The Legend of Jeanne d'Arc: Illustrations by Gravelot for Voltaire's *La Pucelle d'Orléans* (1762)

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Abstract

This study examines Voltaire's (1694-1778) poem *La Pucelle d'Orléans* (*The Maid of Orléans*) of 1762 and the accompanying illustrations by Gravelot (1699-1773) as an adaptation of the fifteenth-century legend of Jeanne d'Arc (1412-31). The original narrative tells of Jeanne who led the French army of Charles VII to victory against the English in alliance with Burgundians in the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). This thesis argues that Voltaire and Gravelot dramatically altered this original narrative to make points with eighteenth-century significance. It examines the ways in which Voltaire and Gravelot were drawing upon eighteenth-century discourses on gender and class, and those concerning the French monarchy and the Catholic Church. In particular, this study offers an insight into how Gravelot's illustrations conveyed his understanding of Voltaire's poem to an eighteenth-century audience. The relationship between the text and the images for the 1762 edition of *La Pucelle* has been overlooked by previous scholarship. It shows how Gravelot's illustrations were more than a supporting tool for the poem and that they played an important role in heightening the readers' understanding and enjoyment of Voltaire's *La Pucelle d'Orléans.*

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Introduction

> Although Voltaire's primary purpose may have been to parody Chapelain's portrait of Joan, there can be no doubt that from the outset 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.
>
> **Ingvald Raknem**[1]

This thesis explores the illustrations by Hubert François Bourguignon d' Anville, also known as Gravelot for François-Marie Arouet Voltaire's twenty-canto poem *La Pucelle d'Orléans* (*The Maid of Orléans*),[2] published in Geneva in 1762.[3] Gabriel de Saint-Aubin's (1724-80) *Voltaire écrit 'La Pucelle'* (*Voltaire writing 'The Maid'*), engraved by N. Ransonette of c. 1754 (fig. 1) shows Voltaire in his study gazing fondly at a shield depicting Jeanne d'Arc whilst writing his poem. A putti carries two shields decorated with the portraits of Charles VII and Agnès Sorel whilst another putti holds a flaming torch over Voltaire's head to signify his Enlightened status. Voltaire places one foot on the title page of Jean Chapelain's (1595-1674) poem *La Pucelle, ou La France Deliverée* of 1656 which lies on the floor next to bags of money thereby presenting a stark contrast between the popularity of Voltaire in comparison to Chapelain.[4] Throughout this study, I examine how Voltaire and Gravelot were influenced by, and responded to, eighteenth-century shifting discourses, arguing that they dramatically altered the fifteenth-century narrative of Jeanne d'Arc to make points with eighteenth-century resonance. In addition, I suggest that Voltaire and Gravelot, in forming *La Pucelle*, used humour as a vehicle for political and religious critique.

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[1] Ingvald Raknem*, Joan of Arc in History, Legend and Literature*, Oslo, 1971, p. 72.

[2] At the University of Cambridge Library I found individual pages of the 1762 edition of *La Pucelle* with engravings signed by Gravelot, and these are identical to the unsigned prints found in bounded copies of this edition. This enables me to be confident of the authenticity of Gravelot as the designer of the twenty illustrations for this edition of Voltaire's poem.

[3] When quoting from the 1762 French edition I will refer to William Fleming's English translation, *The Works of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version,* Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans" of 1927.

[4] For more information on Jean Chapelain's *La Pucelle, ou La France Deliverée* see, Jennifer Tsien, 'Voltaire and the Temple of bad taste: A Study of *La Pucelle d'Orléans'*, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 5, 2003, pp. 300-1.

Using the title statement by Ingvald Raknem as my starting point, I show how Voltaire and Gravelot were mocking Jean Chapelain's portrayals of Jeanne as a successful female peasant warrior and that they were commenting on eighteenth-century conceptions of gender roles and social order. Furthermore, Voltaire and Gravelot were highlighting the misconduct of members of the Catholic Church and French government who abandoned or condemned Jeanne d'Arc in the original legend, and the critical discourses surrounding these institutions in eighteenth-century France. This thesis examines the ways in which Gravelot's illustrations conveyed his understanding of Voltaire's poem and its objectives to an eighteenth-century audience. The size of this study prevents me from discussing all twenty cantos and illustrations. I propose that selected cantos and illustrations can be examined through three broad themes that will be the focus of each chapter: sexuality, war and religion.

The fifteenth-century legend of Jeanne d'Arc tells of a peasant girl from Domremy who became the national heroine of France and led the French army of Charles VII to victory against the English in alliance with Burgundians in the Hundred Years' War.[5] Voltaire, by altering this original narrative added a satirical twist so that Jeanne, in order to achieve victory in war must keep her heroic virginity whilst being chased by licentious members of the clergy and English knights throughout. I discuss the range of sexual encounters in *La Pucelle* as Voltaire's and Gravelot's way of highlighting the increase in erotic literature and imagery in eighteenth-century France.[6] I show that Gravelot's prints are of an erotic rather than pornographic nature through his decision to include no full frontal nudity or genitalia and intimacy that is only implied.[7] In *La Pucelle* Voltaire neglected to inform the poem's audience of Jeanne's contribution to the Hundred Years' War, her imprisonment, trial and execution.[8] Instead, Voltaire began with the bare outlines of the original legend and built a chivalric plot over it, in which Jeanne's heroic mission is overshadowed by the adventures of aristocratic knights and

[5] Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: the image of female heroism*, Hamondsworth, 1983.
[6] Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, New York and London, 1995, pp. 72-3.
[7] Chapter Eight, 'Decency and Indecency', Philip Stewart, *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth Century,* London, 1992.
[8] Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, London, 2000.

ladies. For example, King Charles VII (1403-41)[9] and Agnès Sorel (1421-50)[10] as recognisable historical figures, Dorothée, a biblical figure from the New Testament and Judith de Rosamore from the Book of Judith in the Old Testament. In *La Pucelle* Jeanne appears to lack a clear understanding of the mission given to her by God and needs to be guided by Saint Denis, God's representative. The poem's and the illustrations' disjointed plot or multiple plots can be understood as Voltaire's and Gravelot's attempts to construct a mock-epic poem, which parodied the unified narrative of the classical epic.[11]

Voltaire was one of the most famous writers of the French eighteenth century.[12] Voltaire's literary reputation can be described as having three main strands: he was a *philosophe,* a "free-thinker"*,* in 1763 becoming a member of the Académie Française and a contributor to one of the most famous texts of the Enlightenment, the *Encyclopédie.*[13] He was known for his comedies, which were shown at the Comédie Française, the leading theatre in Paris during the mid-eighteenth century and also known, for the focus of this study, as a poet. Although Voltaire's personal life and literary career are fairly well-documented, the life and works of Gravelot are comparatively unfamiliar.[14]

Gravelot did not receive conventional artistic training like his contemporaries, Cochin,

[9] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto One, pp. 50-1.
[10] *Ibid*, Canto One, pp. 51-2.
[11] In his *Essay on Epick poetry* of 1727, Voltaire claimed that one of the principle conventions of epic poetry is 'Unity of Action, because the Understanding is better satisfy'd when it reposes upon a single Object, adequate to our Views, and which we may take in easily, than when it is lost in the Hurry of Confusion', Paris, p. 308.
[12] Ian Davidson, *Voltaire in Exile*, London, 2004; Theodore Besterman, *Voltaire*, Oxford, 1976; Haydn Mason, *Voltaire: a biography*, London, 1981.
[13] A '*philosophe*' can be defined as an intellectual of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment who applied reason to many areas of learning including science, literature, history, politics and economics. Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, London, 1998.
[14] Existing scholarship on Gravelot includes, Alice Newlin, 'The Celebrated Mr Gravelot', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* Vol. 5, No. 2, 1946, pp. 61-6; Ruth S. Kraemer, 'Drawings By Gravelot in the Morgan Library: A Checklist', *Master Drawings*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1982, pp. 3-73; 'Gravelot', in Edmund and Jules Goncourt, *L'art du XVIlle siècle,* Vol. 2, Paris, 1880-82, pp. 23-49; Vera Salomon, *Eighteenth-Century French Book Illustrators: Gravelot*, London, 1911.

Eisen, and Le Jeune who studied at the Paris Académie. During the early 1720s Gravelot embarked on a trip to Rome to study art under the patronage of Louis d' Aubusson, Duc de la Feuillade but never reached Italy because he ran out of money. In the early 1730s Gravelot joined Jean Restout the Elder's (1692-1768) studio and studied under François Boucher (1703-70). Gravelot's reputation as an outstanding illustrator began in England. In 1732-3 he was invited to England by Claude Du Bosc (1711-40), who was publishing an English translation of Bernard Picart's (1673-1733) *Les cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tout les peuples et de tous les temps* (*The religious rites and customs of all the people of the world*), originally published in Amsterdam in 1725.[15] He became friendly with a circle of British artists including William Hogarth (1697-1764) and Francis Hayman (1708-76), and taught Charles Grignion (c. 1721-1810) and Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88) at St. Martins Lane Academy in London. In 1745 after the battle of Fontenoy Gravelot returned to France due to increasing anti-Gallican feeling in England.[16]

Gravelot's illustrations for the 1762 edition of *La Pucelle* were produced at the height of his career. In the early 1760s Gravelot was appointed Professor of drawing at the École Militaire in Paris.[17] During this time Gravelot produced illustrations for a number of well-known works, such as Boccaccio's *Decameron* of 1757, Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* of 1761, Voltaire's edition of Corneille's *Oeuvres* of 1764, and the 1767-71 edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* Gravelot's design for the frontispiece of Torquato Tasso's poem *Jérusalem délivrée* (*Jerusalem delivered*) of 1771, engraved by B. L. Henriques (fig. 2) shows how Gravelot wished to be viewed as a practitioner of the arts by his contemporaries and audiences. This print depicts a female figure as an allegory of the arts holding a paint brush and supporting the round-panelled portrait of Gravelot that rests on a stone plinth which bears his name. He stares out of the image into the distance, an established convention when portraying a philosophical thinker. The portrait is surrounded by other emblems associated with the arts such as a

[15] A list of Gravelot's works has been compiled by Roger Portalis, *Les Dessinateurs d' illustrations du dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1877; Henry Cohen, *Guide de l' amateur de livres à gravures de XVIIIe siecle*, Paris, 1912.
[16] Jane Turner, *The Grove Dictionary of Art*, New York, 1996, Vol. 13, p. 324
[17] Vera Salomon, *Eighteenth-Century French Book Illustrators: Gravelot*, London, 1911, p. 17.

classical column, scrolls, a measuring tool for sculpture and painting, and a sketchbook. A putti sits reading a book that signifies Gravelot's knowledge of literature, particularly poetry. Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d' Anville's (1697-1782) *Eloge de Monsieur Gravelot* of 1774 offers an intriguing insight into Gravelot's working practices.[18] He describes how Gravelot often modelled in clay and 'had made in London mannequins about fifteen inches high, of both sexes who could move all their joints, even the fingers on their hands. Each of his mannequins was provided with different styles of dress; and the roman toga was included in this wardrobe'.[19] In his preliminary sketch for Canto Fifteen of Voltaire's *La Pucelle* (fig. 3) Gravelot has paid particular attention to the pose and gesture of Charles VII whilst the scene in the background is faintly indicated. This sketch may have been a first attempt with a more complete drawing being sent away to the engravers. Gravelot's attention to detail is clearly noticeable in the illustrations for Voltaire's *La Pucelle*.

Throughout this thesis I consider the inter-relationship between Voltaire's poem and Gravelot's illustrations. The emerging scholarly interest in eighteenth-century French book illustration tends to take the form of a general introduction, for example Gordon Ray's *The Art of the French Illustrated Book 1700-1914*[20] and Owen Holloway's *French Rococo Book Illustration.*[21] However, I will draw upon the research of Roland Barthes who asks in his article *L'obvie et l'obtus,* 'Does the image duplicate some of the text's information, through the phenomenon of redundance, or does the text add previously unknown information to the image?'[22] Illustrations are meant to create juxtapositions between the visual and textual but can also be decoded as separate images with different sets of meanings being created. Philip Stewart's *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth Century* examines many illustrated texts thereby

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[18] Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d' Anville, 'Eloge de Monsieur Gravelot', in *Le Nécrologe des hommes célebres de France,* Paris, 1774.
[19] Ruth S. Kraemer, 'Drawings by Gravelot in the Morgan Library: A Checklist', *Master Drawings*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1982, pp. 4-5.
[20] Gordon Ray, *The Art of the French Illustrated Book 1700-1914,* exhibition catalogue, New York and London, 1986.
[21] Owen Holloway, *French Rococo Book Illustration,* London, 1969.
[22] Roland Barthes, *L'obrie et l'obtus*, Paris, 1982, p. 30. Originally discussed in Roland Barthes, 'The Rhetoric of the Image', in *Image-Music-Text*, trans. Stephen Heath, London, 1977.

preventing an in-depth discussion of Voltaire's *La Pucelle*.[23] However, Stewart does offer a useful introduction to the relationship between the text and image for various editions of Voltaire's poem, including the 1762 edition, although this is mainly through an interpretation of the erotic content.

Nora Heimann's recent publication *Joan of Arc in French Art and Culture: from Satire to Sanctity (1700-1855)*[24] is the most up to-date research on Voltaire's *La Pucelle*. Heimann rightly sees the eighteenth century as the time in which the narrative of Jeanne d'Arc was widely known throughout Europe and that this has been ignored in scholarship. Heimann focuses on depictions of Jeanne d'Arc by various artists and within a large timeframe which means she examines only a few of Gravelot's illustrations. Heimann introduces the notion that the text and the images of *La Pucelle* can be understood through their underlying eighteenth-century social, political and religious significance, which my study explores in more depth. Like Stewart, Heimann approaches a study of *La Pucelle* by examining the relationship between the textual and visual aspects of the poem. Heimann and Stewart are the only writers that have discussed Gravelot's contribution to the 1762 edition of Voltaire's poem, although in both cases his work is examined in comparison to other illustrated editions of *La Pucelle* rather than as an individual object of study.

The Voltaire Foundation Oxford Journals, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* include articles such as John Leigh's 'Mock-epic history: *La Pucelle d'Orléans*'[25] and Jennifer Tsien's 'Voltaire and the temple of bad taste: a study of *La Pucelle d'Orléans*'.[26] These essays offer a thorough examination of *La Pucelle* as a mock-epic poem through an inversion of the conventions associated with a classical epic. In particular, Tsien and Leigh highlight the ways in which Voltaire's *La Pucelle* plays with

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[23] Philip Stewart, *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth Century,* London, 1992.
[24] Chapter One, 'Pornography as Hagiography and the Engendering of Virtue: Chapelain, Voltaire, and *The Maid of Orléans*', in Nora Heimann, *Joan of Arc in French Art and Culture: from Satire to Sanctity (1700-1855),* Aldershot, 2006.
[25] John Leigh, 'Mock-epic history: *La Pucelle d'Orléans*', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century,* Vol. 5, 2004, pp. 138-59.
[26] Jennifer Tsien, 'Voltaire and the temple of bad taste: a study of *La Pucelle d'Orléans', Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 5, 2003, pp. 291- 418.

Jeanne's ambiguous status as a female and peasant warrior. Both writers apply their theories to the text rather than giving equal consideration to the text and images. The first chapter of my thesis will continue to explore Voltaire's *La Pucelle* as a mock-epic poem but determine the ways that Gravelot's illustrations convey an understanding of Voltaire's choice of mock-epic conventions. Tsien's and Leigh's preoccupation with the classical elements of *La Pucelle*, however, means that their essays lack a consideration of the numerous scenes with religious connotations. Other essays from *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century,* such as Gloria Russo's 'Sexual roles and religious images in Voltaire's *La Pucelle'*[27] and Virgil Topazio's 'Voltaire's *Pucelle*: a study in burlesque',[28] offer a generalised overview of the ways to interpret Voltaire's *La Pucelle* through its sexual and religious content. Both of these essays neglect to take into account the numerous editions of *La Pucelle* produced throughout the eighteenth century, which resulted in important pictorial and textual differences and various ways to interpret the poem. By looking at existing scholarship it becomes apparent that the following areas need to be considered. Firstly, the key themes and subject matter of the text and images of the 1762 edition need to be identified, and secondly, their eighteenth-century significance established.

Jennifer Tsien has stated that Jeanne d'Arc received little attention during the French eighteenth century.[29] However, my research carried out at the Jeanne d'Arc Research Centre in Orléans uncovered that one or two extremely detailed accounts of the historical narrative were being produced annually during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France, for example Fresnoy's *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc* published in Amsterdam in 1759.[30] The poem's audiences could acquire additional information on the life of Jeanne d'Arc by reading the *Bibliothèque bleue.*[31] This

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[27] Gloria Russo, 'Sexual roles and religious images in Voltaire's *La Pucelle', Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 171, 1976.
[28] Virgil Topazio, 'Voltaire's *Pucelle*: a study in burlesque', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 2, 1956.
[29] Jennifer Tsien, 'Voltaire and the temple of bad taste: a study of *La Pucelle d'Orléans', Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 5, 2003, p. 305.
[30] Olivier Bouzy, 'manuscrits inutiles et auteur inconnus: la transmission du souvenir de Jeanne d'Arc du XVIIIe siècle', *Bulletin des Amis du Centre Jeanne d'Arc*, No. 26, 2002, pp. 23-52; also see, Lanéry d'Arc, *Bibliography of Works Related to Joan of Arc,* Paris, 1894.
[31] For discussion on the *Bibliothèque bleue* see: John McManners, *Church and Society*

evidence suggests that *La Pucelle's* audiences were able to differentiate between the original narrative of Jeanne d'Arc and the much altered storyline of Voltaire's poem and Gravelot's illustrations.

The earliest reference to Voltaire's *La Pucelle* was during the 1730s at a dinner party held by the Duc de Richelieu where the idea for the poem was conceived.[32] Voltaire initially intended his unpublished manuscript to circulate just amongst his close friends of the Parisian elite and the "Republic of Letters",[33] such as Frederick of Prussia, Mme Du Châtelet, Mme Du Deffand and Mme De Pompadour.[34] In 1755 Voltaire's poem was published and circulated by several unauthorised publishers and booksellers.[35] Voltaire insisted that he was not responsible for these unauthorised editions that had often suffered from textual alterations and included pornographic content.[36] Throughout the 1750s, the illegal editions transformed *La Pucelle* as a text not only for private usage by the aristocracy but, as I argue below, as one that was accessible to the middle classes. In 1754 Voltaire was exiled from Paris and Versailles by Louis XV and decided to settle in Geneva in Switzerland so he could keep in contact with his friends and publishers in Paris.[37] Geneva was the home of the well-known printers Gabriel and Philibert Cramer who published the 1762 edition of *La Pucelle.*[38]

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in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion, Oxford, 1998, pp. 195-6.

[32] Sebastien Longchamp and Jean-Louis Wagniere, *Memoires sur Voltaire, et ses Ouvrages*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1826, pp. 184-85.

[33] The "Republic of Letters" was made up of scholarly and literary figures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe. As is evident from its name, the circulation of hand written letters enabled intellectuals to correspond with each other and exchange ideas. Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment*, Ithaca and London, 1994.

[34] Jennifer Tsien, 'Voltaire and the temple of bad taste: a study of *La Pucelle d'Orléans', Studies on Voltaire and Eighteenth-Century France*, Vol. 5, 2003, pp. 301-4.

[35] Letter 5737 dated 9 August 1755 describes the conflict between Voltaire and the bookseller Grasset who was allegedly responsible for the leaking *La Pucelle* to the public. Theodore Besterman, *Correspondence and related documents*, Banbury, 1968.

[36] Margaret Chenais, 'New Light on the Publication of the *Pucelle'*, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth-Century*, Theodore Besterman (ed.), Vol. 12, 1960, pp. 26-32.

[37] Ian Davidson has speculated that Voltaire's expulsion may have been due to his decision to leave his post as an official office-holder at the court of Versailles and accept employment as Chamberlain at the court of Frederick II at Potsdam. Introduction, in Ian Davidson, *Voltaire in Exile,* London, 2005.

[38] Letter 9448 between Voltaire and Gabriel Cramer dated 1761-2. Theodore

I examine the 1762 edition of Voltaire's poem and Gravelot's illustrations as products of the eighteenth-century book trade and expanding print culture.[39] During the 1750s and 1760s in France there was a significant increase in levels of literacy and printed, oral and visual forms of communication, such as newssheets, pamphlets, poetry, novels, prints and songs.[40] This edition of *La Pucelle* was widely disseminated amongst the upper and middle classes which causes problems when determining class-related readerships.[41] This illustrated edition would have been too expensive for many belonging to the middle classes. More affordable copies of the poem were available without the illustrations, through lending libraries or as individual illustrated cantos bought from the bookseller.[42] The 1762 edition has the addition of annotations which we can assume were written by Voltaire and point to his attitudes towards his different reading publics who had different levels of understanding and may have needed guidance when reading the poem. In addition and most significantly, this edition benefited from Gravelot's illustrations that offered further assistance in decoding the text's meanings. I believe that Voltaire decided to publish this "authorised" edition of *La Pucelle* to protect himself from expulsion from his home in Switzerland and as a response to the anonymous editions that were circulated during the 1750s. However, the publication of this expurgated edition did not prevent variants of the poem from continuing to circulate.[43] Illegal and unauthorised editions of *La Pucelle* were published in printing houses on French borders and were circulated throughout France through

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Besterman, *Correspondence and related documents*, Banbury, 1968. Unfortunately the account book, the *Grand livre* belonging to the publishers Gabriel and Philibert Cramer does not provide the sales records for Voltaire's *La Pucelle*. Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, London, 1996, p. 52.

[39] Chapter Seven, 'Reading habits', in Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: an Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* trans. Marie Evans, Leamington Spa, 1987.

[40] Chapter Three, 'The Way of Print', in Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution,* trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Durham, 1991.

[41] For information on reading habits during the second half of the French eighteenth century see, Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Le Tableau de Paris*, 1781-8, in Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: an Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* trans. Marie Evans, Leamington Spa, 1987, p. 198.

[42] Chapter Three, 'Reading publics: transformation of the literary public sphere', in James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe,* Cambridge, 2001, pp. 104-7.

[43] Nora Heimann, *Joan of Arc in French Art and Culture: from Satire to Sanctity (1700-1855),* Aldershot, 2006, pp. 28-30.

the clandestine or underground book trade.[44] This was in response to French censorship laws that regulated material that was considered offensive to the monarchy and Catholic Church and had pornographic content.[45] As the 1762 edition of *La Pucelle* was published outside France in Geneva it was exempt from these laws.

The wider reading public, as the target audience for the 1762 edition of *La Pucelle,* were described by Jürgen Habermas as playing a key role in creating the "public sphere" of the Ancien Régime.[46] The increase of printed material and communication networks enabled the middle classes to render judgement on what they read, observed or experienced in the public realm.[47] In 1764 Voltaire wrote that, 'opinion governs the world, but in the long run it is the wise who govern opinion',[48] in which he highlighted the growing importance of public opinion. Throughout this thesis, I will consider the impact that eighteenth-century Enlightened, political and religious discourses had on the poem's audiences of the 1730s and 1760s. As there are no surviving copies of the poem written during the 1730s, I can only assume that this un-illustrated version was textually similar to the 1762 edition. My study, unlike previous research will consider the audiences' differing responses to *La Pucelle* within these time-frames depending on their social class,[49] current events in France and the Enlightened texts that were available to them.

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[44] Chapter Two, 'Best Sellers', in Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, London, 1996.
[45] Chapter Three, 'The Way of Print', in Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution,* trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Durham, 1991, pp. 46-7; Robert Darnton, 'Poetry and the Police in Eighteenth-Century Paris', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 371, 1991, pp. 1-22.
[46] Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, Neuwied, 1962, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* Cambridge, 1989.
[47] Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France,* Cambridge, 1994; Chapter Two, 'The Public Sphere and Public Opinion', in Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution,* trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Durham, 1991.
[48] J. A. W. Gunn, 'Queen of the World: Opinion in the Public Life of France from the Renaissance to the Revolution', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 328, 1995, p. 175.
[49] For more information on the social hierarchy in eighteenth-century Paris see, Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Le Tableau de Paris*, 1781-8, Jeffry Kaplow (ed.), Paris, 1979.

This thesis is split into three chapters. In the first chapter I discuss the view that Voltaire's *La Pucelle* and Gravelot's illustrations can be examined as a mock-epic poem through the inversion of conventions associated with the classical epic poem.[50] In particular, I focus on how the classical ideal of the male aristocratic warrior was reversed by introducing Jeanne as the female peasant warrior, through the blurring of gender roles and the inversion of established social spheres. Throughout the chapter I refer to Jeanne as a transvestite[51] warrior when discussing her attempts to adopt the appearance and behaviour of a male warrior. Using Bakhtin's theories on laughter, I draw upon the notion of the 'world-turned-upside-down' as an important part of the eighteenth-century carnivalesque tradition.[52] Natalie Zemon Davis' essay 'Women on top: symbolic sexual inversion and political disorder in early modern Europe'[53] provides a useful starting point. I also look at the debates of the Ancients and Moderns concerning the inclusion of women in epic-style poetry. I explore Voltaire's and Gravelot's portrayals of Jeanne in relation to eighteenth-century discourses on gender roles, sexual difference[54] and social order. I draw upon Lieselotte Steinbrügge's *The Moral Sex: Women's Nature in the French Enlightenment* for information on Enlightened views of women during the French eighteenth century.[55]

Chapter two is divided into two sections and offers an interpretation of the poem and illustrations in relation to eighteenth-century political discourses. Part one explores depictions of Charles VII's mistress, Agnès Sorel, and how she uses her erotic allure to

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[50] Ulrich Broich, *The eighteenth-century mock-heroic poem*, Cambridge, 1990.
[51] I will use the word 'transvestite', although I am aware that this is a modern term and according to the Oxford English Dictionary refers to men dressing as women. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries 'travestie' ('travesty') was in common usage and is still in use today. 'Travestie' is defined in Jean-Baptiste Coignard's *Le Grand Dictionnaire de l'Academie Françoise* of 1695-6 as, 'desguiser en saisant prendre l'habit d'un autre sexe' ('the disguise of dressing in the clothing of the opposite sex'), Vol. 2, p. 346.
[52] Bakhtin Mikhail, *Rabelais and His World,* trans. Helene Iswolsky, Indiana, 1984.
[53] Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Women on top: symbolic sexual inversion and political disorder in early modern Europe', in *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, Barbara A. Babcock (ed.), New York, 1972.
[54] Sex-specific differences are defined as the biological variations between the sexes, whereas gender-specific differences refer to the socially-constructed roles given to men and women.
[55] Lieselotte Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Women's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, trans. Pamela Selwyn, Oxford, 1995.

distract the king and other male characters from their military duties. I consider the eighteenth-century significance of Agnès's behaviour in terms of anxieties surrounding the *salonniéres* and royal courtesans. Part two examines depictions of Charles VII and the notion of kingship where I draw comparisons between Charles VII's poor military leadership and the eighteenth-century public criticisms surrounding the reign of King Louis XV (1715-74, reigned from 1723 until his death).

Chapter three is divided into three sections and will explore the poem and illustrations within a religious context. Although I fully appreciate that separating religion from secular politics in extremely difficult when studying eighteenth-century France, the final chapter focuses on religious discourses that existed in the "public sphere", including the Enlightened texts of Voltaire and other *philosophes*. As a continual theme, *La Pucelle's* audience were encouraged to distinguish between the characters' exemplary and counter-exemplary Christian behaviour. Part one of the chapter shows how Voltaire's and Gravelot's comical references to clerical superstition were an attempt to criticise the eighteenth-century conflicts within orders of the Catholic Church and to emphasise the disruptions these were causing to the population's devotional practices. Part two and part three examine the ways that Voltaire and Gravelot were mocking the Church's teachings on clerical and pre-marital sexual abstinence, and female virginity.[56]

[56] Voltaire chose to emphasise Jeanne's sexuality by using "la pucelle" meaning "the virgin" in the title of his poem. 'Pucelle', in Jean-Baptiste Coignard, *Le Grand Dictionnaire de l'Academie Françoise,* Paris, 1695-6, Vol. 2, p. 162

Chapter One

Jeanne d'Arc as the Lower-Class and Female Warrior

Le ciel pour la former, fit un rare melange,
De virtue d'une Fille, et d'un Homme et d'un Ange
[To create her, heaven made a rare mixture,
of the virtues of a girl, a man, and an angel]
Jean Chapelain[57]

As the title quotation taken from Jean Chapelain's mock-epic poem *La Pucelle, ou La France Deliverée* of 1656 suggests, the important feature of the legend of Jeanne d'Arc is her status as a female warrior who possesses the virtues of both sexes. According to the original legend, when Charles VII met Jeanne at Chinon on 6 March 1429 he was shocked at her appearance in male dress and he requested that she be physically examined by his mother-in-law Marie of Anjou, Queen of Sicily, and her ladies.[58] Prior to her mission Jeanne was also sent to the University of Poitiers for an ecclesiastical investigation into her sexuality.[59] Jean Pasquerel's testimony during the rehabilitation hearings of 1450-6 stated that Charles VII wanted to know 'if she was a man or woman, and if she was a virgin or corrupt'.[60] The tests confirmed Jeanne's femininity and sexual status as a virgin. Furthermore, they validated Jeanne's claim that God had commanded her to wear male clothing to ensure success in her mission.[61]

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[57] Extract from Jean Chapelain, *La Pucelle, ou La France Deliverée*, 1656, cited in Ingvald Raknem, *Joan of Arc in History, Legend and Literature*, Oslo, 1971, p. 270.
[58] Chapter Two, 'Joan meets her Dauphin', in Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, London, 2000.
[59] Chapter Four, 'Transvestism on Trial: The Case of Jeanne d'Arc' in, Valerie Hotchkiss, *Clothes make the Men: Female Cross-dressing in Medieval Europe,* New York and London, 1996, pp. 51.
[60] This quote was taken from *Procès de condemnation et de rehabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La pucelle,* compiled and edited by Jules Quicherat, Vol. 3, Paris, 1841-9, pp. 102, 209-10.
[61] Chapter Four, 'Transvestism on Trial: The Case of Jeanne d'Arc' in, Valerie Hotchkiss, *Clothes make the Men: Female Cross-dressing in Medieval Europe,* New York and London, 1996, p. 50.

The ambivalent attitude towards female transvestism in the Middle Ages[62] and in the eighteenth century is evidenced in Voltaire's *La Pucelle* and Gravelot's illustrations. In discussing Gravelot's work I will draw upon certain aspects of the eighteenth century's carnivalesque tradition originating in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[63] *La Pucelle's* elite audience,[64] as well as the wider reading public,[65] also read eighteenth-century reprints of François Rabelais' sixteenth-century novel of carnivalesque folk culture.[66] Carnival festivities acted as a temporary release for the common people, the 'low', from 'official life' which included ecclesiastical, feudal and political ceremonials and festivities that were dominated by the socially 'high'.[67] There existed throughout the eighteenth century, however, opportunities for the social elite to adopt and enjoy the carnivalesque spirit through masked balls.[68] Étienne Jeaurat's (1699-1789) *Le Carnaval*, *Paris* (*The Carnival, Paris*) exhibited at the Salon of 1751 (fig. 4) depicts those belonging to the lower and middle classes interacting and enjoying the spectacle of a street carnival. In the background of this image a man has adopted the appearance of the opposite sex by wearing women's clothing, an example of transvestism.[69] Whether at balls or on the streets, carnival humour offered temporary freedom from hierarchical rank and socially-constructed normative behaviour. Carnival festivities can be understood in terms of its comical effects through the inversion of conventional hierarchies, the use of masks and disguises through costume, and references to the lower bodily stratum. In the illustrations by Gravelot discussed in this chapter, these aspects, when placed in relation to Jeanne, were to be enjoyed by *La Pucelle's* audience.

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[62] Chapter Seven, 'Ideal Androgyne', in Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: the image of female heroism,* Harmondsworth, 1983.
[63] Introduction, in Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* trans. Helene Iswolsky, Indiana, 1984.
[64] Sebastien Longchamp and Jean-Louis Wagniere, *Memoires sur Voltaire, et ses Ouvrages*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1826, pp. 184-85.
[65] Chapter Two, 'Who were the 'le peuple'' and Chapter Seven, 'Reading Habits', in Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: an Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* trans. Marie Evans, Leamington Spa, 1987.
[66] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* trans. Helene Iswolsky, Indiana, 1984, pp. 59-60.
[67] *Ibid,* pp. 5-6.
[68] James H. Johnson, 'Versailles, Meet Les Halles: Masks, Carnival and the French Revolution', *Representations*, No. 73, 2001, pp. 89-116.
[69] This figure's costume is a licensed part of the carnival ritual, whereas Jeanne's masculine clothing, although reminiscent of the carnivalesque, is what she wears in ordinary life.

Aspects of the carnivalesque were popularised in eighteenth-century France through satirical prints. One of the most popular themes of these prints was the celebration of the 'world-turned-upside-down'. For example, prints known as *Le Monde Renversé (The Reversible World)* (fig. 5) were published by Louis-Joseph Mondhard in c. 1765 in Paris.[70] One of the engravings in this collection is entitled, *The Women has the Musket, Her Husband the Distaff, And in Addition He Rocks the Infant on His Knees* (fig. 6). This print depicts the 'woman-on-top' motif and acts as an example of gender inversion through the switching of established gender roles.[71] Throughout this chapter I discuss to what extent Voltaire's and Gravelot's portrayals of Jeanne and their use of comical reversals either reinforce existing gender hierarchies and social order or subvert them.[72] It is, therefore, of primary importance to establish an understanding of eighteenth-century French discourses on socially-constructed gender roles and sexual difference. I argue that in Voltaire's poem and Gravelot's illustrations Jeanne undergoes a transformation from a woman temporarily disguised as a man to a potent sexual being, via the exposure of her body and erotic allure. This transformation acted as a way of inviting the poem's audience to seek pleasure in the work, as well as defining for them the limits of acceptable behaviour.

This chapter also examines *La Pucelle* with Gravelot's illustrations as a mock-epic poem, through the inversion or reversal of the established conventions of a classical epic poem.[73] A mock-epic poem is not intended to ridicule but rather to venerate the

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[70] Mary L. Bellhouse, 'Visual Myths of Female Identity in Eighteenth-Century France', *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1991, pp. 119-22.
[71] The notion of the subversive woman in eighteenth-century France is set in mythological and religious tradition. Chapter One, ''The Disorder of Women': Women, Love, and the Sense of Justice', in Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory,* Cambridge, 1989; Introduction and Chapter Five, 'Bourgeois Hysteria and the Carnivalesque', in Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, Ithaca and New York, 1986; Lynne friedli, Chapter Nine, ''Passing women' – a study of gender boundaries in the eighteenth century', in G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, *Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment,* Manchester, 1987.
[72] Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Women on top: symbolic sexual inversion and political disorder in early modern Europe', in *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, Barbara A. Babcock (ed.), New York, 1972, pp. 147-90.
[73] Carnival humour especially the use of comic reversals has classical precedence.

classical poem as the highest literary genre with its emphasis on the heroic and ancient world.[74] Voltaire and Gravelot informed their audience of the mock-epic nature of *La Pucelle* by combining 'low' or trivial subject matter with the 'high' status of the epic form.[75] As noted above, this was established through representations of Jeanne and the convolution of established gender roles. However, it was also achieved through the reversal of established social spheres that placed Jeanne the peasant in the role of aristocratic warrior, thus elevating her status. *La Pucelle's* audience were notified of Jeanne's social status as a member of the Third Estate when Voltaire wrote:

> Such was the monk whom Joan claimed for a sire.
> A chambermaid, robust and hale to view,
> Was the blessed mold wherein our pastor threw.[76]

This passage also refers to the monk's violation of his Catholic vows of sexual abstinence, a theme that will be discussed in Chapter Three. The poem's audience were to form a social cohesion and view the character of Jeanne as morally and socially inferior and thus comically out of place, as the 'Other'.[77]

Voltaire and Gravelot, in producing *La Pucelle,* were intervening in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century arguments of the Ancients and the Moderns. [78] It is reasonable to assume that the readers of the poem would have been familiar with this long running debate. Opinions were divided between these two literary communities regarding contemporary epic-inspired productions based on the classical epic poems

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Chapter One, 'Rabelais and the History of Laughter', in Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* trans. Helene Iswolsky, Indiana, 1984.

[74] Ulrich Broich, *The eighteenth-century mock-heroic poem*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 64-7.

[75] *Ibid*, p. 65.

[76] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Two, p68. 'Moine autrefois, de Jeanne fut le pére./ Une robuste & grasse Chambriére/ Fut l'heureux moule où ce pasteur jetta.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 21).

[77] For information on the superiority theories of laughter see, John Morreall, *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humour*, New York, 1987.

[78] I am uncertain as to whether this debate was still running during the 1760s but it can be assumed that the readers of the poem would have had an understanding of this earlier debate.

of Homer and Virgil.[79] Prominent areas of contention between the Ancients and the Moderns included the theme of heroism and the debate surrounding women's participation in the military in mock-epic poetry.[80] The Ancients reinstated the scholastic debates of Aristotle and Plato, who valued the traditional view of male heroism and argued that women were intellectually inferior and physically weaker in comparison to the opposite sex.[81] However, the Moderns attempted to redefine the notion of heroism to include women in the seventeenth-century epic-inspired poems.[82] *La Pucelle's* audience were familiar with this literary debate through the academic practices of the French Académie and the visual arts exhibited in the Salon and the associated pamphlet literature.[83]

I believe that Gravelot refused to take a definite stance on the side of the Ancients or the Moderns and that he was engaging with the existing ambiguous stance of Voltaire as can be seen in the poem of *La Pucelle*.[84] In fact, I would contend that Voltaire and Gravelot incorporated the arguments of the Ancients *and* the Moderns in the 1762 edition. On the one hand, they parodied the Moderns' decision to include women in mock-epic poetry by plotting Jeanne's downfall and emphasising her unsuitability as a

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[79] Seventeenth-and eighteenth-century writings that discuss the Ancient and Modern debate include, the Modern Charles Perrault's *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes,* Paris, 1688-92, and Jean Chapelain's *De la lecture des vieux romans*, Paris, 1870, and the Ancient Nicholas Despréaux-Boileau's *Dialogue des héros de romans: Satire X,* Paris, 1688.

[80] Bradley Rubidge 'The Querelle de la Pucelle and the gender of epic heroes', *Papers on French Seventeenth-Century literature*, Vol. 19, No. 37, 1992, pp. 457-64.

[81] James M. Blythe, 'Women in the military: Scholastic arguments and medieval images of female warriors', *History of Political Thought,* Vol. XXII, No. 2, 2001, pp. 254-5.

[82] In the preface of the 1762 edition of *La Pucelle* Voltaire clearly states his intention to mock Jean Chapelain's *La Pucelle, ou La France Déliverée* of 1656 because of his decision to place a female peasant from French history rather than a male aristocratic warrior as the main protagonist of his mock-epic poem.

[83] Richard Wrigley, *The Origins of French Art Criticism: From the Ancien Régime to the Restoration*, Oxford, 1993. Originating in the seventeenth century and progressing into the eighteenth century was the quarrel between painters and art critics over the pre-eminent importance of drawing over a concern for colour. Paul Duro, *The Academy and the Limits of Painting in Seventeenth-Century France,* Cambridge, 1997.

[84] Although in his 1733 poem *Le Temple du Goût* (*The Temple of Taste*) Voltaire clearly takes the side of the Ancients in defending classical *biénseance* (*propriety)*. Jennifer Tisen, 'Voltaire and the Temple of bad taste: A Study of *La Pucelle d'Orléans*', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 5, 2003, pp. 291-3.

female and lower-class warrior. On the other hand, they mocked the Ancients' values of male heroism taken from the classical epic by emphasising the non-normative and uncontrolled behaviour of the English soldiers, with particular emphasis on their sexual follies and violence. Nor do Voltaire and Gravelot offer alternative heroes in the form of French soldiers and priests. These are the determining factors dealt with in the following discussion of Gravelot's illustrations.

In eighteenth-century France, the nature of men and women were being rethought by the *philosophes*. The emerging salons and expanding print culture played an important role in circulating Enlightened debates on the equality of the sexes in terms of reason, the biological differences between the sexes and the gender-specific roles attributed to the men and women.[85] The eighteenth-century debates concerning the equality of the sexes included works such as Philippe Florent de Puisieux's *La femme n'est pas inférieure à l'homme* (*Woman is not inferior to man*) of 1750 and Dom Philippe-Joseph Caffiaux's *Défenses du beau sexe* (*Defences of the fair sex*) of 1753. These scholars took as their starting point, François Poulain de la Barre's pamphlet *De l'égalité des deux sexes* (*On the equality of the two sexes*) of 1673.[86] Poulain de la Barre's famous saying that "l'esprit n'a point de sexe" ("reason has no sex"),[87] asserted that both sexes were capable of acquiring reason. Despite these attempts to promote sexual equality, the eighteenth century saw the emergence of an image of women that placed a new value on domestic virtue.[88] The article 'Femme [*Morale*]' ('Woman [*Moral*]') in Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*[89] of 1751-72 reinstated an ancient prejudice concerning woman's relationship to her sexual morals and her role as an exemplary figure of social

[85] Dena Goodman, 'Women and the Enlightenment', in Renate Bridenthal et al., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, Boston and London, 1997, p. 233.
[86] Chapter One, 'Reason Has No Sex', in Lieselotte Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Women's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, trans. Pamela Selwyn, Oxford, 1995.
[87] François Poulain de la Barre, *De l'égalité des deux sexes*, Paris, 1673, p. 59.
[88] Introduction, in Lieselotte Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Women's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, trans. Pamela Selwyn, Oxford, 1995; Marlene LeGates, 'The Cult in Womanhood in Eighteenth-Century Thought', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1976, pp. 21-39.
[89] I was unable to find out what date this article appeared in the *Encyclopédie* which means that it cold have been written after Voltaire's *La Pucelle*. Diderot and d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des science, des arts et des métiers*, 35 volumes, Paris, 1751-72.

behaviour.[90] In the section entitled 'Femme [*Anthropologie*]' ('Woman [*Anthropology*]') is defined as 'femelle de l'homme' ('the female of man').[91] In contrast the article 'Homme [*Morale*]' ('Man [*Moral]*') offers no gender-specific definition of the male but instead a general definition of the human being.[92]

The eighteenth century was also a period when the sex-specific or biological characteristics attributed to men and women developed and diverged. According to Thomas Laqueur, prior to the eighteenth century sexual difference had been understood through the 'one-sex' model in which women and men were seen as having the same humoral system but with significant variations.[93] Whilst women were associated with the cold and moist humours, men were linked with the hot and dry. In the eighteenth century the two-sex concept of the male and female body was conceived in which the sexes were viewed as anatomically different.[94] An increase in knowledge in modern medicine at this time meant that the human body became of increased interest,[95] for example Diderot's and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* includes studies of the human anatomy. These developments coincided with the existing preference for the idealised human form in the visual arts as well as the life drawing in the French Académie.[96] The eighteenth century also saw an increase in the amount of pornographic literature and imagery being produced for public consumption through the clandestine book trade that placed an emphasis on the body, in particular the female nude.[97]

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[90] Lieselotte Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Women's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, trans. Pamela Selwyn, Oxford and New York, 1995, p. 32.
[91] *Ibid*, pp. 21-2.
[92] *Ibid*, p. 21.
[93] Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 5.
[94] Chapter Two, 'Sexual difference', in Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture,* Cambridge, 2004.
[95] Angelica Godden, 'Scrutinising the body: anatomy and propriety in eighteenth-century France', in History of Ideas-Travel writing-History of the book-Enlightenment and antiquity, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 1, 2005, pp. 7-18; Peter Wagner, 'The discourse on sex – or sex as discourse: eighteenth-century medical and paramedical erotica', in G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, *Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment,* Manchester, 1987.
[96] Chapter Eight, 'Life Drawing', in Carl Goldstein, *Teaching Art: Academies and Schools from Vasari to Albers,* Cambridge, 1996.
[97] Chapter Three, 'Philosophical Pornography', in Robert Darnton, *Forbidden Best-*

La Pucelle's audience of the 1760s were to draw upon these discourses whilst reading the poem and observing Jeanne in the illustrations for Cantos Two, Eleven and Thirteen. Like the majority of the *philosophes*, Voltaire believed that different social roles attributed to the sexes would maintain order in society.[98] The hierarchy of power between the genders was certainly not substantially changed for the majority of the Third Estate. Whilst women belonging to the bottom of the social hierarchy in eighteenth-century France, like those of the Middle Ages were responsible for reproduction and child-rearing, it is important to note that they also worked for a living.[99] Jeanne in *La Pucelle* has transcended the private sphere by rejecting her maternal role and instead has become involved in political action, a non-normative activity for a woman, thereby, erasing the established gender hierarchy and unbalancing the social structure. In *The Traditions of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe,* Rudolf Dekker and Lotte van der Pol describe:

> Prints which constituted a genre in itself, namely those with the themes of 'the world turned upside down' and 'women on top', or 'the battle of the trousers' […]. Next to drawings such as 'The servant strikes his master', 'The man carries his horse' or 'The fish sit in the trees'; one always finds prints such as 'The woman goes to war'.[100]

The three cantos and illustrations of *La Pucelle* that are discussed in this chapter

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Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France, London, 1996; Julie Peakman, 'Bodily anxieties in Enlightenment sex literature', in History of Ideas-Travel writing-History of the book-Enlightenment and antiquity, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 1, 2005, pp. 19-30.

[98] Natalie Boymel Kampen, 'The Muted Other: Gender and Morality in Augustan Rome and Eighteenth-Century Europe', in Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, Colorado, 1992.

[99] Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, London, 1998, p. 526.

[100] Images of gender inversion were available to the lower classes through books, songs, stories and during festivities. The middle and upper classes also encountered gender and sexual topsy-turvy in the theatre. Rudolf Dekker and Lotte van der Pol, *The Traditions of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe,* Basingstoke, 1989, p. 95.

represent Jeanne as 'the woman [who] goes to war'. In Gravelot's image for Canto Two (fig. 7) Jeanne and St. Denis, fly over the English camp near Orlèans on the way to meet Charles VII at the royal court at Tours. In the accompanying text St. Denis cites the episodes from Homer's *Iliad* and Virgil's *Aeneid* in which the warriors enter the enemy camp at night and massacre the sleeping soldiers.[101] Jeanne is dared by St. Denis to test her courage and imitate the behaviour of the soldiers in the classical epics. Jeanne replies to St. Denis:

> "But I would have little courage,
> to kill people who do not fight".[102]

Jeanne's decision not to slaughter the sleeping men in Canto Two clearly refers to Voltaire's ambiguous views towards the Ancients and the classical epic in which he admired male heroism but criticised violence.[103] Another reason for Jeanne's passive behaviour in Canto Two, however, could simply refer to her unsuitable role as a female warrior and her lack of physical strength when wearing heavy armour and lifting weapons to slaughter the sleeping and defenceless warriors. As a comical twist, the text for Canto Two tells of how:

> Joan seized the pen, and with a hand refined,
> Three flower de luces on his breeches designed.[104]

In her refusal to obey St. Denis Jeanne decides instead to test her courage by drawing three fleur-de-lys, the symbol of the French kings, on the buttocks of Monrose, the

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[101] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Two, p. 78. Jeanne replies that she is not familiar with these texts, '"I never yet the page historic read"' which is meant to signify her illiteracy. 'Jeanne lui dit, Je n'ai point lû l'histoire.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 31).
[102] *Ibid*, Canto Two, p. 78. '"Mais je serais d'un courage bien bas,/ De tuer gens qui ne combattent pas."' (Geneva, 1762, p. 31).
[103] Jean-Claude Bonnet, *La Naissance du Panthéon: essai sur le culte des grands homes,* Paris, 1998, p. 30.
[104] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Two, p79. 'Jeanne prend l'encre,/ et sa main lui dessine trois fleurs de lys,/ juste dessous l'échine.' (Geneva 1762, p. 33).

English pageboy.[105] The exposure of Monrose's private parts in Gravelot's image for Canto Two is a prominent characteristic of carnivalesque humour. This act carried out by Jeanne in the image for Canto Two relies on textual explanation to the audience because the fleur-de-lys cannot be clearly discerned from the illustration. According to the text for Canto Two, Jeanne:

> Whose virgin hand revived the drooping flower,
> And gave to Gallia's lily tenfold power;
> Rescued its monarch from the impending fate,
> So dreaded from victorious England's hate;
> Made him give praise at Rheims to God adored.[106]

In Gravelot's image for Canto Two, Jeanne is shown wearing the breeches or culottes of the sleeping English knight, John Chandos, to complete her disguise in masculine garb. The above quotation by Dekker and van der Pol can be applied to Canto Two, as literately 'the battle of the breaches'. The anonymous engraving *Mauvais Menage et Débat pour La Culotte* (*Unhappy Household and Fight for the Trousers*) of 1690 (fig. 8) depicts a man and women dressed in rags and with one leg in each of the breach's legs in an attempt to prevent the other from wearing the garment. This print explores the emasculating act and the physical intervention of the woman through her attempt to force the man to relinquish his leg-wear and to adopt his appearance and masculine characteristics of strength and dominance.

Gravelot's illustration for Canto Two depicts Jeanne in full armour, a key symbol throughout *La Pucelle* of non-normative representations of gender through the use of clothing. Jeanne's true identity is disguised by wearing masculine attire, with her femininity only partially revealed by the curvature of her breastplate.[107] In previous art

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[105] For the definition of fleur-de-lys see, James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, London, 1974.
[106] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto One, p. 33. 'Elle affermit de ses pucelles mains,/ Des fleurs de lys la tige Gallicane,/ Sauva son Roi de la rage Anglicane',/ Et le fit oindre au maitre-autel de Rheims.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 1).
[107] The text for Canto Two further emphasises Jeanne's sexual ambiguity by describing the collection of armour and weapons that have been passed down to

historical tradition Jeanne d'Arc is conventionally depicted wearing armour, for example in an eighteenth-century edition of Pierre Le Moyne's *La Galerie des Femmes Fortes* (*The Gallery of Strong Women*) originally published in 1647 (fig. 9) and an anonymous seventeenth-century portrait of Jeanne d'Arc from the French School (fig. 10). She has also been depicted with the addition of a tunic-like dress in Zacharie Heince and François Bignon's engraving *Puella Aureliaca* of 1690 (fig. 11) in *Les Hommes illustres et grands capitaines françois qui sont peints dans la galerie du Palais Royal* (*The great and illustrious Frenchmen whose paintings are hung in the gallery of the Royal Palace*) of 1690. In the illustrations for Cantos Two, Eleven and Thirteen of *La Pucelle*, Gravelot depicted Jeanne and the male knights wearing a form of Ancient Roman military uniform.[108] I believe that Gravelot's choice of uniform for Jeanne supported Voltaire's decision to construct *La Pucelle* as a mock-epic poem, in which one of the principle conventions is to parody the Ancient world. The armour is of an Imperial-Gallic style of the first and second century AD. Features include a tunic under the armour, a baldric or sash worn over one shoulder to hold the sword, segmental armour consisting of overlapped curved bands of iron and a helmet with the thick brow, neck and cheek guards and a decorative feather coming out of the top.

The illustration for Canto Eleven (fig. 12) shows how Jeanne's dominion over the English male soldiers is brought to an end as Gravelot divested her completely of her armour so that she is found in the ludicrous position of fighting in the nude. The poem's audience would remember that this change to Jeanne's appearance is because Charles VII's mistress Agnès stole Jeanne's armour in Canto Three. Jeanne, by losing her disguise as a transvestite warrior undergoes the process of bodily shaming and comical unmasking. She is reduced to a state in which she is only permitted to successfully engage in military combat once her sexuality has been fully exposed. This motif is firmly set in art historical tradition, for example, the woodcut *Phyllis riding Aristotle,* by Hans Baldung (c. 1480-1545) of 1513 (fig. 13) offers a similar scene in which Phyllis is portrayed in a dominant position riding on the back of Aristotle whilst

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Jeanne from figures of the Old Testament of both genders, such as the harness of St. Michael, the sword of Judith and the helmet of Deborah. *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Two, p. 75. (Geneva, 1762, p. 28).

[108] Henry Russell Robinson, *The Armour of Imperial Rome*, London, 1975.

her gender is exposed through her nudity. Other examples include an engraving by Martin Treu of c. 1540-3 (fig. 14) and the pirate Anne Bonny, illustrated in *Historie der Engelsche Zee-Rovers* of 1725 (fig. 15) both showing women dressed in masculine clothing yet objectified through their revealed breasts.[109] Gravelot's illustration for Canto Eleven of *La Pucelle*, like Moreau le Jeune's (1741-1814) image for the same canto of the 1789 Kehl edition (fig. 16) depicts Jeanne in the moment prior to her slaughter of the English knight Wharton who is shown bent over a half naked nun. Whereas le Jeune placed Jeanne's massacre at centre stage, Gravelot had Jeanne in the background with a stocky physique and drawn in a sketchy style (fig. 17). Gravelot may have wished to emphasise Jeanne's lack of nobility and beauty by portraying her as a stereotypical lower-class woman whose strength is the result of manual labour.[110]

Instead of simply depicting a skirmish between the French and English soldiers, the text and the illustration for Canto Eleven of *La Pucelle* represents the battle between the sexes. The outcome of the military battle between France and England is in the hands of the patron saint of France, St. Denis, and St. George of England who are pictured in the midst of a duel in the celestial sphere. In Gravelot's image the English army have invaded the convent but instead of massacring the nuns the soldiers are ravishing them. The most outrageous sexual attack is shown in the bottom right of the image where a knight is placing his hand under the dress of a nun who lies defenceless on the ground (fig. 19). This intense struggle between the soldiers and the semi-clothed women in Gravelot's image shares a similar compositional format and subject matter to Nicholas Poussin's (1594-1665) *The Rape of the Sabine Women* of 1633-7 (fig.

[109] Eighteenth-century readers of *La Pucelle* would also have been familiar with the topic of Amazons which was embedded in contemporary literature and the arts.
[110] This image leads me to believe that this was a standard artistic convention when portraying women of this social standing. Étienne Jeaurat's *Place Maubert, Paris* exhibited at the Salon of 1748 (fig. 18) depicts lower-class women with noticeably muscular builds selling produce at a market. Voltaire notifies the poem's audience that St. Denis finds Jeanne working in an inn. 'Twas at an inn, her age not quite sixteen, That Joan the stable there engaged to clean;/ […] Her large plump hands for every work were good,/She'd carry burdens, empty cans of wine,/ Serve peasant, noble, citizens, divine'. *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto One, pp. 68-9. 'Vers les seize ans en une hotellerie/ On l'engagea pour servir l'écurie,/ [...] Et d'une mains potelée & nerveuse/ Soutient fardeaux, verse cent brocs de vins,/ Sert le bourgeois, le noble, le robin.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 21).

20) and Peter Paul Rubens' (1577-1640) painting of the same title of 1635 (fig. 21).[111] In the foreground of Gravelot's image for Canto Eleven, the English knight Chandos rudely attempts to touch Agnès' breasts by lifting up the guimpe, a form of religious head wear worn by nuns. Agnès and the nuns are unable to rely on their religious clothing for protection against male advances. In the left foreground, a sword and helmet lie discarded on the ground, these are clearly part of Chandos's military uniform and signify his sexual preparedness with regards to Agnès.[112] Alongside these objects is a book, possibly the Bible which signifies the soldier's forgotten religious and virtuous conduct. On the far right of the image, two statues of women in long robes stand embedded in niches that decorate the façade of the church and view the sacrilege with sorrowful expression.

Gravelot's decision to stage the scene for Canto Eleven outside a classical French Church, invited the audience to form a connection to the Ancient world and the classical epic poem. Gravelot conveyed his knowledge of classically-inspired architecture by incorporating aspects such as rows of steps leading to two pairs of Corinthian pillars supporting either side of the pedimented façade, niches cut into the exterior wall and coffering decorating the doorway ceiling.[113] The churches of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont completed in 1653-55 (fig. 22), and Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis built between 1627 and 1741 (fig. 23), both located in Paris provide useful comparisons. The knights in the image for Canto Eleven wear the same Ancient Roman armour as Jeanne in the image for Canto Two. Consequently, Voltaire and Gravelot were conveying their disapproval of the sexual escapades and violence of the Ancient warriors in classical epics. In Homer's *Iliad,* for example, the raping of women by the male warriors was seen as acceptable behaviour.[114] For Canto Eleven, Voltaire and Gravelot were defying classical literary convention that asked that amorous intrigue be

[111] These paintings are representations of an episode from Roman history in which the first generation of Roman men acquired wives from the neighbouring Sabine tribes.
[112] Chapter Two will involve a closer analysis of the portrayals of Agnès and her sexual adventures.
[113] For more information on French churches see, Robert Laffont, *Dictionnaire des Églises de France: Paris et ses Environs*, Belgium, 1968.
[114] Natalie Boymel Kampen, 'The Muted Other: Gender and Morality in Augustan Rome and Eighteenth-Century Europe', in Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, Colorado, 1992, p. 162.

kept to a minimum. In his *Republic* Plato warned that the inclusion of women would distract male soldiers from their military duties.[115] Arguably, for Canto Eleven Voltaire and Gravelot were simultaneously mocking the Moderns' claims of female heroism whilst critiquing the Ancients' military values that licensed sexual violence.

Gravelot's illustration for Canto Thirteen (fig. 24) stages another erotically charged battle between the sexes, on this occasion between Jeanne and the English knight Chandos. This image portrays the moment after the fall of Jeanne and her winged ass steed in battle. Jeanne's winged ass is a mixture of the 'high' status of a horse and the 'low' rank of the donkey. The article 'Asne' in Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* of 1690,[116] as well as the verses 'Le Lion et l'âne chassant' ('The Lion and the ass hunting') and 'L'âne et le petit chien' ('The ass and the lapdog') from La Fontaine's *Fables choisies* of 1668 place the ass in art historical, as well as literary, tradition as symbolising foolishness, in particular human folly. The ass also has ties to the carnivalesque tradition, the 'feast of the ass' processions in which people disguised themselves as clowns and fools.[117] Voltaire's decision to include a winged animal in his poem had classical precedence, for example, Apuleius' *Métamorphoses* (known as the "*The Golden Ass"*) from the second century AD and Pegasus the winged horse from Greek mythology.[118] The poem's audience were to ridicule Jeanne's and the winged ass' fall in battle in Canto Thirteen. This could be viewed as an inevitable outcome as a result of their mistaken belief in themselves as a convincing warrior and war horse respectively.

Gravelot's image for Canto Thirteen shows Jeanne lying motionless in the grounds of a

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[115] Plato, *The Republic*, in *The Dialogues of Plato*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, Vol. 2, Oxford, 1953, pp. 231-3. Yet Plato goes on to state in his *Politics* that women and men should fight alongside each other and have equal opportunity to acquire military training, See James M. Blythe, 'Women in the military: scholastic arguments and medieval images of female warriors', *History of Political Thought,* Vol. XXII, No. 2, 2001, pp. 243-4.

[116] 'Asne', in Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, Rotterdam, 1690.

[117] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* trans. Helene Iswolsky, Indiana, 1984, pp. 5, 78.

[118] Chapter Three, 'The animal epic', in Jennifer Tsien, 'Voltaire and the Temple of bad taste: A Study of *La Pucelle d'Orléans'*, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 5, 2003.

castle. The accompanying text explains that Jeanne and Chandos were hit by two balls on ropes, but offers no further explanation as to who is responsible for throwing the weapon.[119] In the image Chandos, who kneels at Jeanne's side, has just removed her breastplate and stares avidly at her breasts that are exposed through her loose undergarments. This is mirrored by the accompanying text:

> She fell, in short, as maidens ought to fall.
> […] Quickly the thongs of breastplate he unlaced:
> Oh Heaven! Oh Wonder! lo! his optics strike
> […] Two swelling breasts in contour both alike;
> "She's mine", he cried, "the boasted maid of Gaul,
> Revenge is satisfied, I've doomed her fall ["].[120]

In fact Chandos until this moment has been unaware of Jeanne's true identity having previously failed to notice that Jeanne wore a breastplate designed for a woman. In a similar vein, Gravelot's illustration for Canto Three of Torquato Tasso's mock-epic poem *Jérusalem délivrée* of 1774 (fig. 25) depicts the battle between Tancred and Clorinda at the point where her helmet is cast off, thus revealing her true identity. The protective power of Jeanne's transvestism is reversed in Gravelot's illustration for Canto Thirteen of *La Pucelle*. Gravelot, by emphasising Jeanne's soft pale skin, frail body and passive behaviour incorporates the argument of Aristotle that women are not physically designed for warfare nor do they possess suitable temperaments.[121] According to an early account of Jeanne's life in the anonymous work, *La Chronique de la Pucelle (The Life of the Maid)* of c. 1467, Jeanne expressed the need to wear male

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[119] 'Thus when two cords of equal length made tight,/ Attach two balls suspended to the sight'. *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Thirteen, p. 87. 'Ainsi qu'on voit deux boules suspendues,/ Aux bouts éqaux des deux cordes tenduës.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 236).

[120] *Ibid*, Canto Thirteen, p. 89. 'Et comme il faut que tombe toute fille./ […] De la cuirasse il défait les cordons./ Il voit, ô Ciel! ô plaisir! ô merveille!/ Deux gros tetons de figure pareille,/ […] Elle est à moi la Pucelle de France,/ S'écria-t-il, contentions ma vengeance.' (Geneva, 1762, pp. 237-8).

[121] James M. Blythe, 'Women in the military: scholastic arguments and medieval images of female warriors', *History of Political Thought,* Vol. XXII, No. 2, 2001, pp. 254-6.

disguise for defensive purposes during warfare and to protect herself from sexual advances:

> 'Je coy bien qu'il vous semble estrange, et non sans cause; mais il fault, pour ce que je me doibs armer et server le gentil dauphin en armes, que je prenne les habillemens procipes et necessaries a ce; et aussi quand je serois entre les homes, estant en habit d'homme, ils n'auront pas concupiscence charnelle de moi; et me senble qu'en c'est estat je conserveray mieulx ma virginite de pensee et de faict'.[122]

In Gravelot's image for Canto Thirteen, Chandos' initial triumph over Jeanne signifies not only a military victory but also a sexual one. As Chandos remarks, he has secured 'The best of gifts – glory and pleasure too'.[123] Jeanne is positioned with one leg resting on the back of her winged ass steed thus causing her legs to be parted in an undignified manner, further emphasising her sexual availability and unsuitability as a warrior.[124] The sexual excess that is present in this scene is a clear reference to carnivalesque culture. Gravelot staged a scene of controlled erotic fantasy in which he alluded to the sexual encounter and encouraged the poem's audience to imagine the possible outcomes.[125] His illustration remains faithful to the accompanying textual description, mentioned earlier, in which Jeanne's breasts are the only visible body parts. In

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[122] 'I believe this seems strange to you, and not without cause; but since I must arm myself and serve the gentle Dauphin in war, it is necessary for me to wear these clothes, and also when I am among men in the habit of men, they have no carnal desire for me; and it seems to me that thus I can better preserve my purity in thought and deed'. *Proces de condemnation et de rehabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La Pucelle,* compiled and edited by Jules Quicherat, Vol. 4, Paris, 1841-49, p. 211, cited in Chapter Four, 'Transvestism on Trial: The Case of Jeanne d'Arc' in, Valerie Hotchkiss, *Clothes make the Men: Female Cross-dressing in Medieval Europe,* New York and London, 2000, pp. 52-3.

[123] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version,* Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Thirteen, p. 88. 'Les plus grands biens, la goire et le plaisir.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 238).

[124] Chapter Six, 'The Passive Vessel', in Philip Stewart, *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth Century,* London, 1992.

[125] For a discussion on the use of the terms 'pornographic' and 'erotic', Chapter Eight, 'Decency and Indecency', in Philip Stewart*, Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth Century,* London, 1992, pp271-2; Introduction, in Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture,* Cambridge, 2004, pp. 12-28.

contrast, the anonymous engraving for the same canto of the 1775 edition of Voltaire's *La Pucelle* (fig. 26) offers an explicit depiction of Chandos' erect penis and Jeanne's exposed genitals thereby adding additional and indecent content to the accompanying text.[126] Ultimately, Gravelot's image depicts an erotically charged moment *before* any potential pleasure-seeking, whereas the anonymous engraving deals with the period *during* the sexual action, an established convention of pornographic imagery. [127]

In the image for Canto Thirteen Bonifoux, Charles VII's confessor and a knight on horseback instead of rushing to Jeanne's rescue seek pleasure by gazing at her exposed cleavage. Robert Darnton discusses how sexual intrigue was heightened through the voyeuristic gaze, a typical seductive strategy of clandestine erotic literature and prints in eighteenth-century France.[128] At first glance the body language and facial expressions of the chaste monk Bonifoux suggest that he is in a state of shock at Chandos's intention to rape Jeanne. However, the monk appears to be experiencing a dilemma as to whether he should condemn Chandos' behaviour or enjoy Jeanne's semi-nudity himself. The mock-battle depicted in Canto Thirteen bears an affinity to the final battle in the original legend of Jeanne d'Arc in which Jeanne is thrown from her horse and captured by the Burgundians whilst defending Compiègne on the 24 May 1430.[129] However, the text for Canto Thirteen of *La Pucelle* explains how St. Denis saves Jeanne from losing her precious virginity at the hands of Chandos and prevents French military defeat by casting a spell that makes Chandos impotent.[130]

Voltaire's and Gravelot's comic treatment of Jeanne as a transvestite warrior started with her temporary period of dominion in Canto Two of *La Pucelle*. In this canto and

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[126] Introduction, in Lynn Hunt, *Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800,* New York, 1993, p. 10.
[127] Francis Dowley, 'D'Angivillier's *Grands Hommes* and the significant moment', *Art Bulletin*, Vol. XXXIX, 1957, pp. 259–78.
[128] Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France,* London, 1996, pp. 72-3.
[129] Chapter Five, 'Intrigue, Frustration, and Capture', in Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, London, 2000.
[130] 'To ice the wretched lover's fire is turned,/ His powers of impotence become inurned'. *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Thirteen, p. 94. 'D'un pauvre amant le feu se tourne en glace,/ Vif & perclus sans rien faire il se lasse.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 245).

image the strict social order and gender hierarchy of eighteenth-century French society is illustrated by temporarily reversing the traditional structure. However, as Natalie Zemon Davis has concluded, symbolic inversion does not question the basic order of society, but rather 'a world upside down can only be righted, not changed'.[131] This becomes apparent in Cantos Eleven and Thirteen when Jeanne's authority over the English soldiers comes to an end in her attempts to undermine their masculine authority. For Canto Eleven Gravelot refuted Jeanne's attempts to be a successful female peasant warrior by emphasising her degrading sexual availability. In Canto Thirteen Jeanne is shown as having regained her suit of armour thereby momentarily securing her disguise as a transvestite warrior, yet, she is denied the ability to conquer her enemies. Ultimately, in Gravelot's illustrations for Cantos Eleven and Thirteen, Jeanne is prevented from simultaneously adopting the appearance and the combative skills of a warrior. By constructing *La Pucelle* as a mock-epic poem, Voltaire and Gravelot were indulging in the Moderns' claims of female heroism whilst mocking the Ancients' values of male heroism. Social class has also been a significant topic of discussion when viewing the cantos and images discussed in this chapter. Jeanne has adopted the role and appearance of an aristocratic warrior despite her lower class beginnings. The themes of disguise through costume, social hierarchies, lower bodily stratum, and comical and sexual references included here can be understood as reminiscent of eighteenth-century carnivalesque culture. The breadth of cultural references in *La Pucelle* and its illustrations reflects the audiences' social class.

[131] Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Women on top: symbolic sexual inversion and political disorder in early modern Europe', in *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, Barbara A. Babcock (ed.), New York, 1972, p. 154.

Chapter Two

The Dominating Royal Mistress and Notions of Kingship

This chapter will place Voltaire's poem and Gravelot's illustrations in political context. Part one will concentrate on representations of the male warrior and the way he puts his amorous concerns before his martial duty, focusing in particular on the domination of the indolent Charles VII by his mistress, Agnès Sorel.[132] In producing *La Pucelle* as an illustrated mock-epic poem, Voltaire and Gravelot were parodying the notion of male heroism associated with the classical epic.[133] For example, in Ludovico Ariosto's mock-epic poem *Orlando furioso* of 1516 knight Roland chooses Angelica over his military duty and likewise, in Torquato Tasso's *Jérusalem délivrée* of 1581 Rinaldo chooses Armida. I will explore the ways that Voltaire and Gravelot portrayed Agnès' dominant behaviour in the context of eighteenth-century Enlightenment discourses and masculine anxieties surrounding the presence and influence of the Parisian *salonnières*.[134] Part two of this chapter will examine Voltaire's and Gravelot's representations of Charles VII in relation to eighteenth-century notions of kingship. Another aspect of the mock-epic poem is that it attempts to satirise aspects of contemporary life.[135] Of particular interest are the parallels to be made between the character of Charles VII in *La Pucelle* as a negative political force and the differing public opinions and political criticisms surrounding the eighteenth-century monarch, Louis XV.

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[132] According to the annotations in William Fleming's English translation of *La Pucelle* this character is based on a real person known by the same name but she became the mistress of Charles VII in 1445, fourteen years after the death of Jeanne d'Arc who was executed in 1431. *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto One, pp. 51-3.
[133] Ulrich Broich, *The eighteenth-century mock-heroic poem*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 66-7.
[134] Introduction, in Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment*, Ithaca and London, 1994.
[135] Ulrich Broich, *The eighteenth-century mock-heroic poem*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 66-7.

Voltaire was drawing upon public criticisms of Louis XV when first writing *La Pucelle* during the 1730s and these continued to hold significance during the reception of the 1762 illustrated edition. Eighteenth-century France saw the emergence of the middle classes, a key part of the audience of *La Pucelle* during the 1760s, who invoked the right to express political opinion.[136] Throughout the reign of Louis XV there were public fears surrounding his abdication from royal and military duties for the pleasures of courtly life.[137] The monarch's pursuit of women at court was public knowledge throughout his reign, starting in the 1730s with his first official mistress Louis-Julie, Comtesse de Mailly (1710-51).[138] In exploring the relationship between *La Pucelle* and contemporary discourses on kingship, I will again draw upon an aspect of the carnivalesque tradition; the laughter-inducing celebration of the 'Feast of Fools'.[139] This carnival ritual acted as an unofficial way in which the lower and middle classes could symbolically mock the reigning king. As readers of *La Pucelle* it was the upper and middle classes that enjoyed the ridicule of Charles VII in the poem and its illustrations. These social classes also had the power to challenge political affairs and the actions of Louis XV in real life, as opposed to carnival life. Carnivalesque humour continually shifted between elevation and degradation a little like the way the eighteenth-century political discourses shifted between praise and criticism.

Part One: The character of Agnès Sorel in *La Pucelle* and the eighteenth-century *salonnières*

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[136] Chapter Two, 'The Public Sphere and Public Opinion', in Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution,* trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Durham and London, 1991.

[137] During the eighteenth century, prints and pamphlets mocked the sexual licentiousness of Louis XV and his mistresses, such as *The Private Life of Louis XV* and *Anecdotes in the Countess du Barry* which show Louis XV as a weak and impotent King. Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France,* New York and London, 1995, pp. 208-14.

[138] Thomas E. Kaiser, 'Louis le Bien-Aime and the Rhetoric of the Royal Body', in Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg, *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France,* 1998, pp. 147-53; for more information on Louis XV's mistresses of the 1730s and 1740s see, Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *La Duchesse de Châteauroux et ses soeurs*, Paris, 1879.

[139] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* trans. Helene Iswolsky, Indiana, 1984, p. 197.

In eighteenth-century France, men associated with the "Republic of Letters" identified French culture with intellectual sociability and with the progress of civilisation.[140] The *salonnières*, women who hosted socio-intellectual gatherings in the salons, were central to their understanding of polite society and were identified as governors of Enlightened and political discourses.[141] The salons acted as institutions where the Enlightened community expressed their opinions on debates in the public sphere and in print culture.[142] These institutions had developed from sixteenth-century Renaissance courts as places to enjoy theatrical entertainment and intellectual conversation.[143]

Voltaire was a leading supporter of the Enlightenment "Republic of Letters". In the introduction to his tragedy *Zaïre* of 1736, written whilst producing the first copies of *La Pucelle,* Voltaire suggested that 'the continual commerce between the two sexes, so lively and so polite, has introduced a politeness quite unknown elsewhere. Society depends on women'.[144] As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, the sexes were seen as fundamentally different and unequal, but the men of letters saw masculine and feminine qualities as complementary when in the salons.[145] Montesquieu wrote in his *De l' Esprit des Lois* (*On the Spirit of Laws*) of 1758 that women made exemplary leaders because 'their very weakness gives them gentleness and moderation; which can make for good government, rather than tough and ferocious virtues'.[146] The women who shared Voltaire's elite social and intellectual circle were the marquise de Pompadour (1721-64) who was one of the first to receive an unpublished copy of *La Pucelle* and

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[140] Introduction, in Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment,* Ithaca and London, 1994.
[141] *Ibid*, pp. 4-6.
[142] Chapter Six, 'Women in public: enlightenment salons', in James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe,* Cambridge, 2001, p. 197.
[143] *Ibid,* pp. 197-8.
[144] Daniel Gordon, The Ideas of Sociability in Pre-Revolutionary France, unpublished PhD typescript, University of Chicago, 1990, p. 65.
[145] For an understanding of shifting discourses on the biological differences between men and women see, Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Cambridge, 1990.
[146] Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, *De l'Esprit des Lois*, Paris, 1758, cited in Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment,* Ithaca and London, 1994, p. 7.

Émile, marquise de Châtelet-Lomont (1706-49),[147] Voltaire's mistress from 1733-49 was well known for her scientific and philosophical endeavours. These women stimulated the minds of the men and women around them with polite conversation and Enlightened knowledge. Whilst the *philosophes* acknowledged the need for feminine virtues to counter male vices and maintain order, their attitudes towards women within the "Republic of Letters" were tempered by anxiety about the increasing female influence within the public sphere.[148] The complementary relationship between the sexes did not resolve the issues of gender hierarchy, equality and subordination that existed during the eighteenth century and earlier in French cultures.[149] The influence and leadership that women enjoyed within the salons did not suggest an ability to directly influence political and social discourses outside the salons. Nevertheless, is important to mention here that the prominence of intellectual women was growing in the intervening period between the 1730 and 1762 editions of *La Pucelle*.

In Rousseau's *Politics and the Arts: Letter to M. d'Alembert on the Theatre* included in the seventh volume of Diderot's and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* of 1757 he criticised salon women for their attempts to gain power and notoriety through association with powerful men:

> The most esteemed woman is the one who has the greatest renown, […] at whose house one dines the most, who most imperiously sets the tone, who judges, resolves, decides, and whose favour is most ignominiously begged for by humble, learned men […]. In society they do not know anything, although they judge everything.[150]

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[147] For more information on Mme de Châtelet see, Judith Zinsser and Julie Candler Hayes, 'Emilie Du Châtelet: Rewriting Enlightenment philosophy and science', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 1, 2006.
[148] Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment,* Ithaca and London, 1994, p. 9.
[149] Carolyn C. Lougee, *"Le Paradis des Femmes": Women, Salons, and Social Stratification in Seventeenth-Century France,* Princeton, 1976, pp. 32-3.
[150] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Politics and the Arts: Letter to M. d'Alembert on the Theatre,* trans. Allen Bloom, Ithaca, 1968, p. 49.

Rousseau was concerned that the unnatural domination of salon women would emasculate men. He argued that whilst men remained rational women were disorderly due to their uncontrolled sexual desires.[151] The article 'femme [*Morale*]' ('woman [*Morale*]') in the *Encyclopédie* of 1761 conversely warned that the amorous intrigue of salon women caused female immorality and bestowed upon the *honnête femme* (*decent woman*) characteristics more commonly associated with the opposite sex.[152] Such misogynistic views of women originated from classical scholarly sources and were reinforced throughout the eighteenth century by the *philosophes*.[153]

I believe that Voltaire, by introducing the character of Agnés Sorel was drawing upon well established classical scholastic discourses concerning the notion of the disorderly woman.[154] Furthermore, he was shaping the existing masculine concerns in eighteenth-century France regarding women's participation within the salons. Rousseau's critique of salon women, mentioned previously, provided new significance for *La Pucelle's* audience of the 1762 illustrated edition. During the 1720s and 1730s Voltaire gained early success as a playwright for members of the royal court and would therefore have spent much of his time amongst courtesans.[155] Agnès' behaviour in the illustrations discussed in the first part of this chapter is also stereotypical of a courtesan; effectively a high-class prostitute whose clients were members of the royal court. In Agnès' attempt to usurp royal power and challenge Charles VII's military decisions she presents herself as an object of male desire rather than use her intelligence to appeal to the king. Consequently, Agnès' behaviour is reminiscent of the corrupting tendencies and the promiscuous behaviour of the eighteenth-century courtesans. Furthermore, the eighteenth-century *salonniéres* provide a contrast to Agnès and contribute to contemporary discourses surrounding women during the

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[151] Chapter One, ''The Disorder of Women': Women, Love, and the Sense of Justice', in Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory,* Cambridge, 1989, p. 21.
[152] Lieselotte Steinbrugge, *The Moral Sex: Women's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn, Oxford and New York, 1995, p. 31.
[153] James M. Blythe, 'Women in the military: scholastic arguments and medieval images of female warriors', *History of Political Thought,* Vol. XXII, No. 2, 2001, pp. 264-5.
[154] *Ibid*, pp. 242-69.
[155] Russell Goulbourne, 'Voltaire as Comic Dramatist', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century,* Vol. 3, 2006, p. 19.

production and distribution of *La Pucelle*. In the eighteenth century both types of women were considered to be exerting a negative influence on the opposite sex, albeit in differing ways. The *salonnières* were accused of doing so in masculine discourses, whereas it was through the weight of public opinion of both genders that this judgement was made of courtesans.

Voltaire's earlier and more serious mock-epic poem *La Henriade* of 1723, also explored the themes of female domination and an emasculated king. In *La Henriade* Henri IV (1553-1610, reigned in France 1589-1610) rescues his country from the enfeebled Valois lineage of King Henri III and his overpowering mother, Catherine de Médici (1519-89).[156] In the poem the goddesses of Discord and Love attempt to weaken Henri IV but he is only temporarily enslaved by the charms of his mistress Gabrielle d' Estrées (1573-99). Henri IV has the moral strength to put patriotic duty first thereby reinstating the political stability of the nation. Voltaire's *La Henriade*, along with his *La Pucelle* and Gravelot's illustrations acted as a message of warning to their audiences that, whilst in a political context virility signifies order, an effeminate leader can cause chaos.

In the following cantos and illustrations for *La Pucelle* Agnès' adventures overshadow Jeanne's mission. The text for Canto One describes Agnès' attempt to distract Charles VII from his military duties. It is a measure of her success that Charles VII states:

> "My love, my Agnès, idol of my soul,
> Thy charms are dearer than the world's control.
> To conquer and to reign is folly now,
> My Parliament forsakes me, and I bow
> 'Fore conquering England's matchless bravery,
> Well let them reign, but let them envy me;
> I have thy heart, and am more king than they".
> The speech was not heroical, you'll say,
> But when a hero's with his love in bed,

[156] Chapter Five, 'Heroics', in Síofra Pierse, 'Voltaire historiographer: narrative paradigms', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 5, 2008, pp. 137-166.

'Tis passion sways alike the heart and head.[157]

Gravelot chose not to illustrate this passage of text that describes the love scene between Charles VII and Agnès but, instead, depicted the apparition of St Denis at the royal court in Orlèans (fig. 27) which will be discussed further in Chapter Three. I believe that Gravelot, when choosing the moment to depict, was considering issues of decency. The absence of Charles VII in the illustration for Canto One encouraged the poem's audience to believe that the king lacks concern for the enemies of France and, as the above passage of text suggests, he would rather indulge his sexual desires. Moreau le Jeune's illustration for the same canto in the 1789 Kehl edition (fig. 28) more closely resembles this passage of text. Le Jeune's image shows the allegorical figure of Pudeur, an emblem of propriety in human form and covered in a thin veil that leaves the scene as the king slips into bed with Agnès. Two putti acting as symbols of sexual affection are depicted encouraging Charles VII's sexual urges by helping him to undress.[158] The anonymous illustrator for the London 1775 edition of *La Pucelle* (fig. 29) also chose to show the love affair in Canto One, but stages a more indecent scene that fixes the audience's gaze on the king's erect phallus.

The next stage of Agnès's adventure in the 1762 edition of *La Pucelle* is depicted in the illustration for Canto Three (fig. 30) where she rides through the forest with the king's confident, Bonneau and a horde of French soldiers. Agnès is on a mission to find Charles VII who has been persuaded to go to war by St. Denis and Jeanne. The accompanying text describes how Agnès:

Cursing her arms, and wailing her sad fate,
She oft on palfrey's back got rueful bump,

[157] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto One, p. 40. '"Ma chere Agnès, idole de mon âme,/ Le monde entire ne vaut point vos appas./ Vaincre et régner, ce n'est rien que folie,/ Mon parlement me bannit aujourd'hui/ Au fier Anglais le France est asservie,/ Ah! qu'il soit roi, mais qu'il me porte envie;/ J'ai votre coeur, je suis plus roi que lui"/ Un tel discours n'est pas trop heroïque,/ Mais un héros, quand il tient dans un lit,/ Maîtresse honnête, et que l'amour le pique,/ Peut s'oublier, et ne sait ce qu'il dit.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 9).

[158] 'Cupīdo', in John Lemprière, *Classical Dictionary of Proper Names mentioned in Ancient Authors Writ Large*, Trowbridge, 1984, pp. 182-3.

Her legs were torn, and sore was either rump;
Fat Bonneau on a Norman courser proud,
Rode heavy at her side and breathed full loud –
Love, tender love, gazed on with tearful eye,
Beheld her start, and heaved a rueful sigh.[159]

In Gravelot's illustration Agnès wears Jeanne's armour and breeches which she has stolen as a tactic to win back Charles VII from,[160] 'that dauntless female warrior Joan,/ Not England's enemy, but mine alone'.[161] Agnes's decision to steal and wear Jeanne's armour is not for want of a disguise, as she does not wear a helmet. Alternatively, this could be a way of forcing Jeanne to resume her original status as a woman and a peasant, thus reminding Charles VII of this fact or as a way she can enter the battleground, capture the attention of the dauphin and further her sexual adventure.[162] In contrast to Jeanne, Agnès does not make the slightest attempt to be a successful warrior; the extract of text above emphasises how badly the role of a warrior suits her. Although Jeanne is not ultimately victorious, her military prowess is far superior to that of Agnès.

The most ambiguous motif in the illustration for Canto Three is the monk who sits on clouds in the celestial sphere (fig. 31). Earlier in the text for Canto Three, Voltaire described how St. Denis entrusts a Benedictine monk, Lourdis with the role of watching over Jeanne.[163] The cleric in Gravelot's image has similar attire to a

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[159] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Three, p. 113. 'Ainsi vétue et pliant sous le poids,/ N'en pouvant plus, maudissant son harnois,/ Sur un cheval elle s'en va juchée,/ Jambe meurtrie, et la fesse écorchée./ Le gros Bonneau, sur un Normand monté,/ Va lourdement, et ronfle à son côté./ Le tender Amour, qui craint tout pour la belle,/ La voit partir et soupier pour elle.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 57).
[160] *Ibid*, Canto Three, p. 111. (Geneva, 1762, p. 55).
[161] *Ibid,* Canto Three, pp. 110-11. 'Et cependant cette Jeanne hardie,/ Non des Anglais, mais d'Agnès ennemie.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 55).
[162] In Jean Chapelain's *La Pucelle, ou La France Deliverée* of 1656 Agnès and Marie de Bourgogne, who is Dunois's fiancée, put on armour to tempt their lovers away from Jeanne. In Torquato Tasso's *Jérusalem délivrée* of 1581 Erminia puts on armour to tempt Tancred away from Clorinda.
[163] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Three, p. 103. (Geneva, 1762, p. 43).

Benedictine monks; he sports a black habit with a cowl and no tie around the waist.[164] The monk in Gravelot's image may have initially followed Agnès thinking that she was Jeanne because she wears Jeanne's armour. In the accompanying text, Lourdis dreams of entering the Paradise of Fools or Limbo which can be found near the moon.[165] In Gravelot's image this motif is clearly visible just below the cloud on which the monk sits. The souls of the dead that reside in Limbo are not guilty of crimes that condemn them to hell but are not yet pure enough to enter heaven.[166] Hence, Gravelot's illustrations emphasises Agnes' foolish assumption that she can successfully lead the French soldiers to find Charles VII. The celestial monk stares over the tree tops in the direction that Agnès and Bonneau are heading. It is unclear what has caused his horrified expression, his raised hands or his open mouth that appear to represent an attempt to warn the figures below of the events in the following cantos.[167]

The reason for the celestial monk's alarmed expression in the illustration for Canto Three becomes apparent to the poem's audience in Canto Six. The accompanying text explains that upon entering the forest Agnès is captured by members of the English army, thereby placing her mission to find Charles VII in jeopardy. The English knight Chandos retrieves his breeches from her and Jeanne's armour leaving Agnès in his nightgown. The act of exchanging military garments between the sexes is a prominent theme throughout *La Pucelle*. Agnès escapes from the English camp but the change to her clothing and appearance causes Monrose, the English pageboy, to chase her on horseback thinking she is his master Chandos:

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[164] An example of Benedictine clothing can be seen in Fra Filippo Lippi's (1406-69) *St. Benedict Orders St. Maurus to the Rescue of St. Placidus* of c. 1445 (fig. 32).
[165] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Three, p. 103. (Geneva, 1762, p. 43).
[166] *Ibid*, Canto Three, p. 120. (This annotation is included in the Fleming translation but not included in the Geneva 1762 edition).
[167] Charles Le Brun's studies for the facial expression 'l'étonnement' ('astonishment') from his *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière (Lecture on general and particular expressions)* of 1668 offers a useful comparison (fig. 33). Charles Le Brun, *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les passions: proposée dans une conférence sur l'expression générale, et particulière,* Georg Olms Verlag (ed.), Zurich and New York, 1982. Also see Chapter Three, 'Expressive Gestures' and Chapter Eleven, 'The Hands', in Dene Barnett, *The Art of Gesture: the practices and principles of 18thcentury acting*, Heidelberg, 1987.

Agnès, conceiving some pursuer near,
Entered the wood, appalled with chilling fear;
Monrose still followed, and the quicker she
Strove to escape, still faster galloped he;
The palfrey stumbled, when the fainting fair,
Wafting a shriek that echoed through the air,
Fell lifeless at her panting courser's side
[…] Swift as the wind, Monrose arriving stared,
[…] As 'neath Lord Chandos' robe, then floating wide,
Fair Agnès' lovely charms his eyes described.[168]

Gravelot based the image for Canto Six (fig. 34) on the last few lines of the extract mentioned above. Agnès is shown lying on the ground in a wooded clearing with Monrose kneeling at her side. Erotic symbolisms for lovemaking abound in this image in which forbidden pleasures are pursued and are indicative of sexual preparedness.[169] A case in point is the way in which Agnès' stocking snags in the saddle straps causing her dress to ride up and expose her legs. Monrose holds and kisses Agnès' hand, although she may be attempting to draw attention to her leg caught on the saddle as a plea for help. With his other hand Monrose supports Agnès' head; a gesture which whilst initially appearing to be gentlemanly, also serves to limit her movement. In the foreground of the image Monrose's hat lies on the ground that further signifies his sexual intentions. In addition to this, Agnès' horse gazes directly towards her cleavage or up her dress, perhaps suggesting where Monrose would like to look. The amorous scene of Canto Six bears an affinity to the eighteenth-century pastoral genre of paintings and prints showing two lovers reclining in nature and surrounded by animals, as in François Boucher's (1703-70) *Shepherd and Shepherdess Reposing* (fig.

[168] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version,* Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Six, pp. 201-2. 'La belle Agnès, qui se croit poursuivie,/ Court dans le bois, au péril de sa vie;/ Le page y vole, et plus elle s'enfuit,/ Plus notre Anglais avec ardeur la suit./La jument bronche, et la belle éperdue,/ Jetant un cri don't retentit la nue,/ […] Le page arrive, aussi prompt que les vents;/ […] Quand cette robe ouverte et voltigeante,/ Lui découvrit une beauté touchante,/ un sein d'albâtre, et les charmants trésors.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 112).
[169] For a discussion of the visual language of veiled sexual references see, Mary Sheriff, *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism*, Chicago and London, 1990, p. 103.

35) exhibited at the Salon of 1761.[170]

In Gravelot's image for Canto Six the position of Agnès' body on the ground emphasises her vulnerability and this offers a similar compositional format to the image of Jeanne in Canto Thirteen, as discussed in Chapter One. The following extract establishes Agnès' beauty as her prized virtue:

> In Agnès all was beauty, all was fair,
> Voluptuousness, whereof she had her share,
> Spurred every sense which instant took th' alarm.[171]

Although the two female protagonists share a similar appearance, the behaviour of the men they encounter differs significantly. Charles VII and Monrose are drawn to Agnès' good looks and nobility, and effuse their passion for her. However, Jeanne is not described as physically attractive and her sturdy build emphasises her lowly social class. Perhaps as a result of her class, Jeanne is subjected to the sexual violence of the English soldiers. In the poems and illustrations discussed so far, Agnes' sexual adventures and her attempts to distract Charles VII and Monrose from their military duties could be understood by *La Pucelle's* audience as indicative of eighteenth-century fears surrounding the *salonnières* and courtesans. These parallels will be discussed in more detail below.

Agnès's loyalty to Charles VII as well as her allegiance to France is further questioned in the illustration for Canto Twelve (fig. 36). Charles VII is finally reunited with Agnès in the bedroom of the Castle of Cutendre only to discover her love affair with the enemy English pageboy, Monrose. Gravelot's image depicts Charles VII's surprise as the light of his candle illuminates the wall where Monrose hides in a life-sized niche. On the

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[170] Melissa Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo: François Boucher and His Critics,* Canada, 2006, pp. 55-6.

[171] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version,* Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto One, p. 38. 'Toute est beauté, tout est charme dans elle./ La volupté, dont Agnès a sa part,/ Lui donne encore une grâce nouvelle.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 7).

far right Agnès watches in a state of shock as her lover Monrose is discovered.[172] The accompanying text describes Charles VII's horror when expecting to touch a statue made of wood or stone, he instead touches human flesh:

> Waiting for its saint, a space was seen,
> An alcove covered with a green curtain.
> […] He arranges himself in the sacred niche;
> Blessed, hidden behind the curtain,
> He lurks without doublet, without cloak.
> […] He made a noise, and straight the altar rocked,
> The prince approaching, then his hand applied;
> He felt a body, and retiring cried:
> "Love and Saint Francis, Satan Lord of night!".[173]

In the text and illustration for Canto Twelve, Monrose is described as nude with his face against the wall, the fleur-de-lys still visible on his buttocks recalling the earlier scene for Canto Two.[174] In the foreground of Gravelot's image, Jeanne, awoken by the commotion finds herself similarly exposed and attempts to cover herself with the bedclothes whilst shielding her eyes from the scene behind her. Jeanne's smooth skin and Monrose's sculptural body are represented using an abundance of engraved cross-hatching and stippling that creates a statue-like finish. The figure of Monrose (fig. 37) recalls the fragment of classical sculpture by Apollonius entitled *The Belvedere Torso* (fig. 38).[175] The style of the niche and the statuesque appearance of Monrose bear a strong resemblance to secular examples that often decorated eighteenth-century

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[172] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version,* Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Twelve, p. 73. 'De repentir et de douleur atteinte,/ La belle Agnès s'évanouit de crainte.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 224).
[173] *Ibid,* Canto Twelve, p. 72; 'Est une niche en attendant son saint./ D'un rideau vert la niche était masquée./ […] De s'ajuster dans la nichée sacrée;/ En bienheureux, derrière le rideau,/ Il se tapit, sans pourpoint, sans manteau./ […] Le saint caché frémit à cette vue;/Il fait du bruit, et la toile remue/ Le roi approche, il y porte la main,/ Il sent un corps, il recule, il s'écrie/ "Amour, Satan, saint François, saint Germain! "' (Geneva, 1762, pp. 223-4).
[174] For the discussion of Canto Two of *La Pucelle* see Chapter One of this thesis, pp. 19-21.
[175] Benjamin Rowland, *The Classical Tradition in Western Art*, Cambridge, 1963, pp. 44-5.

Rococo interiors during the reign of Louis XV.[176] For the secular home-owner this alcove would often be filled by a classical statue standing on a pedestal, for example, Pierre-Alexis Delamair's (1676-1745) *Desseins de Poelles á la Françoise* (*Designs for French Stoves*) for the Hôtel de Conti in Paris of 1719 (fig. 39).[177] In Gravelot's image the classically-inspired round-topped niche, decorated with a reeve of foliage and stretching from the floor to the ceiling have all been incorporated.[178]

In the accompanying text for Canto Twelve, however, Voltaire clearly referred to the niche as 'sacrée' ('sacred') despite the clear parallels between the classical niche and statue and those in Gravelot's image.[179] Although I will now consider in brief the significance of this niche in Canto Twelve and why this space is no longer occupied by a devotional object, in Chapter Three I will explore in more detail Gravelot's illustrations in a religious context. An alcove such as the one in Gravelot's image for Canto Twelve would have fulfilled private devotional purposes, and would have originally been occupied by representations of prominent religious figures such as Christ or the Virgin Mary. A sacred object such as a statue was regarded by French Catholics in the eighteenth century as the gateway to the spiritual realm.[180] Unlike the secular niches mentioned earlier, the one in Gravelot's image has the additional feature of a shutter as a way of separating the two spaces of the sacred and profane sphere and to protect the precious religious objects until it was time to pray. Consequently, the purpose of the alcove has been altered from a space of worship that would normally encase a figure of the highest religious importance to one which hides the presence of a dissolute

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[176] Other aspects of Gravelot's image that are reminiscent of the Rococo style include the armchair with turned-out legs and the dome-shaped canopy that drapes over the bed in the style of the *lit à la Polonaise* which has a canopy that is attached to a wooden dome. John Whitehead, *The French Interior in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1993, p. 124.

[177] *Ibid*, p. 112-3; Katie Scott, *Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris*, London, 1996.

[178] The illustration for the headpiece of Berquin's *Pygmalion* illustrated by Moreau and Ponce for the 1775 Paris edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* shows a niche with a similar classical design. Philip Stewart, *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth Century,* London, 1992, pp. 230-1.

[179] For a definition of the term 'sacred' see Carsten Colpe, 'The Sacred', in Mircea Eliade, *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, London, 1987, pp. 511-19.

[180] Richard Clay, 'Violating the Sacred: Theft and 'Iconoclasm' in Late Eighteenth-century Paris', in *Oxford Art Journal,* Vol. 26, No. 2, 2003, p. 4.

pageboy, who belongs towards the bottom of the social hierarchy. The profane behaviour of Agnés and Monrose signifies the polluted world that has seeped into the sacred space of the niche. *La Pucelle*'s audience would again be reminded of the parallels between Agnés' disruptive behaviour in the poem and that of the eighteenth-century courtesans.

Cissie Fairchilds' research on devotional objects found in the inventories of eighteenth-century Parisian households is one of very few studies on this topic. She argues that as the eighteenth century progressed Parisians were no longer hiding their precious possessions, including religious objects in *ruelles*,[181] an enclosed spaces between the bed and the wall, or in small cupboards but were displaying these them on walls and shelves.[182] The niche in Gravelot's image for Canto Twelve is of a similar style and purpose to a large *ruelle* or tabernacle.[183] I believe that the absence of an object in the niche in Gravelot's image was to be interpreted as a shift in eighteenth-century devotional practices whereby the object has been moved to a more visible place within the home. Daniel Roche has argued that the abandonment of Catholicism was not universal during the first half of the French eighteenth century. In fact, at the beginning of the century fifty-six percent of wage earners owned prints and sixty-five percent of these had religious content.[184] Nevertheless, the absence of the devotional object could reflect the loss of veneration for the sacred and noticeable changes in religious feeling caused by religious quarrels within orders of the Catholic Church and the resistance of secular critics, especially among the upper classes of French society.[185]

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[181] For more information on *ruelles* see, Orest Ranum, 'The Refuges of Intimacy', in Phillippe Ariès and Georges Duby, *A History of Private Life: Volume III Passions of the Renaissance,* trans. Arthur Goldhammer, London, 1989, p. 220.
[182] Cissie Fairchilds, 'Marketing the Counter-Reformation: Religious Objects and Consumerism in Early Modern France' in Christine Adams, Jack Censer, and Lisa Jane Graham (eds.), *Vision and Revisions of Eighteenth-Century France*, Pennsylvania, 1997, pp. 48-9.
[183] For information on fifteenth-century Italian wooden tabernacles found in the bedroom see, Geraldine Johnson, 'Beautiful Brides and Model Mothers: The Devotional and Talismanic Functions of Early Modern Marian Reliefs', in Anne L. McClanan and Karen Rosoff Encarnación (eds.), *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe*, New York, 2002, p. 146.
[184] Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: an Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* trans. Marie Evans, Leamington Spa, 1987, p. 222.
[185] Chapter Five, 'Secularisation and Desacralisation', in Roger Chartier, *The Cultural*

The first part of this chapter has predominantly focused on Voltaire's and Gravelot's portrayals of Agnés, Charles VII and Monrose and notions of womanly dominance, male weakness and sexual pleasure. The poem's audience were to form parallels between Agnès' disruptive behaviour in the poem and similar eighteenth-century concerns surrounding the *salonnières* and courtesans. The concept of libertinage is a prominent theme of the poems and illustrations discussed so far through Agnés' and Monrose's sexual adventures that show their disregard for Charles VII's royal authority. Another example can be seen through Monrose's violation of the sacred niche and of the Catholic Church's devotional practices. A contrast can be made between the sacred figure of Charles VII and the profane behaviour of Agnès.

Part Two: The character of Charles VII in *La Pucelle* and the eighteenth-century monarch Louis XV

The second part of this chapter switches focus to an examination of images of Charles VII, and the parallels to be made with the eighteenth-century sovereign Louis XV in terms of their perceived aptitude for kingly duties. The punishment to which Charles VII is subjected in the following cantos and images was indicative of a collective critique of the eighteenth-century monarch, Louis XV. In France, sovereignty and divine-right absolutism was invested in a single individual, the king, who received his authority from God.[186] Louis XV's public persona emphasised the paternalistic model of kingship that placed him as the *père du peuple* (*father of the people*) and as a military conqueror.[187] Carle Van Loo's (1705-65) painting *Louis XV King of France and Navarre*, exhibited at the Salon of 1751 (fig. 42) depicts the king wearing armour under his coronation robes with one hand resting on his helmet.

Arlette Farge's study of memoirs and journals of eighteenth-century chroniclers, the

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Origins of the French Revolutions, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, London, 1991, pp. 96-7.
[186] Jeffrey Merrick, 'The Body Politics of French Absolutism' in, Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg, *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France,* California, 1998, pp. 12-13.
[187] Thomas E. Kaiser, 'Louis *le Bien-Aime* and the Rhetoric of the Royal Body', in *Ibid*, pp. 133-5.

gazetins and the secret police records helps to establish an understanding of how collective anxieties and criticisms concerning the reign of Louis XV were constructed amongst Parisians.[188] In 1725 one opinion observed that the king "thinks of nothing but his pleasures, that he likes nothing that might divert him from them".[189] During the 1720s and 1730s, when Voltaire was writing *La Pucelle,* there were many rumours that Louis XV had become addicted to drinking and hunting. In 1728 another opinion observed that Louis was "a do-nothing king, of whom history will not say that he had defeated all the Nations of Europe as had his great-grandfather [Louis XIV], but that he made war only on deer".[190] Following this in 1738 a member of the public stated that, "the mind of the prince is dissipating, and that he was falling into madness",[191] when the king was allegedly spotted drunk on the roof of Versailles. These reports, however, must be understood as providing only a sample of public sentiment during Louis XV's early reign. These sources are problematic due the selective nature of the documentation and who recorded these public opinions. It is important to clarify that these views of the kingship were not universal and that various levels of opinion differed according to social standing.[192] Nevertheless, French citizens of all social classes including *La Pucelle's* audience had a firm understanding of the fundamental public concerns surrounding Louis XV.

Van Kley has stated that the "desacralisation of the monarchy" was prominently visible during the 1750s and 1760s in France.[193] Hence the 1762 edition of *La Pucelle* was published during a time of great political insecurity in France. According to police reports of street gossip in Paris, in 1744 Louis XV was given by some of his subjects the title of *bien-aimé* (*well-loved*) during his recovery from an illness whilst at the frontier

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[188] Chapter Three, 'Mobility and Fragmentation', in Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France*, Cambridge, 1994.
[189] Mathieu Marais, *Journal* , Vol. 2, written between 1715-37, p. 421, cited in Thomas E. Kaiser, 'Louis *le Bien-Aimé* and the Rhetoric of the Royal Body', in Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg, *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France,* California, 1998, p. 142.
[190] *Ibid*, Vol. 2, p. 142.
[191] *Ibid*, Vol. 2, p. 421.
[192] Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 71-7; Chapter Six, 'A Desacralised King', in Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, Durham and London, 1991, pp. 120-1.
[193] Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791*, New Haven and London, 1996, pp. 180-90.

at Metz during the War of Succession of 1740-48.[194] Following this, however, Louis XV's failed to put the country's finances in order and control foreign affairs. In addition, the king's inability to resolve struggles for colonial supremacy between France and England in the Seven Years' War of 1756-63 further eroded public confidence.[195] During the first half of the eighteenth century, political-ecclesiastical quarrels in France, which will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Three, also damaged Louis XV's public image.[196]

Canto Fifteen of *La Pucelle* entitled 'Charles attaque les Anglais' ('Charles attacks the English') serves as the climactic scene of political disorder in which the text describes the murderous rampage of Charles VII against the English during the battle of Orléans. The text tells of Charles VII's initial hesitance at leading his army onto battle and how he quickly retreats, exclaiming that the French have already been defeated by the English.[197] With the encouragement of Jeanne and Dunois Charles VII does venture into the battlefield. In contrast, Gravelot's illustration for Canto Fifteen (fig. 40) depicts Charles VII in a state of madness as he charges through a street towards a group of male civilians, as opposed to soldiers, with his sword outstretched. A brimmed hat in the foreground of the image belongs to one of the fleeing civilians who is missing this piece of headwear. This image highlights Charles VII's ineptitude as regards to his kingly duties.

Gravelot considerably altered the narrative of Canto Fifteen and in doing so caused the image to bear little resemblance to Voltaire's poem. Gravelot heightened the chaotic and humorous nature of Canto Fifteen by mocking Charles VII's inability as a military

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[194] Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 98.
[195] James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe,* Cambridge, 2001, p. 54.
[196] Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791*, London, 1996, p. 128.
[197] 'In sadness Charles within the fort was locked,/ Fast by another English cohort blocked; The town besieged, unable thus to gain'. *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Fifteen, p. 134. 'Charle en son Fort tristement retiré,/ D'autres Anglais par malheur entouré,/Ne peut marcher vers la ville attaquée.' (Geneva, 1762, pp. 269-70).

leader and his failure to distinguish between the enemy soldiers and his French subjects. Hence Gravelot's illustrations are clearly anchoring the messages residing in Voltaire's poem, namely, that of Charles VII's lack of leadership in the fifteenth-century narrative of Jeanne d' Arc and the shifting contemporary discourses surrounding Louis XV during the Seven Years' War.

A passage of text from the following Canto Sixteen could, however, provide an alternative explanation of the subject matter in the image for Canto Fifteen. This passage of text tells of Charles VII's cowardly retreat from the English onslaught leaving the French civilians to be massacred:

> A host, rushed from the town alarmed,
> Its populace by Heavenly impulse charmed,
> Viewing them urged to fight by terror's spell,
> Forth rushing, straight, pursued them all, pell-mell;
> Charles at a distance amidst slaughter strove,
> And to the very camp a passage drove;
> Besieged in turn besiegers now appear;
> Assailed and slaughtered in the front and rear,
> In heaps on borders of their trenches laying,
> Arms, dead and dying wedged, fell fate obeying.[198]

All the references to war in Gravelot's illustrations that are discussed in this chapter have one thing in common; they refer to battles but are alienated from any rational and historical context and the behaviour of the soldiers bears no relation to actual warfare. The article 'Guerre' ('War') in Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique (Philosophical dictionary)* of 1764, although appearing after the publication of the 1762 edition of *La Pucelle,* conveyed a sense of Voltaire's anti-war sentiment and his objection to the

[198] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Sixteen, p. 149. 'Descend soudain de la ville allarmee;/ Tous les bourgeois devenus valeureux,/ Les voyant fuir descendent après eux./ Charle plus loin entouré de carnage,/ Jusqu'à leur camp se fait un beau passage./ Les assiégeants à leur tour assiégés,/ En tête, en queuë, assaillis, égorgés,/ Tombent en foule au bord de leurs tranchées,/ D'armes, de morts, & de mourants jonchées.' (Geneva, 1762, pp. 287-8).

senseless destruction caused by military combat.[199] In Gravelot's image for Canto Fifteen of *La Pucelle* the message that war causes chaos and insanity was clearly conveyed to the poem's audience.

The ridicule that Charles VII suffers in the illustration for Canto Fifteen has several parallels with part of the eighteenth-century French carnival ritual. Since it can be reasonably assumed that *La Pucelle's* audience also read the reprints of Rabelais' novel of carnivalesque folk culture, this analogy would not have been lost on them. One of the principle elements of the carnival rites was the King of Fools, who was elected and mocked by all of the carnival goers.[200] A civilian was dressed as a symbolic king, but his reign soon comes to an end and he undergoes a series of beatings and insults. This punishment coincided with the loss of his disguise as a member of royalty and he suffers his 'uncrowning'. In the image for Canto Fifteen of *La Pucelle,* Charles VII is degraded in terms of his social and military rank through the style of his armour, which is identical to the Ancient Roman military uniform worn by Jeanne and the French and English soldiers. His armour shows no attributes of high rank or royalty, thus reducing him to the level of the average soldier rather than the leader of an army. This swopping of hierarchies is part of the carnivalesque tradition.

From the windows and balconies above the street in the image for Canto Fifteen, women of the social elite, shown through their dress and location within the image, throw stones at Charles VII (fig. 41) and these litter the ground around him. This is another motif that was invented by Gravelot and is, therefore, a feature that cannot be explained by consulting the poem. The theme of power and role reversal in this illustration is a prominent one, as the women undermine Charles VII's superior status as the leader of France. Although these women are meant to be interpreted as residing in the domestic sphere, they are actively participating in the political chaos unfolding in the street below. These women are no longer setting the example for appropriate social behaviour but are resorting to violence in order to convey their political views. I believe that Gravelot was commenting on the roles of the eighteenth-century

[199] Christopher Thacker, *Voltaire: Selected Writings,* London, 1995, pp. 190-2.
[200] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* trans. Helene Iswolsky, Indiana, 1984, pp. 197-8.

salonnières, as mediators of political discourses within their intellectual circles. Gravelot, whilst not approving of the *salonnières* was acknowledging that these women were both rational and intelligent and therefore could be a political force. Ultimately, Charles VII's act of insanity makes their behaviour acceptable. *La Pucelle's* aristocratic audience was invited to empathise with the women of the same social standing in the image for Canto Fifteen, while readers of the middle classes were socially aspirational and might, therefore, have sympathised with the women in Gravelot's illustration.

Following Gravelot's depiction of political chaos in the image for Canto Fifteen, the final illustration by Gravelot for Canto Twenty (fig. 43) is a scene that restores the natural order of society in terms of gender hierarchies and the associated power structures. Charles VII has regained command over his kingdom by successfully defeating the English and is no longer the target of carnival mockery. In Gravelot's image Charles VII is portrayed riding into the city of Orléans wearing a crown and carrying a sceptre, both symbols of his royal status. As discussed in the first part of this chapter, Gravelot explored the theme of gender inversion through Agnès and her dominance over Charles VII. In these images Agnès' disorderly behaviour and sexual promiscuity goes unchecked. In contrast, Gravelot's image for Canto Twenty depicts Agnès, accompanied by the French army, obediently following Charles VII into the city. Having successfully completed their mission, Jeanne on her winged ass and St. Denis supported by a ray of heavenly light are about to depart the scene.[201] Members of the public welcome Charles VII and praise his military success. As the king passes by, a young boy holds out a brimmed hat, similar to the headwear in the image for Canto Fifteen. I believe this gesture of handing the king a civilian's hat is charged with eighteenth-century significance for the poem's audience. This motif acts as a symbolic message from the French people who wish to remind their monarch, whether it be Charles VII or Louis XV, of the importance of maintaining their role as loving king-father to the nation-family.

La Pucelle's audiences of the 1730s and 1760s were familiar with the historical

[201] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Twenty, pp. 245-6. (Geneva, 1762, pp. 357-8).

significance of royal entries into the capital city as an important part of civic life. McClellen has noted that during the reign of Louis XV equestrian statues increasingly replaced royal entries during festivities and ceremonies.[202] Traditionally, French royal monuments were installed in squares around Paris as landmarks that simultaneously embodied the symbolic and "real body" of the king.[203] *La Pucelle's* audience of the 1760s would have known of and probably seen Edmé Bouchardon's (1698-1762) statue of Louis XV that was inaugurated in June 1763 in what is now the Place de la Concorde.[204] Bouchardon's design can be seen through B. L. Prévost's etching, *Equestrian Monument of Louis XV* of 1763 (fig. 44). It would have been evident to many Parisians that Bouchardon had modelled this statue of Louis XV on the equestrian monument of Henri IV by Giambologna (fig. 45) that was inaugurated in 1614 in the Square of Pont Neuf. *La Pucelle*'s audiences would have read Voltaire's *La Henriade* of 1723 that commemorated the reign of Henri IV. This ruler was fondly remembered by the eighteenth-century French populace for ending the Wars of Religion in France by enacting the Edict of Nantes which guaranteed religious tolerance to Protestants. Gravelot's illustration for Canto Eight of the 1768 edition of *La Henriade* (fig. 46) shows Henri IV entering the battlefield on horseback as the bringer of peace.[205] Throughout the Ancien Régime and especially during domestic and foreign conflicts, royal propaganda aimed to imitate the Renaissance monarch Henri IV.[206]

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[202] Andrew McClellen, 'The Life and Death of a Royal Monument: Bouchardon's Louis XV', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2000, pp. 13-17.

[203] The dismantling of royal statues by Parisians after 10 August 1792 following the collapse of the Monarchy was a way in which revolutionaries could damage Louis XV's 'two bodies'. Following the fall of the statue of Louis XV, the monument of Henri IV was last to be destroyed due to the fond memories it evoked of this ruler. Chapter Four 'Iconoclasm in Paris in 1792', in Richard Clay, *The Transformation of Signs: Iconoclasm in Paris during the French Revolution (1789-1795)*, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century,* unpublished manuscript, expected 2011.

[204] The statue of Louis XV was commissioned in 1748 by the City of Paris following the Peace of Aix-le-Chapelle which ended the War of Succession. Andrew McClellen, 'The Life and Death of a Royal Monument: Bouchardon's Louis XV', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2000, p. 8.

[205] Robert Herbert, 'Baron Gros' Napoleon and Voltaire's Henri IV', in Francis Haskell (ed.), *The Artist and Writer in France: Essays in Honour of Jean Seznec*, Oxford, 1974.

[206] Thomas E. Kaiser, 'Louis *le Bien-Aimé* and the Rhetoric of the Royal Body', in Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg, *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth-and eighteenth-century France,* California, 1998, pp. 133-4.

Whilst reading Canto Twenty and viewing Gravelot's image, *La Pucelle*'s audiences of the 1730s and 1760s were to form a comparison between the good king, Henri IV as a warrior leader who was loved by his people, and the bad kings, Charles VII and Louis XV through their inadequacies as rulers. Gravelot's image for this canto shows Charles VII being welcomed by his subjects despite his bad behaviour in the previous cantos and illustrations of *La Pucelle.* I believe this public praise was not to be interpreted as a genuine affection for Charles VII, but rather to act as a reminder to the poem's audience that to endure a bad ruler, like Louis XV, was better than suffering the alternative of English invasion. In addition, Canto Twenty served as a message of warning to Louis XV of the risks of behaving like the character of Charles VII.

To summarise, the cantos and illustrations discussed in this chapter address two ongoing eighteenth-century public concerns. Firstly, that Louis XV was abdicating his royal duties by engaging in love affairs thereby increasing the risk of female usurpation of royal power. The poem and illustrations that were discussed in the first part of this chapter expressed this criticism by depicting Agnès's negative influence on Charles VII. And secondly, that the king lacked the heroic qualities and incentive to be a military leader. This critique was addressed in the second part of this chapter through Gravelot's image for Canto Fifteen where Charles VII is punished by his subjects for his erratic behaviour as a military leader. As a consequence in *La Pucelle* the combination of sex and war are incompatible according to the principles of kingship.

This chapter has shown that Voltaire's poem and Gravelot's illustrations can be examined in relation to eighteenth-century political discourses. The poem's audiences of the 1730s and 1760s were to draw parallels between Agnés' attempts to disrupt Charles VII's military campaign and the eighteenth-century concerns surrounding the *salonnières* and courtesans. Whilst the former were accused of distracting the *philosophes,* the latter were reprimanded for misleading Louis XV through their status as his mistresses. The punishment that Charles VII receives for his effeminate behaviour and lack of heroic leadership in the poem was indicative of similar public criticisms surrounding the reign of this king in the fifteenth-century narrative of Jeanne d'Arc and that of Louis XV during the eighteenth century. Subsequently, the characters of Agnés and Charles VII in *La Pucelle* were being criticised for their excessive feminine

qualities. Voltaire's *La Pucelle* and the accompanying illustrations serve to confirm the value of being male, in which the king should maintain control over the disorderly woman and sustain political and social order.

Chapter Three

Anticlerical Sentiment: Catholic Masculinity and Female Virginity

> By lampooning […] the Church's promotion of virginity as a uniquely heroic and salvific virtue, [Voltaire] uses humour to express both his rational scepticism towards superstition and his political opposition towards what he regarded as the ignorance, hypocrisy and fanaticism of the Catholic Church and its teachings.
>
> **Nora Heimann**[207]

In order to contextualise the illustrations to be discussed in this chapter and examine the statement by Nora Heimann, I will argue that Voltaire and Gravelot encoded the text and illustrations of the 1762 edition of *La Pucelle* with references to eighteenth-century religious disputes. During the first half of the eighteenth century in France, the Catholic Church faced two major challenges: on the one hand, Enlightened rationalism threatened the traditional articulation of Christian beliefs which could no longer assume a position of supremacy in France as well as elsewhere in Europe.[208] On the other hand, the Catholic Church was experiencing internal power struggles between two branches of religious orders. The Jesuits who acknowledged the Pope's absolute authority in matters of faith, and the Jansenists, in alliance with members of the Paris *Parlement*, who were determined to exclude all Roman influence from the affairs of the French Church and State.[209] In my discussion of Gravelot's illustrations I consider both of the eighteenth-century conflicts to be significant in that they provide a framework for developing a fuller understanding of the wider religious discourses that impacted on the reception of *La Pucelle* in the 1730s *and* the 1760s.

The target audience for the 1762 edition had a firm understanding of religious

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[207] Nora Heimann, *Joan of Arc in French Art and Culture (1700-1855): from Satire to Sanctity*, p. 41.
[208] Chapter Five, 'Secularisation and Desacralisation', in Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolutions,* trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, London, 1991.
[209] Chapter Thirty-Five, 'The Jansenist Quarrel', in John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and Politics of Religion*, Oxford, 1998; Chapter One, 'Politics and Society', in Haydn Mason, *French Writers and their Society 1715-1800,* London, 1982, p. 13.

discourses and were responsible for fuelling the divergence away from the teachings of the Catholic Church and wider adoption of an increasingly secularised outlook. A limitation of Jurgen Habermas' model on the emergence of public opinion is the lack of importance he assigns to eighteenth-century religious debates.[210] From the 1730s onwards the police reports were dominated by religious events and news of the monarchy's involvement in the religious conflicts.[211] The Jansenist-orchestrated clandestine news-sheet *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques ou Memoires pour servir a l'histoire de la Constitution Unigenitus* which began publication in 1728,[212] put forward the Jansenist point of view on the ills caused by the Papal Bull *Unigenitus* to middle class audiences. Although Voltaire dismissed the pamphlets as 'selling a weekly ration of the contemporary history of parish sacristans, altar boys, gravediggers and churchwardens',[213] they continued to act as a vehicle to undermine the political and ecclesiastical authorities throughout the first half of the French eighteenth century. In the 1750s and 1760s, France experienced an increase in the production of pamphlets and Enlightened texts encouraging reformed Catholicism which aimed to change the way the public responded to religious teachings. As Barbara Taylor rightly states, 'the spread of enlightened principles led to a transformation in Christian belief rather than its wholesale abandonment'.[214] It is also important to note that the increase in secularisation did not affect all social classes or change attitudes at the same rate everywhere in France. For the lower classes and many of those living in the provinces, as opposed to the capital, devotional works continued to make up a large part of their reading material.[215]

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[210] Jurgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, Neuwied, 1962, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence*, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, 1989.
[211] Chapter Two, 'Words caught in flight: government, information and resistance', in Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France*, Cambridge, 1994.
[212] For more information on the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* see, *Ibid,* p. 36.
[213] Voltaire, *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des Lois*, in Œuvres, Vol. 30, p. 406, cited in John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and Politics of Religion*, Oxford, 1998, p. 425.
[214] Barbara Taylor, 'Feminism and Enlightened Religious Discourses', in Knott and Taylor, *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, Basingstoke, 2005, p. 411.
[215] Chapter Three, 'Reading publics: transformations of the literary public sphere', in James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe,* Cambridge, 2001.

In March 1730, Louis XV declared the Bull *Unigenitus* as the symbol of royal, episcopal and papal authority in France.[216] The arrival of *Unigenitus* in 1713 which was sent by the Roman Catholic episcopacy was part of an effort to excommunicate the Jansenist order from the Catholic Church.[217] This order was seen as aiming for a new Counter-Reformation and as having doctrines similar to those of Calvinism.[218] This event aroused public opposition due to France's Gallican traditions that had emerged in the Middle Ages as a reaction against papal authority and intrusion in the French Church. Throughout the 1730s and 1750s the French ecclesiastical hierarchy was split between the Jesuit bishops and priests who supported papal authority and attempted to suppress the Jansenist movement.[219] In 1749-50 Christophe de Beaumont, the archbishop of Paris instructed anti-Jansenist priests to refuse the last rites to dying Jansenist parish priests who were lacking a *billet de confession* (*note of confession*). For many of those belonging to the lower and middle classes the persecution of their Jansenist parish priests caused intense hatred of the Catholic episcopacy and the Crown, the latter being viewed by many as responsible for the religious fallout due to the King's inability to control the Catholic Church.[220]

Throughout this chapter I explore the themes of exemplary and counter-exemplary Christian behaviour and of punishment for those who have sinned. In Part one I argue that Voltaire and Gravelot aimed to convey a critical view of Catholic masculinity that could be understood as a form of anticlericalism. Canto One and the accompanying illustration stage a comical view of the superstitious nature of clergymen through reference to demonic possession and the protective power of sacramental baptism. Voltaire and Gravelot were criticising the eighteenth-century conflicts between orders

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[216] Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791*, Yale, 1996, pp. 122-8.
[217] Chapter Thirty-Six, 'Unigenitus', in John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and Politics of Religion*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 353-5.
[218] Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791*, Yale, 1996, pp. 100-1.
[219] Chapter Forty-One, 'The Mid-Century Crisis', in John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and Politics of Religion*, Oxford, 1998.
[220] Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791*, Yale, 1996, pp. 170-80.

of the Catholic Church and their misguidance of the French population in spiritual matters. In contrast, Canto One presents St. Denis as an exemplary Christian in his mission to protect Jeanne and guide the French army.

Part two focuses on Voltaire's and Gravelot's satirical responses to the Catholic Church's promotion of clerical sexual abstinence and female virginity. The laxity of the French monk Grisbourdon in *La Pucelle* in upholding the Catholic Church's teachings on sexual abstinence is emphasised through his attempt to violate Jeanne's sexual purity.[221] Popular criticisms of clerical power were well publicised in eighteenth-century France through pornographic literature and prints.[222] I suggest that *La Pucelle's* audience were aware of the eighteenth-century significance and Enlightened criticisms surrounding Voltaire's and Gravelot's comical depiction of this clergyman. In addition, the poem's audience were to reflect upon the Church's superstitious responses to Jeanne d'Arc's sexuality in the fifteenth-century legend. According to Marina Warner, Jeanne d'Arc referred to herself as "la pucelle" meaning "the virgin",[223] a topic that Voltaire chose to emphasise for the title and the focus of his poem. Warner has noted that 'the inference of virginity became firmer through the Middle Ages, especially after *despulceler*, meaning 'to deflower', was introduced into the French language in the twelfth century'.[224]

In the cantos and illustrations discussed in Part three, Voltaire and Gravelot were making the point that French monk Grisbourdon's failure to teach the characters in the poem how to abide by the Catholic Church's vows of chastity resulted in some characters emulating his own profane behaviour. The Church's sacrament of marriage taught men and women that sexual relations should only occur between married couples with the sole intention to reproduce rather than to obtain sexual pleasure.[225]

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[221] Voltaire's *La Guerre Civile de Genève, ou les amours de Robert Covelle* of 1768 adopts a similar theme in which a clergyman falls in love with a peasant girl and as a result abdicates from his duty to God.
[222] Chapter Three, 'Philosophical Pornography', in Robert Darnton*, The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France,* London, 1996.
[223] Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: the image of female heroism,* Harmondsworth, 1983, p. 41.
[224] *Ibid*, p. 41.
[225] John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two:*

Voltaire and Gravelot mocked the Catholic Church's views on marriage practices by drawing upon the notion of vow-breaking through acts of fornication. Voltaire and Gravelot were drawing attention to the *philosophes*' championing of reforms to marriage practices in response to the marital laws of the French government and the Catholic Church.[226]

Part One: Catholicism and Superstition

The thinkers of the Enlightenment, with Voltaire at the forefront deploying his slogan '*Ecrasez l'Infâme'* ('*Trample the Infamy'*),[227] valued a growth in knowledge and rational thinking to overcome religious intolerance and superstition.[228] Voltaire's religious stance went through a dramatic transformation from his early education at the Jesuits' College de Louis-Le-Grand in Paris, to the change of feeling towards this educational institution during his later career. In recent scholarship Voltaire has been labelled a deist, a religious position that, whilst still adopting many elements of Christian faith, is based on reason.[229] Whilst acknowledging that God created the universe, deists believed that God subsequently abandoned it and maintained no control over human life.[230] *La Pucelle's* audience of the 1730s would have read his *Lettres philosophiques* (also known as *Letters Concerning an English Nation*) of 1733, being well aware that around this time he was engaged in religious conflicts.[231] Whilst praising English liberty and religious tolerance, his *Lettres philosophique* carried out a widely perceived attack on French absolutism and religious dogmatism.

The audience for the 1762 edition could acquire additional information on Voltaire's

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The Religion of the People and Politics of Religion, Oxford, 1998, pp. 18-27, 299-303.
[226] Chapter Two, 'The Rise of Criticism: The Thought of the French Enlightenment', in James F. Traer, *Marriage and the Family in Eighteenth-Century France*, London and Ithaca, 1980.
[227] The first reference to this slogan was in a letter to the French writer Mme d' Epinay in June 1759. Ian Davidson, *Voltaire in Exile*, London, 2004, p. 68.
[228] Peter Gray, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, The Rise of Modern Paganism*, Vol. 1, London, 1967.
[229] René Pomeau, *La Religion de Voltaire*, Paris, 1968.
[230] Theodore Besterman, 'Voltaire's God', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century,* Vol. 55, 1967, pp. 23-41.
[231] Chapter One, 'Letters Concerning the English Nation', in Christopher Thacker, *Voltaire: Selected Writings,* London, 1995.

ongoing concern with religious debates in France by reading his *Dictionnaire philosophique* of 1764. In the article 'Tolerance' in the *Dictionnaire philosophique* Voltaire cited antique tolerance as the ideal model, 'The Romans permitted all cults, even that of the Jews, even that of the Egyptians, although they had so much contempt for both. Why did the Romans tolerate these cults? because neither the Egyptians nor even the Jews tried to exterminate the ancient religion of the Empire'.[232] Voltaire continued, 'Of all religions, the Christian religion is no doubt the one which should inspire the most tolerance; and yet, up to now, the Christians have been the most intolerant of men'.[233] Voltaire, along with other *philosophes* saw the Age of Enlightenment as a rebirth of the earlier Enlightened civilisations of classical antiquity and Christianity as the decline into the age of darkness.[234]

The opening scene in Gravelot's image for Canto One of *La Pucelle* shows St. Denis' apparition through an open window on his arrival at the royal court (fig. 29). Throughout the first half of the French eighteenth century, religious prints depicting St. Denis were distributed by confraternities for free to the congregation during a religious service or sold in the street to encourage the support of religiosity.[235] In addition, religious prints were carried during Catholic processions to honour St. Denis as the patron saint of France whilst disseminating knowledge on how to treat religious objects. Through my research I have found no visual evidence of surviving confraternity prints devoted to St. Denis and can only conclude that these prints were destroyed following the closure of the confraternities in 1770[236] and during the French Revolution. The disposal of these kinds of prints also occurred routinely because confraternity prints had no exchange value and often were replaced with newer

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[232] 'Tolerance', in Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philsophique*, 1764, cited in Peter Gray, *The Enlightenment: an interpretation, the rise of modern paganism*, Vol. 1, London, 1967, pp. 168-9.
[233] 'Tolerance', in Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philsophique*, 1764, cited in Ian Davidson, *Voltaire in Exile*, London, 2004, p. 116.
[234] Peter Gray, *The Enlightenment: an interpretation, the rise of modern paganism*, Vol. 1, London, 1967, p. 35.
[235] Richard Clay, 'Violating the Sacred: Theft and Iconoclasm in Late Eighteenth-Century Paris', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 2003, pp. 1-22.
[236] Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution,* trans. Lydia G.Cochrane, Durham, 1991, p. 101.

versions.[237] However, I have come across textual evidence showing that St. Denis was associated with the Parisian confraternities of the *arbalétriers* (*crossbowmen*),[238] *arquebusiers* (*musketeers*)[239] and the archers[240] during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[241] The associations to be made between St. Denis and these societies which acted as the French police, the military and royal authority could explain Voltaire's reason for including this saint in *La Pucelle* as the guardian of Jeanne, Charles VII and the French army.

La Pucelle's audience would have interpreted Canto One using their knowledge of the life of St. Denis obtained from the *Bibliothèque bleue*[242] and his visual attributes acquired through the visual arts and religious teachings. According to the sixth-century writer Gregory of Tours, St. Denis was sent as a missionary to Gaul (now France) by Pope St. Clements in c. 250 AD with his companions Rusticus and Eleuterius to preach the Christian faith.[243] St. Denis was based on the island in the Seine near the city of Lutetia Parisorium (that would become Paris). For this reason he is known as the first bishop of Paris. St. Denis was captured by the civilians, tortured and beheaded, his

[237] Clay, Richard, 'The Transformation of Signs: Iconoclasm in Paris during the French Revolution (1789-1795)', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century,* Oxford, unpublished manuscript, expected 2011.
[238] 'Arbalétrier' is defined as, 'Homme de guerre qui tiroit de l'arbaleste' ('Soldier who fired from a crossbow), in Jean-Baptiste Coignard*, Le Grand Dictionnaire de l'Academie Françoise*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1695-6, p. 30.
[239] 'Arquebusier' is defined as, 'Homme de guerre qui tire de l'arquebuse' ('Soldier who fires a musket'). *Ibid*, Vol. 1, p. 30.
[240] 'Archer' is defined as, 'Homme de guerre combattant avec l'arc. [...] ces gens qui sont armez d'epees, hallebardes, d'armes a feu, soit pour prendre les voleurs, soit pour prendre les voleurs, soit pour garder les villes, soit pour executer quelque ordre de justice & de police' ('Soldier fighting with a bow. […] these people who are armed with swords, pikes, firearms, were for apprehending thieves, were for protecting the towns, were for enforcing order, justice and policing'). *Ibid,* Vol. 1, p. 30.
[241] José Lothe and Agnès Virole, *Catalogue des Image de Confréries,* Parisiennes exposition du 18 November 1991 au 7 Mars 1992, Vol. 1, Paris, 1999, p272; Jean Baptiste Le Masson, Le *Calendrier des Confréries de Paris* , Paris, 1875; Jean Gaston, *Les Images des Confréries Parisiennes avant la Révolution*, Paris, 1908.
[242] John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 195-6.
[243] 'Saints Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius' in, Jacques de Voragine, *La Légende dorée*, trans. William Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, *The Golden Legend: Reading on the Saints*, Vol. 1, Princeton, 1993, pp. 236-41; 'Denis', in Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique,* Paris, 1764, cited in *Oeuvres Completes de Voltaire*, Vol. 18, Condorcet (ed.), Paris, 1878.

body being buried by his converts at a site which is now covered by the abbey of Saint-Denis. Eighteenth-century paintings of St. Denis included Carle Van Loo's *La Condamnation de Saint Denis* (*The Condemnation of Saint Denis*) of 1741 (fig. 47), Nicholas-Guy Brenet's (1728-92) *Le Martyre de Saint Denis et de ses Compagnons* (*The Martydom of Saint Denis and his companions*) exhibited at the 1763 Salon (fig. 48),[244] and Joseph-Marie Vien's (1716-1809) *Saint Denis prêchant les Gaules* (*Saint Denis preaching to the Gauls*) of 1767 (fig. 49). In these paintings and Gravelot's image for Canto One of *La Pucelle* St. Denis has similar attributes that include, a long beard, a staff, a bishops 'mitre', a form of headwear and a *aureole*, a shining disk that surrounds the head of divine persons.[245] Whereas the paintings show St. Denis in the temporal sphere prior to his beheading and sainthood, for Canto One of La Pucelle Voltaire and Gravelot presented a comical view of the saint after his death but with his head still attached to his body.

In Gravelot's print St. Denis is drawn to resemble human form as if existing between the temporal and celestial sphere. He is pictured hovering above the ground unsupported apart from the ray of light that shines from beneath him. The accompanying text reinforces this observation:

> The saint appeared, in lustrous garb arrayed,
> Borne on bright gleam, descended to the ground,
> […] Then said aloud: "My sons, be not afraid,
> My name is Denis, I'm a saint by trade".[246]

Depictions of saints in paintings and prints commonly show them supported by a cloud, for example, Jean-François de Troy's (1679-1752) *Saint Geneviève and the Aldermen of Paris* of 1726 (fig. 50). Gravelot's depiction of St. Denis in Canto One, however, transforms pictorial convention through the lack of a visual signifier that

[244] Denis Diderot, *Œuvres Esthétiques,* Paul Vernière (ed.), Paris, c. 1965, p. 280.
[245] Although these are also the conventional attributes of the bishops, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St Lazarus to name a few.
[246] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto One, p. 45. 'L'objet aproche, et le faint fantôme entre/ Toute doucement porté sur son rayon,/ […] Je suis Denis, et Saint de mon métier.' (Geneva 1762, p. 16).

would inform the audience that he resides in the celestial sphere. I believe Voltaire and Gravelot were mocking the Catholic Church's view of saints and their ability to guide people. St. Denis is shown descending to the temporal sphere to physically, in addition to spiritually, offer military guidance.

In Gravelot's image for Canto One, prior to the moment of St. Denis's arrival and on hearing someone entering the room, Richemont, a young preacher depicted standing in the centre of the image, wonders whether Satan will appear and welcomes a chance to meet with him:

> Richemont, whose breast an iron heart concealed,
> Blasphemer, and whose lips but oaths revealed,
> Raising his voice, exclaimed: "It is the devil
> from Hell arrived, dread mansion of all evil;
> 'Twould be, me thinks, agreeable and strange,
> Could we with Lucifer some words exchange".[247]

In anticipation of Satan's possible arrival:

> Away ran Louvet, in his zeal quite hot,
> To fetch the holy water a full pot.[248]

In the image for Canto One, Richemont holds a container called an 'aspersorium' used for carrying the holy water and a stick called an 'anpergillum' (or 'aspergill') (fig. 51) that is commonly used by a priest to sprinkle blessed water over the congregation at the beginning of Mass or as the sacrament of baptism.[249] In eighteenth-century France,

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[247] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto One, p. 45. 'Le Richemont qui porte en Cœur de fer,/ Blasphémateur, jureur impitoyable,/ Haussant la voix dit que c'était le Diable/ Qui leur venait du fin fond de l'enfer;/ Que ce serait chose très agréable,/ Si l'on pouvait parler à Lucifer.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 15).
[248] *Ibid*, Canto One, p. 45. 'Maître Louvet s'en courut au plus vite/ Chercher un pot tout rempli d'eau bénite.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 15).
[249] 'Baptism', in Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique,* 1764, cited in Theodore Besterman, *Voltaire: Miracles and Idolatry*, London, 1972, pp. 28-31.

this sacrament acted as a certificate of citizenship in that it acknowledged the superiority of the Pope in spiritual matters and the king in temporal affairs.[250] In the illustration for Canto One of *La Pucelle* French soldiers cower on the floor in fear or superstitious belief in the holy water's efficiency against Satan. St. Denis holds up his two fingers in blessing and a gesture of self-defence on seeing Richemont holding the pail-like vessel. St. Denis was commonly known as an intercessor against demonic possession,[251] however, in Canto One he is faced with a cleric who suffers from demonic obsession. Canto One would have reminded *La Pucelle's* audiences of the 1730s and 1760s of the conflicts between the Jansenists and Jesuits concerning the penitential sacrament. The Jansenists believed that individuals should undergo the strict process of contrition in order to seek absolution. They accused the Jesuits of laxism because of their tendency to absolve their penitents without insisting on contrition to receive salvation.[252] Furthermore, the Jansenists, in their contritionist rigour, were less inclined to tolerate superstition.

Voltaire encouraged the poem's audiences to decode the eighteenth-century significance of including St. Denis, a figure associated with the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in his poem. By studying Voltaire's poem and Gravelot's image for Canto One in the light of these religious events, St. Denis was recognisable by *La Pucelle's* audience as being the first bishop of Paris and as carrying out good deeds for the nation of France. Through his guidance of Jeanne and the French army he is setting the example in terms of the appropriate behaviour expected of the Catholic clergy. In contrast, the eighteenth-century anti-Jansenist Bull *Unigenitus*, the archbishop of Paris, and other clerics at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were seen as orchestrating religious feuds within the Catholic faith and disrupting devotional practices. Canto One of *La Pucelle* explicitly refers to Voltaire's anti-clericalism through his mockery of the superstitious nature of clergymen and their fear of the underworld. Voltaire and

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[250] John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 3-6.
[251] Gioia Lanzi, *Saints and their Symbols: Recognising Saints in Art and Popular Imagery*, Minnesota, 2004, p. 29.
[252] James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe,* Cambridge, 2001, p. 49; Chapter Thirty-One, 'The Confessional', in John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 248-9.

Gravelot were highlighting the clerical and public hysteria caused by numerous cases of alleged demon possession during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France.[253]

Part Two: Clerical Abstinence and Female Virginity

In order to decode the illustrations of *La Pucelle* discussed in this section, the poem's audience needed to draw upon eighteenth-century religious discourses concerning the Catholic Church's promotion of sexual abstinence as connoted in the publication's visual and textual references to clerical sexual desire and female virginity. In 1737 Voltaire argued for sexual freedom in a section of his *Discours en vers sur l'homme* (*Discourses in verse on man*) entitled 'Sur la Nature du plaisir' ('On the Nature of pleasure'), stating that God gave his people the capacity for pleasure and the license to indulge in it:

> Whether 'tis the prick of lust,
> Or sweeter still love,
> Prodding you to procreative deeds,
> A merciful God adds vital pleasure to your needs.[254]

The clandestine manuscript *Testament de Jean Meslier* of 1735, written by an atheist priest and made available to the public through the underground book trade, argued that Christian condemnation of sexuality was a principal error in Christian teachings. According to Meslier, the Catholic Church was wrong to condemn 'as vices and as crimes worthy of eternal punishment, not only the acts, but also the most natural thoughts, desires, and affections of the flesh, - the most necessary for the conservation and the multiplication of the human race'.[255] These kinds of texts shaped potential responses to the 1762 edition of *La Pucelle* by moving on the debates of the 1730s

[253] Chapter Thirty, 'The Dark Side of the Supernatural', in John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion*, Oxford, 1998.
[254] Chapter Three, 'Celibacy: From the Grace of God to the Scourge of the Nation', in Carol Brum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France,* Baltimore, 2002, p. 32.
[255] *Ibid*, p. 32.

concerning secular responses to the Church's promotion of sexual purity.

Voltaire's article 'Célibat' ('Celibacy') in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* of 1764 conveyed his criticism of clerical celibacy, 'I believe that England, Protestant Germany, and Holland are proportionately more populated [than France]. The reason is obvious: in those countries they do not have any monks who swear to God to be useless to humanity'.[256] Voltaire continued that, 'It has often been observed that nocturnal pollutions are frequently experienced by people of the two sexes who are not married, […] One concludes from this that it is a type of sacrilege by holy men to thus prostitute the gift of the Creator and to renounce marriage, expressly commanded by God himself'.[257] Voltaire's comments were part of established wider concerns that were discussed by Montesquieu in his *Lettres persanes* (*Persian letters*) of 1721 and *L' Esprit des Lois* (*On the Spirit of Laws*) of 1748, about population growth in eighteenth-century France in relation to the Church's vows of sexual obedience.[258] Urbain Grandier, curé de Loudun argued against celibacy in his *Traité du célibat des prêtres* (*Treatise on celibate priests*) of 1634 defining it as the, 'foundry exhaling the vapors of adultery, incest, fornication and sacrilege that soil the spouse of Jesus Christ [the Church]'.[259] According to Pierre Bayle's account, Grandier was 'burned alive with the manuscript he composed against the celibacy of priests, and his ashes thrown to the winds'.[260] Grandier was drawing upon fundamental concerns surrounding the sinful consequences of leading a celibate life that would continue to be adopted by the eighteenth-century *philosophes*. Indeed, McManners has noted a number of cases during the eighteenth century in which the police caught clerics with prostitutes.[261] The following cantos and illustrations for *La Pucelle* will explore such acts of non-

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[256] Chapter Three, 'Celibacy: From the Grace of God to the Scourge of the Nation', in Carol Brum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France,* Baltimore, 2002, p. 32.
[257] *Ibid,* p. 39.
[258] Chapter Two, 'Montesquieu and the 'Depopulation Letters'', in Carol Brum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France,* Baltimore, 2002.
[259] *Ibid*, p. 24.
[260] *Ibid*, p. 24.
[261] Chapter Thirty-Three, 'Sexual Passion', in John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 291-2.

normative clerical behaviour.

In forming *La Pucelle*, Voltaire and Gravelot were also drawing upon the misogynistic Christian attitudes towards women and virginity. The Jansenists and Jesuit orders shared comparable views on virginity and abstinence. On the one hand, the Catholic Church viewed women as a sexual temptation to the opposite sex, including clergymen.[262] The Church believed that uncontrollable human desire was the consequence of Eve's fall into temptation in the Garden of Eden.[263] On the other hand, by maintaining her virginity through 'the renunciation of the flesh, a woman could relieve a part of her nature's particular viciousness as the Virgin Mary had done through her complete purity'.[264] The Fathers of the Church viewed virginity as an image of wholeness and holiness.[265] As Ambroise wrote in the fourth century, for a girl to lose her virginity was 'to deface the work of the creator'.[266] Women's sexual purity was promoted as a form of liberty and escape from sexual duty and the dangers of childbirth.[267]

According to the original legend of Jeanne d'Arc, her claims of virginity were met with initial suspicion by her allies and were used by her enemies as a reason for her persecution. After she was captured by the Burgundians at the battle at Compiègne on the 24 May 1430 she was sold by John of Luxembourg to the English on 6 December 1430.[268] Jeanne was then imprisoned at Rouen and physically examined in early January 1431 by order of the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, the latter of whom found

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[262] Anne L. McClanan and Karen Rosoff Encarnación (eds.), *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe*, New York, 2002, p. 100.
[263] Chapter Four, 'Second Eve', in Marina Warner, *Alone in All Her Sex: the Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary,* London, 1978.
[264] *Ibid*, p. 68.
[265] Mary Douglas has argued that the image of the body reflected the image of society and thus a virginal body symbolised the impermeable Catholic Church in a polluted world. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger, An Analysis of the Concept of Pollution and Taboo*, London, 1966, pp. 186-7.
[266] St. Ambrose, *Exhortatio Virginitatis,* quoted in Robert Briffault, *The Mothers*, New York, 1927, p. 373.
[267] Chapter Five, 'Virgins and Martyrs' in Marina Warner, *Alone in All Her Sex: the Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary,* London, 1978, pp. 72-3.
[268] There exists no documentary evidence that Charles VII attempted to rescue Jeanne or provide a ransom. Chapter Six 'Joan the Prisoner', in Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story,* London, 2000, pp. 97-9.

her maidenhood intact.[269] Jeanne was given an ecclesiastical trial from early January to 30 May 1431 and she was eventually condemned as a heretic and *sorcière* (*witch*) who had subverted the Church's authority.[270] Jeanne was burnt at the stake on 30 May 1431, a common form of execution for those accused of witchcraft during the Catholic Inquisition.[271] In 1433 the Duke of Bedford wrote to the English government describing how English losses were due to 'a disciple and lime of the Fiend, called the Pucelle, [who had] used false enchantment and sorcery'.[272] The eighteenth-century audience of *La Pucelle* would have been familiar with the historical references to Jeanne d'Arc's virginity in the original legend.

Chapter One of this thesis explored the English soldiers' attempts to rob Jeanne of her virginity in *La Pucelle*, in order to secure their military victory against the French. In the following two illustrations discussed below, the French monk Grisbourdon and the Hermaphrodix, as agents of Satan, strive to do the same and orchestrate Jeanne's fall from grace within the Catholic Church. Gravelot's illustration for Canto Four (fig. 52) depicts a bedroom battle of sexual violence in which the Hermaphrodix has entered the bedroom where Jeanne has been sleeping and attempts to seek pleasure by touching her immodestly exposed breast. [273] The accompanying text describes:

> Ordained Hermaphrodix no dame should be;
> Wherefore anon, in manly disguise array'd,
> The vicious monster sped to Joan the maid,
> Undrew the curtains, and her snowy breast

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[269] Chapter Seven, 'Joan's Trial and Execution at Rouen', in Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: the image of female heroism,* Harmondsworth, 1983, p. 105.
[270] Chapter Five, 'Harlot of the Armagnacs' and Chapter Six, 'Heretic', in *Ibid*.
[271] The *Malleus Maleficarum* (*The Witch Hammer*) first published in 1485 instructed the clergy of the Catholic Inquisition on how to identify and prosecute women accused of witchcraft.
[272] The notion of Jeanne as a sorceress is evident from William Shakespeare's play *Henry VI*. Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: the image of female heroism,* Harmondsworth, 1983, p. 120.
[273] 'Hermaphrodite' is defined as, 'Celuy qui a les deux sexes', in Jean-Baptiste Coignard, *Le Grand Dictionnaire de l'Academie Françoise,* Vol. 1, Paris, 1695-6, p. 339. Similarly, this term is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as, 'a human being in which parts characteristic of both sexes are to some extent (really or apparently) combined'. www.oed.com.

With rude, unlicensed impudence caressed;
[…] As vile Hermaphrodix lascivious grew,
More hideous was his person to the view;
Joan, animated by celestial glow,
With nervous arm on visage dealt a blow.[274]

For the Hermaphrodix Voltaire drew upon the classical narrative of Salmacis and the Hermaphrodītus from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[275] Hermaphrodītus was the son of Venus and Mercury who travelled to Caria where he bathed in a fountain. Salmacis the nymph who witnessed this scene tried to seduce him and prayed to the Gods to make them as one body. This was granted and a creature that combined the physical components of the male and female sex was formed. The poem for Canto Four of *La Pucelle* describes the Hermaphrodix's ability to physically change its sexuality depending on whether it is night or day in order to seduce both sexes. The Hermaphrodix declares:

"'Tis my desire as either sex to love,
Wherefore by night let me the female prove,
And with returning day man's form resume".[276]

As Gravelot's scene for Canto Four is set at night the Hermaphrodix appears to Jeanne in its feminine form. Although the Hermaphrodix wears a similar nightgown to Jeanne, this creature's androgynous nature is conveyed through the absence of physical

[274] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Four, p. 150. 'Changeait Madame en Monsieur Conculix./ Alors s'en va droit au lit de la pucelle/ Les rideaux tire, & lui fourant au sein/ Sans compliment son impudente main,/ Et lui donnant un baiser immodeste,/ Attente en maître à sa pudeur céleste./ Plus il s'agite, & plus il deviant laid./ Jeanne qu'anime une chrêtienne rage,/ D'un bras nerveux lui détache un souflet.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 81).
[275] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, book 4, Vol. 347, p. 271, cited in John Lemprière, *Lemprière's Classical Dictionary of Proper Names mentioned in Ancient Authors Writ Large,* London, 1784, p. 277; also see Marie Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite: Myth and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity*, London, 1956.
[276] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Four, p. 145. 'Je veux aimer comme homme & comme femme,/ Etre le nuit du sexe feminin,/ Et tout le jour du sexe masculin.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 76).

attributes belonging to either sex. The theme of gender inversion can be further explored through Dunois, who rushes to Jeanne's rescue, and has a noticeably effeminate appearance. I believe that the Hermaphrodix serves as an indexical sign for Jeanne in terms of their non-normative sexual identities through the mixing of traits associated with both sexes. Throughout the poem and the illustrations a pattern emerges in which Jeanne, by day adopts the role and/or appearance of a male warrior[277] and at night her feminine traits are emphasised as she does not wear armour and is shown reclining in bedroom settings.[278] I am suggesting that Jeanne is shown nearer to her "natural" rather than "social" state in these night-time scenes. Gravelot's illustration for Canto Four is particularly intriguing as Jeanne does not passively allow the Hermaphrodix's attempted sexual attack but punishes the creature by sending a blow to its head. Yet Jeanne's armour, helmet and sword, the emblems of self-protection and strength are shown on the floor in the foreground suggesting that it is not the armour she wears that makes her physically strong but rather her natural strength associated with her lowly class. Grisbourdon, the Franciscan monk[279] from his secret vantage point in the doorway, obtains visual satisfaction and imaginative enjoyment by watching the sexual struggle and semi-nude bodies of Jeanne and the Hermaphrodix.[280] Gravelot chose not to depict the following moments described by the text in which the monk attempts to rape Jeanne.[281] I believe that Gravelot instead wished the poem's audience to imagine the possible outcomes of his scene whilst maintaining the decent tone of the poem. This canto could be interpreted as commenting on eighteenth-century Catholic attitudes on the correct forms of behaviour for clergymen and the historical significance of Jeanne d'Arc's virginity.

The illustration for Canto Five (fig. 53) depicts monk Grisbourdon entering the underworld having been sent there by St. Denis as punishment for his pleasure seeking

[277] Cantos Two, Eleven and Thirteen, in Voltaire, *La Pucelle d'Orléans*, Geneva, 1762.
[278] Cantos Four and Twelve, in Voltaire, *La Pucelle d'Orléans,* Geneva, 1762.
[279] Michael Bihl, 'Order of Friar Minor', *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. 6, New York, 1909, from Catholic Encyclopedia online. www.newadvent.org/cathen/.
[280] 'Everywhere in the libertine tales, characters observed one another through keyholes, from behind curtains, and between bushes, while the reader looked over their shoulders'. Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, London, 1996, pp. 72-3.
[281] Francis Dowley, 'D'Angivillier's *Grands Hommes* and the significant moment', *Art Bulletin*, Vol. XXXIX, 1957, pp. 259–78.

in Canto Four. Grisbourdon's facial expression and stance indicates surprise at finding himself in Hell but also realisation that he should have believed in the Catholic Church's promotion of the path to heaven and the grace of God. Satan is shown sitting on a stone plinth holding a two-pronged fork and surrounded by a group of winged demons, with horns and tails. The inhabitants of the underworld congratulate rather than punish Grisbourdon's sexual adventure. The anonymous, crudely executed illustration for Canto Five of the 1761 London edition of Voltaire's *La Pucelle* (fig. 54) explicitly portray the sexual licence of the demons of both genders set under a classicised portico supported by columns. Gravelot's scene for Canto Five is also located under a classically-inspired façade surrounded by smoke billowing from the ground.[282] Gravelot's image presented an unconventional scene of Hell in comparison to the place described by the representatives of the Catholic Church to instil fear into their followers. There is a noticeable contrast between the bulky physique of the French monk and the muscular and idealised bodies of Satan and the demons, a possible attempt by Gravelot to imitate the classical nude and parody the teachings of the Académie.[283] Gravelot's unconventional artistic training meant he did not benefit from this artistic institution.[284]

Cantos Four and Five and the accompanying illustrations could have been readily understood by the poem's audiences of the 1730s and 1760s in terms of secular criticisms of the Church's promotion of clerical sexual abstinence and female virginity. Voltaire and other secular critics argued that because human pleasure-seeking was an innate characteristic, sexual abstinence would cause sexual temptation and broken vows. In *La Pucelle* Voltaire and Gravelot responded to these Enlightened and religious discourses by staging a comical scene showing monk Grisbourdon's disregard for the Church's teachings on virginity through his intention to rape Jeanne and potentially break clerical vows of sexual purity. *La Pucelle's* audience were shown once again that exemplary Christians like Jeanne and St. Denis triumph over and punish those who

[282] Voltaire notes that the belief in the afterlife was passed down from the Greeks to the Christians. 'Hell', in Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique,* Paris, 1764, cited in Theodore Besterman*, Voltaire: Miracles and Idolatry*, London, 1972, p. 62.
[283] Chapter Eight, 'Life Drawing', in Carl Goldstein, *Teaching Art: Academies and Schools from Vasari to Albers,* Cambridge, 1996.
[284] Alice Newlin, 'The Celebrated Mr Gravelot', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* Vol. 5, No. 2, 1946, pp. 61-6.

have sinned, in this case the Hermaphrodix and monk Grisbourdon.

Part Three: Catholicism and Sexual Abstinence

Cantos Seven and Nine follow the sexual adventures of unmarried couples that were to be interpreted as Voltaire's and Gravelot's attempt to ridicule the Catholic Church's teachings on marriage practices, in particular the importance of sexual abstinence prior to marriage and for women.[285] In eighteenth-century France, the Church's teachings on sexual restraint that attempted to uphold the morals of society were joined by governmental ordinances that aimed to limit illegitimacy and maintain public health and order.[286] During this time there were shifts in thought in how to define marriage following the meeting of the Council of Trent in 1546-63.[287] On the one hand, the Catholic sacrament allowed marriage to be validated via mutual consent, while, on the other hand, royal law viewed marriage as a contract and attempted to control marital relationships through paternal consent.

In eighteenth-century Paris, the influx of pornographic material, the rumours of the king's promiscuous behaviour with his mistresses, and the increase in prostitution meant that individuals from all social classes experienced and possibly imitated these pre-marital sexual encounters.[288] To counteract this, the Catholic Church encouraged men and women to marry early in order to avoid sin, although it was common for people of various classes to marry later (i.e. around thirty years of age) to ensure financial stability before starting a family.[289] Preachers recommended days for unmarried and married couples to abstain from sex such as, Thursday in memory of

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[285] Chapter Three, 'Celibacy: From the Grace of God to the Scourge of the Nation', in Carol Brum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France,* Baltimore, 2002; John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 18-27.
[286] Chapter One, 'Sacrament and Contract: Catholic Doctrine and Royal Authority over Marriage and the Family', in James F. Traer, *Marriage and the Family in Eighteenth-Century France*, London and Ithaca, 1980.
[287] *Ibid*, pp. 29-31.
[288] Chapter Thirty-Three, 'Sexual Passion', in John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion*, Oxford, 1998, p. 279-80.
[289] *Ibid,* p. 293.

Christ's arrest, Friday in memory of his death, Saturday in honour of the Virgin Mary, Sunday in honour of the Resurrection and Monday in remembrance of the faithful departed. In response, Voltaire and other *philosophes* emphasised the barrier that sexual abstinence caused to the reproductive needs of the nation.[290] Secular views on marriage placed an emphasis on allowing divorce, the freedom of choice,[291] and the importance of family bonding and childhood that was promoted by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his *Émile ou de l'education* published of 1762, the same year as Voltaire's *La Pucelle*.[292]

The following cantos and illustration of *La Pucelle* emphasise the secular notion of sexual pleasure as a natural human urge and that pre-marital sexual relations should be encouraged rather than punished. Gravelot's image for Canto Seven (fig. 55) depicts French knight Dunois's heroic rescue of Dorothée who stands on a pile of logs with her hands tied to a stake. A man adds more faggots to the pile whilst another man holds a flaming stick in preparation to light the platform on which Dorothée stands. Dunois has journeyed to Milan to save Dorothée on the winged ass shown sitting on the church roof in the background of the image. A crowd of civilians fill the street to witness the execution. The accompanying text describes:

> The knight, with courteous mien and bending low,
> The maid approached, to hear her tale of woe;
> Yet soft, my reader, while she thus proclaimed,
> The dire mishap of which she felt ashamed,
> Our ass divine judged meet his form to perch,

[290] Chapter Three, 'Celibacy: From the Grace of God to the Scourge of the Nation', in Carol Brum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France,* Baltimore, 2002, pp. 30-3.
[291] Chapter Two, 'The Rise of Criticism: The Thought of the French Enlightenment', in James F. Traer, *Marriage and the Family in Eighteenth-Century France*, London and Ithaca, 1980.
[292] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile*, *ou de l'education*, trans. Allen Broom, Hamondsworth, 1991; also see, Dorothy Johnson, 'Picturing Pedagogy: Education and the Child in the Paintings of Chardin', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 24, 1990, pp. 47-68; William F. Edmiston, 'Diderot and the Family: A Conflict of Nature and Law', *Stanford French and Italian Studies,* Vol. 34, 1985, pp. 38-41; Carol Duncan, 'Happy Mothers and Other Ideas in French Art', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 55, No. 4, 1973, pp. 570-83; Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood,* trans. Robert Baldrick, London, 1962.

And view the scene form steeple of the church.[293]

The 'dire mishap' mentioned in the extract of text above refers to Dorothée's pregnancy by the French knight La Trimouille which has occurred out of wedlock. Dorothée continues:

"He talked of marriage and nuptial thrill;
The next, he dared make known his wishes wild;
The next – the next – oh! then I proved with child".[294]

As the text explains, La Trimouille had no intention of marrying Dorothée and this was an empty promise to secure sexual gratification. On the balcony above the street Dorothée's uncle the archbishop of Milan and other members of the Catholic hierarchy condemn her to death for her sins of fornication and the loss of her sacred virginity. The archbishop preaches to those listening in the street below:

"Christians", he cried, "I find my niece profane,
To mother church she proves a damning bane,
Staunch heretic, debauched, and lost to grace,
[…] Confound the mother and the son in death;
And since of heaven I thus pronounce them cursed,
Straight let the Inquisition do its worst".[295]

Ultimately, the poem and illustration for Canto Seven highlight the ways that men and

[293] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Six, p. 212. 'A Dorothée alors le beau Dunois/ S'en vint parler d'un air humble & courtois;/ Et cependant que le belle lui conte,/ Les yeux baissés le belle lui raconte/ En soubirant son malheur & sa honte,/ L'âne divin, sur l'église perché,/ De tout ce cas paraissait fort touché…' (Geneva, 1762, p. 124).
[294] *Ibid,* Canto Seven, p. 228. 'Il me promit la foi de mariage./ Le lendemain il me fut entreprenant./ Le lendemain il me fit un enfant.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 128).
[295] *Ibid*, Canto Seven, pp. 232-3. 'Chretiens, dit-il, ma niéce est un impie:/ Je l'abandonne, & je l'excommunie:/ Un hérétique, un damné suborneur/ [...] Que Dieu confonde & le fils & le mère!/ Et puisqu'ils ont me malédiction,/ Qu'ils soient livrés a l'Inquisition.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 133).

women were viewed and treated differently by representatives of the Catholic Church. Dorothée is to receive punishment for defying the Catholic Church's doctrine on sexual purity and marriage, whereas La Trimouille has returned to war to do his duty for his country and has not been reprimanded. Dorothée's punishment in Canto Seven through torture and death by being burnt at the stake has historical significance when compared with the original narrative of Jeanne d'Arc. Jeanne, like other female Christian martyrs that are mentioned in the *La Légende dorée (Golden Legend)* of 1264 was killed in a way that illustrated Christianity's fear of women associated with sexual temptation and physical beauty.[296] For example, in the *Golden Legend* Agatha's breasts were cut off, Apollonia's teeth were torn out and she was burned alive, Juliana and Catherine of Alexandra was broken on the wheel.

Gravelot's illustration for Canto Nine (fig. 56) depicts two pairs of lovers, Judith and Arundel with Dorothée and La Trimouille, in romantic embraces and reclining in the shadow of a rocky cliff. St. Mary Magdalene hovers above them on a cloud that signifies her place within the celestial sphere. *La Pucelle's* audience would have known the various narratives of Mary Magdalene acquired from reading the Gospels and the *Bibliothèque bleue*. Like the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene was commonly perceived in sexual terms because according to Mark she was a prostitute until she met Christ who carried out the sacrament of penitence (Mark 16:9; Luke 8:2).[297] *La Pucelle*'s audience was to recognise that despite Mary's sinful past it is her faith in God that ultimately made her an exemplary Christian.

For this canto, Voltaire and Gravelot drew upon popular historical discourses of holy figures coming from the holy land to France. In the Middle Ages Mary Magdalene's hagiography was situated as a popular cult in France. According to the *Golden Legend*, Mary Magdalene, Maximinus, Lazarus of Bethany and others embarked on a pilgrimage to Marseilles in France to convert the inhabitants to Christianity.[298] On reaching

[296] Jacques de Voragine, *La Légende dorée*, trans. William Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, *The Golden Legend: Reading on the Saints*, Vol. 1, Princeton, 1993.
[297] Chapter Fifteen, 'The Penitent Whore', in Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, London, 1978, p. 227.
[298] Jacques de Voragine, *La Légende dorée*, trans. William Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, *The Golden Legend: Reading on the Saints*, Vol. 1, Princeton, 1993, p. 374-

Provence, Mary Magdalene withdrew to a cave on the mountain in the Sainte-Baume where she lived as a penitential hermit until her death.[299] On consulting the text for Canto Nine, Voltaire and Gravelot were clearly familiar with the conflicting cults of Mary Magdalene:

> 'Tis known that Magdalen in ancient time,
> To love consigning beauties in their prime,
> At length repentant bowed to heaven the knee,
> Weeping her sins and mundane vanity.
> […] And straight her steps towards soil of Provence wends;
> When urged by penitence to purge each sin,
> She scourged herself 'neath rock of Maximin,
> Since which exists celestial balsam exists. [300]

The text and illustration for Canto Nine place Mary Magdalene at a rock that *La Pucelle*'s audiences would assume to be Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume in Provence. Gravelot's depiction of Mary is set in art historical tradition showing her as a hermit, partially nude, wearing loose drapery and with long flowing hair. Other examples of such iconography includes, Philippe de Champaigne's (1602-74) *The Magdalen* of 1657 originally in the Benedictine nunnery of Saint-Melaine (fig. 57) and the wooden sculpture of Mary Magdalene crafted by Vincent Funel in 1692 and placed in the Dominican Church of St-Maximin in Var (fig. 58).[301] In these images Mary's semi-nudity is not symbolic of her Biblical status as a prostitute but of her devotion to God and her

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[299] Lazarus became the Bishop of Marseilles and on journeying to Aix-en-Provence Maximinus was consecrated as the bishop of Trier.

[300] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Nine, pp. 270-1. 'Chacan connait la belle Magdelaine,/ Qui de son temps ayant servi l'armour,/ Servit le Ciel, étant sur le retour,/ Et qui pleura sa vanité mondaine./ Pour s'en aller au pais de Provence,/ Et se fessa longtemps par pénitence,/ Au fond d'un creux du roc de Maximin./ Depuis ce temps un baume tout divin.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 168).

[301] Existing scholarship on these art objects does not include information on their provenance in the eighteenth century. Joan Evans, *Monastic Iconography in France from the Renaissance to the Revolution,* Cambridge, 1970.

sexual purity.[302] Ultimately, these depictions present Mary Magdalene as an important figure within French religious history and as a patroness of repentant sinners.

According to the text for Canto Nine, this area of Provence was the destination of many pilgrimages, especially for women who had sinned through sexual deviance.[303] Indeed, the text continues to describe how the French knight La Trimouille and Englishman Arondel find their mistresses praying at a shrine at the top of the mountain.[304] Dorothée and Judith travelled to the shrine in Provence to repent for their sins of fornication which occurred in earlier cantos of *La Pucelle.*[305] As previously discussed, Canto Seven described Dorothée's profane behaviour with La Trimouille in which she falls pregnant. In Canto Eight Judith seduced her captor Martinguerre and beheaded him in order to escape, a scene relating to the Biblical narrative of Judith and Holofernes. In the background of the image for Canto Nine, a group of monks, possibly of the Dominican order,[306] pray towards the rock face with a shrine or perhaps a statue devoted to St Mary Magdalene placed just out of view.[307]

In Gravelot's illustration, the arrival of La Trimouille and Arondel has caused Dorothee and Judith to forget their reasons for journeying to this shrine of repentance as they are shown engaging in acts of courtship with their partners. La Trimiouille's sword and armour are left discarded on the ground signifying his preference for love-making over

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[302] Chapter Seven, 'The Weeper', in Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor,* New York, 1994.
[303] 'To climb this rock come pilgrims many a one,/ And damsels by seductive arts undone;/ Of cruel Love the empire they resign'. *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Nine, p. 271. 'Plus d'une fille, & plus d'un pélerin,/Grimpe au rocher, pour abjurer l'empire,/Du Dieu d'amour, qu'on nomme esprit malin.' (Geneva, 1762, p. 168).
[304] *Ibid,* Canto Nine, p. 272. (Geneva, 1762, p. 169).
[305] *Ibid*, Canto Nine, p. 272. (Geneva, 1762, p. 169).
[306] In the thirteenth century, the Dominican orders also known as the Order of the Preachers were instrumental in spreading the Magdalene cult by saying that their Church at St-Maximin held a relic of St Mary Magdalene. Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor,* New York, 1994, pp. 146-7.
[307] In 1720 a large number of monks left Marseilles because of an outbreak of the plague, thereby, raising issues of lost faith and secularisation. Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 12.

his military duty. According to the accompanying text, prior to the arrival of the couples Mary Magdalene arrived at the rock of St Maximin to ask God for the power to punish bad Christians:

> "Obtain for me," she cried, "if e'er it chance
> That on my rock, subdued by amorous trance,
> A pair of lovers stroll to toy the hour,
> Their flames impure anon shall lose their power;
> That forthwith each may loathings dire impart,
> And hatred reign sole passion of each heart".
> […] While from a cloud Saint Magdalene surveyed
> With joy the change, that feverish love allayed. [308]

This passage of text is not in keeping with the French historical legend of Mary Magdalene which could reflect Voltaire's scepticism of its authenticity.[309] As the text describes Mary Magdalene places the couples under a powerful trance that transforms their passions to hatred. This is punishment for their fornicating in earlier cantos of *La Pucelle*. It is only on leaving the shrine that the couples' affections are rekindled.[310] Ultimately, Voltaire and Gravelot were making points about the Catholic Church's waiving dominion over the laity through the transitory nature of the couples' punition. I believe that Voltaire and Gravelot, for Cantos Seven and Nine were ridiculing the Church's message of warning to the laity, women in particular, that despite the opportunities to repent, sins of sexual impurity should be avoided in the first place.

Throughout this chapter I have shown that Voltaire and Gravelot as well as the poem's

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[308] *The Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Nine, pp. 271, 273; 'Obtenez-moi, si jamais il arrive/ Que sur mon roc une paire d'amants/ En rendez-vouz viennent passer leur temps,/ Leurs feux impurs dans tous les deux s'éteignent,/ Et qu'une forte et vive aversion/ Soit de leurs cœurs la seule passion/ [...]Et Magdeleine au milieu d'un nuë/ Goûtait en paix le satisfaction/ D'avoir produit cette conversion.' (Geneva, 1762, pp. 168, 171).

[309] John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Volume Two: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion*, Oxford, 1998, p. 282.

[310] *Work of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, Volume XX, "The Maid of Orleans", trans. William F. Fleming, New York, 1927, Canto Nine, p. 173. (Geneva, 1762, p. 170).

audiences of the 1730s and 1760s had a firm understanding of eighteenth-century religious discourses and current events surrounding the Catholic Church. These audiences were to enjoy the textual and visual comical references to the superstitious nature of clergymen whilst considering the significance of Enlightened and public critical responses towards orders within the Catholic Church, in particular the feuds between the Jansenists and Jesuits. I have suggested that the poem's audience would have been familiar with Voltaire's religious stance, namely his campaign for religious tolerance and with key religious figures such as St. Denis acquired from confraternity prints and paintings. The cantos and images discussed in this chapter have also made comments about the Church's teachings on marriage and sexual purity and encouraged the poem's audience to draw parallels with the original narrative of Jeanne d'Arc.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined, firstly, the ways in which Gravelot's illustrations for the 1762 edition of Voltaire's *La Pucelle d' Orléans* anchors and relays contemporary discourses that are imbedded in the text to an eighteenth-century audience, and secondly, how the poem and the illustrations can be understood in terms of shifting eighteenth-century discourses. Previous research has tended to discuss Voltaire's *La Pucelle* without considering the large number of eighteenth-century editions with textual and visual variations. Other studies have focused more on an interpretation of the text rather than giving equal consideration to the text *and* the illustrations. Most importantly, there has been no in-depth study of Gravelot's contribution to the 1762 edition of Voltaire's poem. The influence of eighteenth-century discourses on Voltaire's and Gravelot's works has previously been dismissed or limited to only a brief examination of a few cantos and illustrations. My study, unlike previous scholarship has studied around half of the cantos and images in more depth and has discussed the responses of the poem's elite audience during the 1730s and of the wider reading public during the 1760s.

Throughout the three chapters of this thesis, I have shown that Gravelot had a firm understanding of the fifteenth-century legend of Jeanne d'Arc and the ways in which Voltaire altered this original narrative. Ingvald Raknem has argued that although Voltaire's *La Pucelle* was read with enthusiasm during the French eighteenth-century, his poem was viewed as purely trivial and was 'not meant to be taken seriously'.[311] I have argued against this claim, suggesting that Voltaire's and Gravelot's decision to construct a satirical poem meant that humour played an important role in encouraging the poem's audience to decode the shifting eighteenth-century significance of the poem's narrative and its characters. By looking at Gravelot's visual responses to Voltaire's poem, it has been possible to show that he, like his audiences, was surrounded by information and news on political and religious events and social changes during the French eighteenth-century. I have demonstrated that Gravelot had a firm understanding of eighteenth-century Enlightened, political and religious discourses and "public opinion" which he responded to and shaped.

[311] Ingvald Raknem, *Joan of Arc in History, Legend and Literature*, Oslo, 1971, p. 75.

I have shown that the upper and middle class audiences for *La Pucelle* were familiar with the Enlightened campaigns of Voltaire and other *philosophes,* and the wider public opinions and debates within eighteenth-century society. These discourses would have circulated in the salons and during gatherings of the "Republic of Letters" as well as in the wider 'public sphere', through the increasing amount and availability of printed material and communication networks. Although the authorised edition of Voltaire's *La Pucelle* was published in Geneva, as opposed to clandestine printing houses on French borders, its text and illustrations adopted many of the conventions associated with illegal texts, including religious and political satire, and eroticism. The characters' sexual adventures in *La Pucelle* were indicative of the increase in pornographic literature and imagery being produced during the French eighteenth century. Ultimately, *La Pucelle* like other philosophical and satirical texts, aimed to satisfy audiences' fascination with publicising the private or closed discourses surrounding the religious and political institutions.

In Chapter one, I explored how Voltaire and Gravelot were mocking Jeanne's attempts to be a female and lower-class warrior in response to the eighteenth-century debates of the Ancients and Moderns over notions of male heroism and the inclusion of women in epic-style poetry. Theories on the eighteenth-century French carnivalesque tradition and on gender roles and social order underpinned the discussion of the text and images in this chapter. The first part of Chapter two focused on depictions of Charles VII's mistress Agnés' and her attempts to distract the king from his royal duties by using her erotic allure. These scenes were indicative of eighteenth-century anxieties that the *salonniéres* were distracting the *philosophes* and that the same was happening with the courtesans and Louis XV. The second part of this chapter placed the comical references to Charles VII and his inadequacies as king, in relation to the eighteenth-century public criticisms of Louis XV. Chapter three explored the themes of clerical lust, sexual abstinence and female virginity in terms of Enlightened and public criticisms of the Catholic Church's teachings and specific religious events during the eighteenth-century in France.

Although I have approached this study from an art-historical perspective, particular

attention has been paid to the inter-relationship between the text and the images of *La Pucelle*. I have shown that Gravelot's illustrations successfully served as supporting tools for the poem's cantos and, with the addition of the poem's annotations, would have offered sufficient guidance to the middle and upper class audiences. However, the exception is Gravelot's illustration for Canto Fifteen which includes visual content that cannot be found in the accompanying text. In this canto Voltaire was mocking Charles VII's cowardly retreat from the battlefield. Gravelot's accompanying image heightened the comical nature of this canto by depicting a group of women who are throwing stones at the king. By adding this motif, Gravelot did not mean to confuse his audience but rather to strengthen the message associated with this canto. The public disapproval surrounding Charles VII's actions in the image was indicative of growing eighteenth-century criticisms surrounding King Louis XV through his failed attempts at being a successful military leader.

Due to the constraints of word length it has not been possible to examine all twenty of Voltaire's cantos and Gravelot's illustrations. Further research might include an exploration of several of Voltaire's comical and historical writings, to determine whether he adopted similar literary conventions, to those used in his *La Pucelle*. Another area of study could focus on Gravelot's visual responses to other well-known poems. This thesis has highlighted the importance of Voltaire's *La Pucelle* and Gravelot's engravings in creating widespread enthusiasm for the legend of Jeanne d'Arc during the French eighteenth century. It has also provided the foundation for further avenues of study which would reveal more about how printed material and the visual arts became an important way of reflecting how society functioned, and how the upper classes and wider public responded and contributed to philosophical and public debates. Ultimately, Voltaire's *La Pucelle* and Gravelot's illustrations not only made their audiences laugh and satisfied their pleasure-seeking, but also encouraged them to discuss the current debates residing in contemporary French society.

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