later, during the Bourbon restoration, monarchical France returned Joan to her medieval setting and accouterments; in so doing, they feminized her, adopting Schiller's symbolic expression of romantic suffering in mourning the Revolution's devastating impact on the aristocracy and its ecclesiastic allies. As kingship became desacralized under the July Monarchy, Joan of Arc paradoxically became elevated symbolically, for the first time, to sacred status by liberals and conservatives alike, each of whom claimed her as their own. For the historian Michelet, she became a secular martyr, betrayed by her king and condemned by her Church, whose compassionate death at the end of the Middle Ages miraculously gave birth to modern France. For the princess Marie d'Orléans, Joan became a humble and yet transcendent figure, who united a divided nation in her earnest prayer. For the painter Ingres, the first artist to endow the Maid with a halo, Joan served as a personification of a holy, monarchical nation, whose very essence upheld the primacy of historic tradition by celebrating the glory of France's conjoined crown and altar. Thus, the divergent significance that was invested in Joan of Arc by opposing elements in France in the mid-nineteenth century – and the common identification of each side with her visionary triumph and her terrible suffering – led to the ultimate coalescence of her image as an incarnation of heroic French virtue almost five centuries after her death.

Shaped as much by convention and politics as by history and theology, the representation of Joan of Arc's image in painting, sculpture, literature, music, and popular culture from the age of Enlightenment to the Second Republic will be shown to offer a brilliant, if perhaps at times distorted, mirror of the forces in French society that called forth her memory according to their bidding. In taking account of these shifting characterizations of the Maid, Christine de Pisan's jubilant exclamation – "Oh! What honor for the feminine sex!" – will be posed as a question, as well as a declarative statement. What honor indeed was Joan of Arc for the feminine sex in the emergence of her image from a figure of political satire to an embodiment of sanctity in a secular age?

Chapter 1

Pornography as Hagiography and the Engendering of Virtue: Chapelain, Voltaire, and *The Maid of Orléans*

By a strange twist of fate, Joan of Arc and the man who turned her life story into a mock epic died on the same day, three hundred and forty-seven years apart. Joan of Arc was burned at the stake in Rouen on 30 May 1431, unransomed by the king she fought for and condemned by prelates of the faith she fervently embraced. On 30 May 1778, François-Marie Arouet, better known by his nom de plume Voltaire, died of old age in his bed in Paris, a venerated if controversial writer, recognized as one of the leading philosophers of the Enlightenment. By then, the scandalous success of Voltaire's epic parody *The Maid of Orléans* had grown to international proportions, joining his memory with Joan of Arc's in posterity [Plate 10].

Circulating first in pirated manuscript and later clandestine print editions from the 1730s through the mid-1800s, Voltaire's *The Maid of Orléans* was banned, burned, and decried as poisonously profligate throughout Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹ Yet despite – or, perhaps, because

1 Voltaire's poem was disseminated in a series of unauthorized manuscript and print editions for over twenty-five years before the author issued his own twenty-canto volume of the poem in 1762 under the new pseudonym "Don Apuleius Risorius, *bénédictin*." In the preface of this first avowed edition, Voltaire claimed that he composed *The Maid of Orléans* "around 1730" (Don Apuleius Risorius [François-Marie Arouet], *La Pucelle d'Orléans: poëme divisé en vingt chants, avec des notes. Nouvelle édition corrigée, augmentée et collationnée sur le manuscrit de l'auteur* (Geneva: Cramer, 1762), hereafter cited in the text as Voltaire 1762). Theodore Besterman confirms this approximate date, arguing that "Voltaire started work on the Pucelle certainly by 1730, and possibly several years before" (Theodore Besterman, *Voltaire* [New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1969], 375; see also Ingvald Raknem, *Joan of Arc in History, Legend and Literature* [Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1971], 73). Siméon Luce, by contrast, insists that no allusion to this poem existed in Voltaire's papers or correspondence prior to 1734 (Siméon Luce, "Les origines de 'La Pucelle' de Voltaire," *Le Correspondant* 153 [10 November 1888], 480).