

Department of Humanities, Northumbria University

Honours Dissertation

The Afterlife of Joan of Arc:

Visual Representations of the Maid of Orléans

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Introduction

Joan of Arc needs little introduction. Following her heroics in the Hundred Years War in the early fifteenth century and her subsequent martyrdom, Joan has become a 'recurring motif' in art, literature, film and music.¹ According to Warner, she symbolises the reflection of the human mind's best and worst desires and fears, with her 'symbolic body' being fought over by people who want to control her legacy and use it for their own ends.² Her legacy has been contested and has taken on a role in itself.³ Having entered the psyche of popular culture, Joan's image has become inescapable. She has been plastered on cigar wrappers, kidney beans, cheese, dishes, dolls, Halloween masks and has even made brief appearances in *The Simpsons* and *Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventure*.⁴ Joan has even bewitched Karl Lagerfeld, with him stating that he is 'the Joan of Arc of design', as he 'listens to his own voices rather than that of commercialism'.⁵

Aside from fashion moguls, Joan has cast a spell over 'literature and art' and has proved to be someone that 'brush, chisel and pen have by no means exhausted'.⁶ Other than the Virgin Mary, no woman has figured so extensively as the inspiration for art.⁷ Joan has featured in over seventy paintings, twenty sculptures and over forty films. In this assessment, several paintings, sculptures and films will be scrutinised, whilst one will also consider what effect these "creative minds" have had on the "historical facts". Therefore, I will be wary of the 'faithless mirror of art' whilst conducting this study.⁸

¹ Helen Castor, *Joan of Arc: A History* (London: Faber & Faber, 2014), p.1

² Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), p.13, p.30

³ Ibid, p.197

⁴ Bridget Kendall, *Joan of Arc: Making a Martyr*, BBC Radio Four (22/07/2017)

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Evelyn Marie Stuart, 'Joan of Arc in America', *Fine Arts Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 6 (June, 1918), p.29; J.W McEachren, 'Joan Interpreted by Art', *Fine Arts Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 12 (Dec., 1908), p.1

⁷ Stuart, 'Joan of Arc in America', p.29

⁸ Warner, *Image of Female Heroism*, p.269

It is in regard to this 'faithless mirror' that medieval representations on film have caused some controversy in the study of history. Since the turn of the new millennium, cinematic representations of the Middle Ages have become an area of academic interest.⁹ It has caused a stir amongst some scholars, with Airlie arguing that 'films can be dangerous for medievalists'.¹⁰ Elliot notes that historical films are viewed disdainfully for their anachronistic nature.¹¹ However, the impact of film cannot be ignored as these anachronisms are often telling of society and its relationship with the past. It is fair to agree with Rosenstone that the tendency for historians to dismiss film as "bad history" is unfair, as historical films provide an extra 'language in which the past can speak'.¹²

Additionally, the study of both film and other forms of art cannot be considered entirely useless to a historian, as these both cater to a wider and a more public audience. Despite the fear of a sweeping and generalising statement, the average person is more likely to view a painting or film on an historic figure than read a book on their exploits. Moreover, the interpretation of visual representations allow the historian to digest how the public view a certain character, whilst also allowing for an insight into how the creative minds behind the piece have understood the period and how that fits into a modern context. Rosenstone agrees specifically with this point, stating that historical films have an effect on the way people see the past.¹³

Joan has become one of the most popular historical figures on screen, and her presence will be considered in this study by assessing various films from *Joan the Woman* (1917) to *The Messenger* (1999).¹⁴ Other primary sources that will be focused on vary from statues to paintings from the fifteenth century onwards. In drawing from several primary sources, this dissertation will aim to

⁹ Bettina Bildhauer, *Filming the Middle Ages* (London: Reaktion, 2011), p.12

¹⁰ Andrew B.R Elliott, *Remaking the Middle Ages: The Methods of Cinema and History in Portraying the Medieval World* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011), p.9

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.23

¹² *Ibid*, p.12; Robert A. Rosenstone, *History on Film/Film on History* (New York: Pearson, 2012), p.6

¹³ *Ibid*, p.5

¹⁴ Elliott, *Remaking the Middle Ages*, pp.138-139

provide a comprehensive study of Joan's visual representation from various periods of history. This is something which has not been thoroughly attempted.

Many historians have focused on individual films or collections of paintings to discuss Joan's representation, with Sean Desilets focusing purely on *The Passion of Joan of Arc*, Nicholas Haydock concentrating solely on *The Messenger*, and J.W McEachren looking at a few works from the extensive canon of Joan's paintings. Robin Blaetz, has come the closest to drawing the various images of Joan of Arc together in her book: *Visions of the Maid: Joan of Arc in American Film and Culture*. Blaetz focuses on certain films and the influence of Joan's image on consumer culture in the US.¹⁵ This dissertation seeks to fill a hole in the history of the visual representation of Joan of Arc. In twelve-thousand words it is impossible to analyse every single representation of the Maid, therefore, certain works will take precedence over others. Nevertheless, by varying the sources from several time periods, one cogent paper will be completed in which most themes are explored.

Underpinning this study will be the secondary literature on the history of Joan. As Joan of Arc is such a prominent figure, much has been written about her. As DeVries suggests, nobody has been the subject of more study in the Middle Ages, with twenty thousand books existing in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris alone.¹⁶ Therefore, the ability to read everything written is practically impossible. Thus, Warner's *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, Wilson-Smith's *Joan of Arc: Maid, Myth and History*, Pernoud's, *The Retrial of Joan of Arc* and *Joan by Herself and Her Witnesses*, Guillemin's, *The True History of Joan "Of Arc"*, and Helen Castor's *Joan of Arc: A History* have proved the most beneficial as general texts. In addition, each chapter will consult secondary works that will be specific to that certain topic. For chapter specific work, Wheeler and Wood's edited volume: *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, has been essential to this dissertation with each chapter providing a useful insight.

¹⁵ Robin Blaetz, *Visions of the Maid: Joan of Arc in American Film and Culture* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 2001), p.14

¹⁶ Kelly DeVries, 'A Woman as Leader of Men: Joan of Arc's Military Career' in Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (eds.), *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc* (London: Garland Publishing Inc, 1996), p.3; Dwayne E. Pickels, *Joan of Arc* (Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2002), p.87

The way in which this assessment will be conducted will be to follow how Gallego ultimately describes Joan as a 'female, nationalistic, Christ figure'.¹⁷ The first chapter will discuss the gender issues relevant in Joan's representations by considering how Joan of Arc is portrayed as someone who opposes the gender norms of the period, and how her femininity is portrayed. This chapter will concentrate on her physical traits and psychological composition. The following chapter will cover Joan's relationship with nationalist sentiment. It will seek to discuss Joan's relationship with the far-right and how her image has been manipulated to represent their interests. In the final chapter, there will be a discussion of the religious aspects of Joan's portrayal, with consideration given to how Joan has been portrayed before and after she was recognised as a saint.

¹⁷ Eric Jennings, "Reinventing Jeanne": The Iconology of Joan of Arc in Vichy Schoolbooks, 1940-1944', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (October, 1994), p.718

Chapter I: 'Tell the boys their time is through':

Joan the Woman

Much discussion is to be had about gender in the late medieval and early modern period. There was a great gender divide, with public authority being a man's prerogative and women being restricted by both Church and secular law.¹⁸ A popular Latin proverb of the time stated that 'God made women to weep, talk and spin', often serving vital roles as wives, mothers, daughters, sisters or servants.¹⁹ The Bible enforced this, with Dinah proving the example for women not to venture out of the domestic sphere in the fear of being raped.²⁰ Another prolific example is that of Lucretia, who committed suicide in order to restore her reputation after she was raped by Tarquinius.²¹ Christianity defined women as 'sinful, lustful and polluted', whilst they were also deemed fearful creatures with weak, frail bodies.²² This meant that women were forbidden to fight, preach, teach and hold office as military commanders.²³

The literature of the time debated gender issues, with some writers viewing women's position as subordinate to men.²⁴ Alfonso Martínez de Toledo wrote that the virtuous woman is an 'exception', which Cerverí de Girona reinforces by writing that there is no more than three in every hundred.²⁵ However, some writers defended women, such as Enrique de Villena, who compared women to Hercules.²⁶ Joan Roís de Corella argued that the souls of both sexes are created equally and therefore

¹⁸ Judith M. Bennett, 'Public Power and Authority in the Medieval English Countryside' in Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (eds.), *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), p.20; Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1983), pp.11-12

¹⁹ Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies* (London: Penguin, 1999), pp.31-32; Kim M. Phillips, 'Public and Private: Women in the Home, Women in the Streets' in Kim M. Phillips (ed.), *A Cultural History of Women in the Middle Ages* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p.105

²⁰ Ibid, p.113

²¹ Giovanni Boccaccio, *On Famous Women* (New York: Italica Press, 2011), p.103

²² Katherine L. French, 'Religion and Popular Beliefs: Choices, Constraints, and Creativity for Christian Women' in Phillips (ed.), *Women in the Middle Ages*, p.61 ; Pizan, *City of Ladies*, p.33

²³ Castor, *Joan of Arc*, p.144; Shahar, *The Fourth Estate*, p.11

²⁴ Robert Archer, *The Problem of Woman in Late-Medieval Hispanic Literature*, (London: Tamesis, 2005), p.23

²⁵ Ibid, p.75 Alfonso Martínez de Toledo (ca.1398-ca.1470) Castilian poet and writer; Ibid, p.124 Cerverí de Girona (1259-1285) Catalan troubadour and court poet.

²⁶ Ibid, p.125 Enrique de Villena (1384-1434) medieval marquess of Villena, writer and poet.

women cannot be considered inferior.²⁷ Juan Rodríguez del Padrón agrees, writing that it is wrong to imply that sinning is inherently female because that opposes the Bible's teachings of free will.²⁸ Hugo de Urriés follows this, writing that all sins that women commit, men can commit as well.²⁹ Christine de Pizan wrote in defence of women, contending that women's lack of physical strength compared to men did not necessarily mean the entire female sex lacked such qualities.³⁰ She argued, before Joan's appearance, that the female sex was 'bereft of a champion to protect it'.³¹

Joan of Arc epitomises Pizan's champion. According to Pernoud and Clin, Pizan was 'dazzled' by Joan's exploits.³² Hunneycutt argues that she is the 'most compelling example' of a female influencing public events.³³ McWebb reinforces this by contending that she was a 'female fighter and defender of her sex'.³⁴ This chapter will discuss how Joan of Arc's gender has been portrayed. The themes that will be discussed are: how Joan subverts societal norms; how her femininity is shown; Joan as prisoner; and a final discussion of the depictions that oppose the evidence.

Joan subverts societal norms by assuming the warrior role. Taylor suggests that her expertise in battle resulted in her demise, as she had shamed the English.³⁵ Sheppard agrees, suggesting that her 'strategy, intuition and knowledge were flawless and equal to Napoleon'.³⁶ According to DeVries, she gained much of her fame as a result of her military capabilities.³⁷ However, Gordon disagrees with these examples as she suggests that 'none of the military decisions were made by her'.³⁸ In *Joan of*

²⁷ Ibid, p.155 Joan Roís de Corella (1435-1497) writer from the Kingdom of Valencia.

²⁸ Ibid, p.144 Juan Rodríguez del Padrón (1390-1450) Galician writer and poet.

²⁹ Ibid, p.186 Hugo de Urriés courtier under Juan II and Fernando of Aragon. Worked as a diplomat, poet and translator of classical texts.

³⁰ Pizan, *City of Ladies*, p.34

³¹ Ibid, p.11

³² Regine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998), p.70

³³ Lois L. Hunneycutt, 'Power: Medieval Women's power through Authority, Autonomy and Influence' in Phillips (ed.), *Women in the Middle Ages*, p.155

³⁴ Christine McWebb, 'Joan of Arc and Christine de Pizan: The Symbiosis of two warriors in the *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*' in Wheeler and Wood (eds.), *Fresh Verdicts*, p.135

³⁵ Paul A. Cohen, *History and Popular Memory: The Power of Story in Moments of Crisis* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2014), p.126

³⁶ Blaetz, *Visions of the Maid*, p.78

³⁷ DeVries, 'A Woman as Leader of Men' in Wheeler and Wood (eds.), *Fresh Verdicts*, p.3

³⁸ Pickels, *Joan of Arc*, p.38

Arc and *Saint Joan*, she straddles the horse in a 'manlike' fashion, thus subverting the traditional way in which women rode horses.³⁹ Contemporaries, like Marguerite la Touroulde, suggested 'she could ride a horse wielding a lance as well as an experienced soldier', and Jean Chartier said that it 'was strange to see a woman fight'.⁴⁰

Joan's penchant for military strategy is shown in *Joan of Arc*, *Joan the Woman* and *The Messenger*, with Joan leading her men, telling them how to fight and giving orders.⁴¹ Joan's ability on the field of battle is evident in *The Messenger*, as she disregards the authority of her male generals, rides into battle without them and uses unconventional tactics which she is ridiculed for.⁴² In doing so, Joan tries to prove her ability by outperforming the male soldiers to earn their respect. According to Wilson-Smith, the reason why Joan is adept at military strategy in *The Messenger*, is due to Besson wanting to replace "Joan the saint" with "Joan the soldier".⁴³

Further evidence of Joan proving her ability amongst her fellow soldiers, is by Joan assuming a stoic role. In many portrayals, Joan takes blows but fights on regardless.⁴⁴ Joan's stoicism is reinforced historically, as she continued to fight despite being attacked with arrows and being struck with a bolt between her neck and shoulder.⁴⁵ In doing so, Joan was exercising the 'genderless' virtue of stoicism, that could be used by women in the period to gain respect. Furthermore, Joan's willingness to suffer bears resemblance to the Virgin Mary. In the wake of Christ's death, Mary endured great pain and sorrow.⁴⁶ Her pain was viewed by Christians as sympathetic agony to that of Christ's.⁴⁷ This

³⁹ *Joan of Arc* (Dir. Victor Fleming, 1948); *Saint Joan* (Dir. Otto Preminger, 1957)

⁴⁰ Kelly DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2011), pp.52-53

⁴¹ *Joan of Arc* (Dir. Christian Duguay, 1999); *Joan the Woman* (Dir. Cecil B. DeMille, 1917); *The Messenger: The Story of Joan of Arc* (Dir. Luc Besson, 1999)

⁴² *The Messenger*

⁴³ Timothy Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc: Maid, Myth and History* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2006), p.218

⁴⁴ *Jeanne La Pucelle I: Les Batailles* (Dir. Jacques Rivette, 1994); *The Messenger*

⁴⁵ Castor, *Joan of Arc*, p.115; Henri Guillemin, *The True History of Joan "Of Arc"* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1972), p.73

⁴⁶ David R. Kinsley, *The Goddesses' Mirror: Visions of the Divine from East and West* (Albany: University of New York Press, 1989), p.228

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.229

element of female stoicism became intuitively recognisable to all Christians, with many Crusaders and 'reconquistadores' depicting the Virgin Mary on banners which they used as a rallying inspiration.⁴⁸

Similarly to that of the Virgin Mary, Joan is often portrayed as an inspiration, guide and rallying point to her troops. In several films and paintings she guides the men into battle with her banner.⁴⁹ In Leroux's statue, she holds her banner aloft, beckoning her men to follow.⁵⁰ A further, more prominent example, is that of Lenepveu's painting with Joan waving her banner and looking back at her men, signalling them to support her (Fig.1).⁵¹ This represents her escaping the 'companion role' and overcoming her gender handicap to lead men.

When leading men into battle, it was imperative to wear armour. For Warner, imagining the female body wearing the protective suit was a traditional way to show female strength.⁵² Alternatively, by wearing male armour, she masks her gender which allows for her to participate in a male dominated vocation.⁵³ Bullough suggests that by donning male armour, she subverted and 'threatened the male establishment'.⁵⁴ It was not unheard of for women to do this but quite uncommon, with Queen Hypiscratea wearing men's armour into battle.⁵⁵ However, in certain works by Monvoisin (Fig.2) and Fresnaye, (Fig. 3) the armour does not mask her gender but makes it pronounced by showing the curvature of her breasts.⁵⁶ Despite these two examples being only in the minority, these artists use the armour to accentuate how strange it was for a woman to be in battle. In depicting her armour sculpted to her breasts, it signals a departure from the traditional view of Joan. In the case of Fresnaye's work, he makes her breasts more pronounced to fit his Cubist art style.⁵⁷

⁴⁸ Amy G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p.33

⁴⁹ *Jeanne La Pucelle; Das Mädchen Johanna*, (Dir. Gustav Ucicky, 1935); *The Messenger*

⁵⁰ Étienne Leroux, *Jeanne d'Arc*, 1879/1880, image available online:

<https://statues.vanderkrogt.net/object.php?webpage=ST&record=frpi012>

⁵¹ Jules Eugène Lenepveu, *Jeanne d'Arc in armour before Orléans*, 1886-1890

⁵² Blaetz, *Visions of the Maid*, p.20

⁵³ Warner, *The Image of Female Heroism*, p.159

⁵⁴ Susan Schibanoff, 'True Lies: transvestism and idolatry in the trial of Joan of Arc' in Wheeler and Wood (eds.), *Fresh Verdicts*, p.50

⁵⁵ Pizan, *City of Ladies*, p.111

⁵⁶ Raymond Monvoisin, *Jeanne d'Arc*, pre-1843; Roger de La Fresnaye *Jeanne d'Arc*, 1912

⁵⁷ Roger de La Fresnaye *Jeanne d'Arc*,

Moreover, the harsh lines that are used to accentuate her breasts are a common feature of this type of art.⁵⁸

In wearing armour and male clothing, Joan's role as an androgynous figure is evident. When not in armour, she would wear men's clothes, such as; a tunic, doublet, hose and breeches.⁵⁹ Joan was influenced by Saint Margaret, who 'fled her father's house disguised as a man'.⁶⁰ Joan's dress was controversial as it opposed divine law, due to its 'subversive' and 'transgressive' nature.⁶¹ In *Joan of Arc*, Joan's male clothes challenge her father's authority as king of the household, as she dresses as a man and leaves home.⁶² Her male clothing allows for the 'usurpation of the privileges of the male and his claims to superiority', thus breaking gender constraints.⁶³ In *The Passion of Joan of Arc*, Joan distinguishes between the clothes she wears to complete her mission and those she wears for recreational purposes.⁶⁴ Joan agrees to wear female dress once her mission is complete, thus establishing that her mission is viewed as a job, with her male dress acting as a uniform. In this regard, Joan makes reference to women gaining more opportunities to work in the late 1920s.⁶⁵ Moreover, Joan's independence is reinforced as she is wearing male dress for her own reasons.

One of these reasons was for protection, which is used in *Das Mädchen Johanna* to preserve her virginity.⁶⁶ Due to the film being a piece of Nazi propaganda, Joan is depicted as the ideal Nazi female; fighting for her country and protecting her virginity.⁶⁷ Nazi ideology toward women was focused on their role as mothers and providing the next generation of children for the nation.⁶⁸

⁵⁸ Neil Cox, *Cubism* (London: Phaidon Press, 2000), p.4

⁵⁹ Castor, *Joan of Arc*, pp.90-119

⁶⁰ Georges Duby, *France in the Middle Ages, 987-1460* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p.289

⁶¹ Castor, *Joan of Arc*, p.164; David Cressy, 'Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (October, 1996), 438

⁶² *Joan of Arc* (1999)

⁶³ Warner, *The Image of Female Heroism*, pp.145-149

⁶⁴ *The Passion of Joan of Arc* (Dir. Carl Theodor Dreyer, 1928)

⁶⁵ Deirdre McCloskey, 'Paid Work' in Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Longman, 2001), p.168

⁶⁶ Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc*, p.19

⁶⁷ *Das Mädchen Johanna*

⁶⁸ Leila J. Rupp, 'Mother of the "Volk": The Image of Women in Nazi Ideology', *Signs*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Winter, 1977), p.363

Therefore, by incarcerating the female flesh in male clothing, the female body is shielded from temptation. In portraying Joan as a virtuous woman fighting for her country, it establishes the standard for many German women. Bildhauer contends that this film has Joan cross-dress to serve the nation and sacrifice her femininity for a higher cause.⁶⁹ Again, in *The Trial of Joan of Arc*, the protection her male clothes signify is depicted with them being bagged up at the end of the film.⁷⁰ Without her male clothes, Joan is left vulnerable and without protection.

Depicting Joan in the androgynous role and having her fight alongside men, allows Joan to escape the confines of her gender and experience a degree of social mobility. In *The Messenger*, Joan visits the king and is not afraid to speak to men above her class, which is also visualised in *Joan of Arc*, as Joan challenges her father and questions male dominance over women.⁷¹ Her androgynous appearance provides confidence for Joan to question not only her place as a woman but her place in society, allowing for Joan's 'feisty character' to come to the fore.⁷² Speaking directly to the king and questioning her father's authority, are two acts of defiance against the patriarchal society of the Middle Ages. Despite women being expected to hold their tongues in this period, Barstow argues that her androgynous appearance allowed her to access 'central places of masculine power, where she worked as a catalyst for political life'.⁷³ Furthermore, it is difficult to argue with Barstow's other suggestion that she overcame the 'disability of gender to become one of France's main heroes'.⁷⁴ Through the various depictions one can see that Joan subverts the social norms of the time, often opposing the traditional female roles to impact events.

Aside from challenging conventional female roles, Joan provides an alternative to traditional physical markers of gender by cutting her hair. According to Synnott, hair for women is part of the

⁶⁹ Bildhauer, *Filming the Middle Ages*, p.87

⁷⁰ *The Trial of Joan of Arc* (Dir. Robert Bresson, 1962)

⁷¹ *The Messenger; Joan of Arc* (1999)

⁷² Guillemin, *The True History*, p.66

⁷³ Anne Llewellyn Barstow, 'Joan of Arc and Female Mysticism', *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Fall, 1985), p.29

⁷⁴ Barstow, 'Joan of Arc and Female Mysticism', p.31

cultural definition of femininity, and Brownmiller contends that 'long hair is irrefutably feminine, whereas short hair is more masculine'.⁷⁵ Joan often cuts her hair to be undetected by the Burgundians and to fight better.⁷⁶ However, in *The Messenger*, Joan cuts her hair to gain authority amongst her fellow soldiers.⁷⁷ Morgan contends that the cutting of Joan's hair in *The Messenger* shows immaturity, as it is a result of her frustration that men do not listen to her.⁷⁸ One interesting interpretation is in *Jeanne La Pucelle*, as Joan cuts her hair in the reflection of her armour.⁷⁹ The use of her armour to change her appearance is quite striking, as it signals a departure from her femininity which highlights her devotion to her mission. Furthermore, this emphasises Joan's change in character as she immerses herself in her role by altering her appearance.

In other examples, Joan has her hair cut shorter to mock her and emphasise the desperation of her situation. In *The Passion of Joan of Arc*, her head is shaved when she is executed, which is historically accurate to the events.⁸⁰ This element is something that the paintings fail to address, as all the images of Joan at the stake have her appear without a shaved head. The shaving of her head symbolises a loss of identity that, to Synnott, epitomises social control.⁸¹ Visually, it symbolises the death of the character that was previously known to the audience, which is reinforced later in the film when her hair is discarded carelessly, acting as a metaphor for how her ashes were disposed of.⁸²

However, certain portrayals seek to emphasise Joan's femininity by her keeping her hair long. In *Jeanne La Pucelle*, *The Messenger*, *Joan of Arc* and in paintings by Américo, (Fig. 4) Siermiradzki, (Fig. 5) and Melchers (Fig. 6), Joan has long hair when she is first called upon by God.⁸³ Joan's long,

⁷⁵ Anthony Synnott, 'Shame and glory: a Sociology of Hair', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (September, 1987), pp.383-384

⁷⁶ *Joan of Arc* (1999); *Saint Joan*

⁷⁷ *The Messenger*

⁷⁸ Gwendolyn Morgan, 'Modern Mystics, Medieval Saints' in Tom Shippey and Martin Arnold (eds.), *Film and Fiction: Reviewing the Middle Ages, Studies in Medievalism XII* (Cambridge: D.S Brewer, 2003), p.41

⁷⁹ *Jeanne La Pucelle*

⁸⁰ *The Passion*; Warner, *The Image of Female Heroism*, p.117

⁸¹ Synnott, 'Shame and glory', p.382

⁸² *The Passion*

⁸³ *Jeanne La Pucelle*; *The Messenger*; *Joan of Arc* (1999); Pedro Américo de Figueiredo e Melo, *Joan of Arc Listening for the First Time to the Voices That Predict Her Prominent Fate*, 1884; Henryk Siemiradzki, *Joan of Arc Kneeling Before Angel*, 1872; Gari Melchers, *Joan of Arc*, date unknown

untouched hair stresses her role as an 'ordinary' woman before she is chosen by God, which allows for audiences of these works to empathise with her humanity. The similarities between the Virgin Mary and Joan are evident once more, with many paintings of the Annunciation echoing the theme of a woman untouched by worldly delights before being chosen. In the works of Beccafumi (Fig. 7) and Hey (Fig. 8), Mary is presented as a woman with long flowing hair much like Joan is represented by the aforementioned painters.⁸⁴

Many filmmakers alter Joan's length of hair after receiving her mission, however, in the majority of paintings, Joan's hair remains the same length. In the works of Haggard, (Fig. 9) Swynnerton, (Fig. 10) and Lasinsky (Fig. 11), Joan has long hair when she is in battle.⁸⁵ Her long hair acts as a visual aid to distinguish the female body from the madness of the painted conflict. This is echoed in *Joan the Woman*, as the use of isolating Joan acts as a rallying cry for women to be involved in the war effort.⁸⁶ The film was released in 1917, so by visually singling Joan out, with long jet-black hair in a black and white film, it acts as a message to the female audience that their appearance would not have to be sacrificed to be involved in the war effort. Unlike the depictions discussed earlier, for a woman to have a shaven head on film in 1917 would have been too controversial. Therefore, by depicting Joan with long hair in certain representations, it allows her femininity to be exploited to act as a message to those viewing these images.

Other than the manipulation of physical gender traits, Joan's femininity is evidenced in the way her emotions are displayed. In depictions such as; *Joan of Arc*, *Jeanne La Pucelle*, *Joan of Arc* (1999), and *The Passion of Joan of Arc*, Joan is emotional and cries.⁸⁷ It is not uncommon for an epic hero to cry, as El Cid cries when he is exiled.⁸⁸ However, Joan as a woman weeping has interesting gender implications. Joan cries for losses on both sides as she feels it is a grave loss for humanity,

⁸⁴ Domenico Beccafumi, *The Annunciation*, ca.1545; Jean Hey, *The Annunciation*, 1490/1495

⁸⁵ Andrew C.P Haggard, *Portrait of Joan of Arc*, 1912; Annie Swynnerton, *Joan of Arc*, pre-1933; August Gustav Lasinsky, *Johanna von Orléans in der Schlacht*, 1852

⁸⁶ *Joan the Woman*

⁸⁷ *Joan of Arc* (1999); *Jeanne La Pucelle*; *Joan of Arc* (1948); *The Passion*

⁸⁸ Rita Hamilton and Janet Perry (trans.), *The Poem of the Cid* (London: Penguin, 1984), p.23

which presents a more human side to Joan than that of heavenly saint. Having fought alongside her troops, it is vital for Joan to show an emotional connection. Also, by presenting Joan as weeping on the battlefield, it suggests that she is unlike typical protagonists in the medieval film genre. Joan does not relish conflict but accepts that it is a necessary part of her mission.⁸⁹

In this regard, her femininity is emphasised through her caring abilities. Joan's caring attitude is portrayed in *Joan of Arc*, as she gives alms to the poor and defends a child's right to food.⁹⁰ Her compassion highlights her femininity, as she is helping to care for the sick and fighting for those who cannot defend themselves. Joan's caring characteristics are reinforced by historical writing, as Joan knelt by the shattered head of a prisoner.⁹¹ Women in this period were considered adept at giving care, as Hugo de Urriés wrote that 'women are naturally charitable'.⁹² Urriés' belief is prevalent in New Testament teachings with figures such as; Dorcas, Phoebe and Mary Magdalene stressing that charity was a feminine virtue.⁹³

However, *The Messenger* opposes these representations by presenting Joan as hysterical rather than compassionate. Throughout the film she is constantly on edge; nostrils flared, eyes wide with quick movements of her head.⁹⁴ In the concluding part of the film, she loses herself when she is in her cell, questioning everything she has done.⁹⁵ Wilson-Smith and Morgan both agree that Joan in *The Messenger* comes across as mentally unstable.⁹⁶ The symptoms she shows link to the gendered illness of hysteria, thus promoting the idea that Joan was mentally ill rather than a calm leader of men.⁹⁷ Joan's symptoms serve as a challenge to her traditional representation, which is the product of changing historiographical trends at the time of the film's release.⁹⁸ The film is heavily influenced

⁸⁹ Nickolas Haydock, *Movie Medievalism* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008), pp.8-9

⁹⁰ *Joan of Arc* (1999)

⁹¹ Guillemin, *The True History*, p.70

⁹² Archer, *The Problem of Woman*, p.186

⁹³ Susan Hawkins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor* (New York: Riverhead, 1995), p.326

⁹⁴ *The Messenger*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc*, p.218; Morgan, 'Modern Mystics, Medieval Saints', p.42

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.41

by postmodernism, which emerged in the 1980s and 1990s. The main tenet of the historiographical movement is to question traditional interpretations and create an alternative.⁹⁹ Therefore, to distinguish *The Messenger* from the previous representations, Besson envisions Joan as hysterical despite hysteria not being commonly diagnosed in women until the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, Joan's femininity proves a useful tool in which filmmakers can manipulate to provide a new outlook on her story.

Unlike *The Messenger*, the films that precede it focus less on Joan as a prisoner within her own head, and instead concentrate on her as physically captive within a cell. Historians such as Gill and Pickels have commented that she was like a caged bird, chained down out of fear she might fly away.¹⁰¹ One contemporary, Isambard de La Pierre, stated that she had chains around her ankles.¹⁰² Joan's time in captivity signals a departure from the social mobility she had previously, which is represented in paintings by d'Auvergne (Fig. 12) and Pyle (Fig. 13) as she is tied up and imprisoned.¹⁰³ This theme, which is evident in d'Auvergne and Pyle's work, is replicated at the end of most films. In *The Trial of Joan of Arc*, Joan is put in chains and in *Saint Joan*, she is chained to a post by the neck.¹⁰⁴ In *Joan of Arc*, she is confined in a metal cage suspended from the ceiling.¹⁰⁵ The many ways in which she is held captive, act as metaphors for constraints on her gender in the Middle Ages. Placing Joan in a prison at the end of these films emphasises how women could be expected to be punished if they were disruptive. Blaetz agrees, as she states that her imprisonment symbolises a 'disruptive female' having her freedoms 'destroyed to re-establish the solid dichotomies that structure the culture'.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ Ernst Breisach, *On the Future of History: The Postmodernist Challenge and Its Aftermath* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p.6

¹⁰⁰ Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980* (London: Virago, 1987), p.147

¹⁰¹ Henry V. Gill, 'St. Joan of Arc', *The Irish Monthly*, Vol. 48, No. 564, (June, 1920), p.308; Pickels, *Joan of Arc*, p.48

¹⁰² Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*, p.104

¹⁰³ Martial d'Auvergne, *Jeanne Being Tied Up*, 1493; Howard Pyle, *Joan of Arc in Prison*, pre-1911

¹⁰⁴ *The Trial of Joan of Arc; Saint Joan*

¹⁰⁵ *Joan of Arc* (1999)

¹⁰⁶ Blaetz, *Visions of the Maid*, p.17

Joan's captivity in many of these representations is used for ulterior motives. For instance, with *Joan the Woman* being made during the First World War, the image of her in prison was used as a propaganda tool to encourage men to defend the women and children of the country.¹⁰⁷ Joan, when imprisoned, appealed to the guilt of those males who had not enlisted. In later depictions such as *Joan of Arc* and *Saint Joan*, the element of Joan in chains epitomised the sacrifice women made after the Second World War.¹⁰⁸ Women had to sacrifice the emancipatory benefits of work they had gained.¹⁰⁹ The parallels in the sacrifices experienced by Joan and the women after the war, is apparent in the voice over at the end of *Joan of Arc*, as it says: 'her greatest triumph was her death'.¹¹⁰ Blaetz also proposes that Joan crying at the end of *Joan of Arc*, symbolises women's losses at the end of the war and how they were expected to return to the domestic sphere.¹¹¹ Furthermore, the depiction of Joan's fall from grace into captivity is manipulated to soften the blow and make women accept their fate after the Second World War.

In some depictions, the inclusion of Joan's fall from grace as a metaphor for women accepting their fate is less surprising, as some oppose the evidence and dilute Joan's role down to that of a lover. Films and paintings are made with creative freedom, and as such influence the finished piece. In *Joan of Arc* and *The Messenger*, romantic undertones are implied between Joan and Jean d'Aulon and in *La Vie Merveilleuse de Jeanne d'Arc*, Joan is proposed to.¹¹² In *Joan the Woman*, this theme is more pronounced, as Joan pursues a love affair with an English soldier who gives her flowers and she, in turn, saves his life.¹¹³ Although the sacrifice at the end of the film opposes the stereotypical 'damsel in distress' plot, the film uses a love interest that was entirely fabricated. The men who fought alongside Joan, such as the Duke of Alençon, said that she was beautiful, but they had no carnal desire

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p.31

¹⁰⁸ *Joan of Arc* (1948); *Saint Joan*

¹⁰⁹ Robin Blaetz, *Visions of the Maid*, p.84

¹¹⁰ *Joan of Arc* (1948)

¹¹¹ Robin Blaetz, *Visions of the Maid*, p.135

¹¹² *Joan of Arc* (1999); *The Messenger*; Robin Blaetz, *Visions of the Maid*, p.89

¹¹³ *Joan the Woman*

toward her.¹¹⁴ It is evident that this fabrication is for entertainment purposes, which reflects the society in which the film was made. As previously mentioned, the film was made in 1917 and due to the more conservative nature of society in the early twentieth century, the assertion of a woman in love reinforces the importance of relationships and family.¹¹⁵ In regard to her sacrifice, Blaetz argues that it is less about Joan's divinity or loyalty for her country, but more about Joan sacrificing herself for her man.¹¹⁶ Blaetz's argument has interesting gender implications, as it evokes the notion that Joan cannot live without the love of a man and that women only exist to provide affection for men.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, by depicting Joan as lover, the films oppose historical evidence and seek to create a romance element to keep the general audience interested.

The way in which Joan of Arc has been depicted has brought forward many key points on gender. In these visual representations, it is evident how Joan has been portrayed to oppose societal norms by acting as a female warrior, through her androgyny and the amount of social mobility she benefitted from. Joan's femininity is displayed through the use of hair as a symbol of gender change and the way in which her emotions have been manipulated. Joan's image has also been manipulated when visualising her as a captive, whilst the creative minds behind these works have sought, in some cases, to contradict the sources in order to construct a cheap romance plot. These themes explored in this chapter have allowed one to establish the bias and hidden meaning of some of the imagery used. Furthermore, it is difficult to argue with Barstow on the importance of Joan as a lens to focus on gender issues, as she contends that Joan is an example of both the 'masculine, invincible warrior and the diminutive but potent young maid'.¹¹⁸ The following chapter will explore how this 'invincible warrior' or 'young maid' is used for nationalistic purposes.

¹¹⁴ DeVries, *Joan of Arc*, p.31

¹¹⁵ Claire Langhamer, 'Love and Courtship in Mid-Twentieth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (March, 2007), p.176

¹¹⁶ Robin Blaetz, *Visions of the Maid*, p.61

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.59

¹¹⁸ Barstow, 'Joan of Arc and Female Mysticism', p.40

Chapter II: ‘Come lead your France to victory’:

Joan the Nationalist

Nationalism is the belief that humanity is divided into nations and that these states can be differentiated by certain characteristics.¹¹⁹ Joan of Arc’s link to nationalist sentiment is one that cannot be overstated nor missed. The traditional version of events has Joan saving her country from the English, which has clear nationalist connotations.¹²⁰ The rise of nationalism as an ideal was prevalent at the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth, as it was known as a period of ‘romantic patriotism’.¹²¹ According to Guitton, this growth of fervent patriotism in the later centuries allowed Joan to emulate Aristotle who was more influential after his death.¹²² During the Enlightenment period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Joan was not afforded much consideration as she was treated as a myth that the age of reason could not sanction.¹²³ Due to the lack of major foreign threats in this period, Joan was not a national emblem but was instead ridiculed by thinkers such as Voltaire.¹²⁴ However, in the aftermath of the French Revolution, with the strong interest of the romantics in the history of the Middle Ages, Joan’s star was in the ascendency.¹²⁵

From the nineteenth century onwards, she was claimed by a variety of groups from republicans, or left-wing nationalists, to integral nationalists.¹²⁶ According to O’Brien, it was in this period that Joan was established as the ‘most popular of national heroines’.¹²⁷ Others have commented on her importance: Martin suggested she was ‘the messiah of nationality, the very soul of France’; Petain contended that Joan ‘incarnates patriotism in its most complete sense’, and

¹¹⁹ Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998 [orig. 1960]), p.1

¹²⁰ Blaetz, *Visions of the Maid*, p.18

¹²¹ Warner, *The Image of Female Heroism*, p.239

¹²² Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc*, p.214

¹²³ Duby, *France in the Middle Ages*, p.296

¹²⁴ Warner, *The Image of Female Heroism*, p.239

¹²⁵ Duby, *France in the Middle Ages*, p.296

¹²⁶ Jennings, “Reinventing Jeanne”, p.711

¹²⁷ Charles O’Brien ‘Rethinking National Cinema: Dreyer’s “La Passion de Jeanne d’Arc” and the Academic Aesthetic’, *Cinema Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Summer, 1996), p.10

Michelet called on 'Frenchmen to always remember that our nation was born of a woman's heart'.¹²⁸

This chapter will consider Joan's image as protector, the way in which her vulnerability acted as a metaphor for the vulnerability of the country, as a martyr for the nation and her role as leader.

To many, Joan of Arc represents a protective force for France. In many depictions, Joan is associated with the fleur-de-lis. Prosper d'Épinay's statue (Fig. 14) has Joan's armour adorned with fleur-de-lis and in Ingres' painting, she has the fleur-de-lis featured on her armour again to highlight who she is fighting for (Fig. 15).¹²⁹ In Scherrer's image, her horse has the fleur-de-lis embellished on material which is draped over it (Fig. 16).¹³⁰ Although slightly after the period in which the other art works were created, Roger de La Fresnaye's painting from 1912 features the fleur-de-lis on her shield, again portraying her as the true protector of France (Fig. 3).¹³¹ The fleur-de-lis is a symbol of France, and thus implies that Joan protects France and acts as a shield from possible threats. The fleur-de-lis is a common detail throughout the paintings and sculptures from roughly the 1850s to the early 1900s, which coincides with the rise in national sentiment in the nineteenth century.

In this period, France was defeated in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 which presented a challenge to their power and authority. The French lost Alsace and Lorraine in the war, which was symbolically where Joan of Arc was from.¹³² France looked to Joan as a protector after their national pride was wounded. Following the defeat, there was a proliferation of statues and paintings and even the first film based on Joan's exploits in 1899.¹³³ The proliferation could have been due to the increase in national sentiment as discussed prior, or alternatively, due to general trends in art. For example, in the nineteenth century, the Romanticism movement focused heavily on historical figures, with

¹²⁸ Guillemin, *The True History*, p.196; Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc*, p.207; Frederick Brown, 'The Battle for Joan', *The Hudson Review*, Vol. 65, No.3 (Autumn, 2012), p.439

¹²⁹ Prosper d'Épinay, *Statue of Joan of Arc in Rheims Cathedral*, 1900; Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Jeanne au Couronnement de Charles VII*, 1854

¹³⁰ Jean-Jacques Scherrer, *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans*, 1887

¹³¹ Fresnaye, *Jeanne d'Arc*

¹³² Blaetz, *Visions of the Maid*, p.75

¹³³ Warner, *The Image of Female Heroism*, p.237

Vaughan commenting that they had a ‘fascination for the Middle Ages’.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, in the paintings and the film, Joan’s role as a national hero and protector was a prevalent theme.¹³⁵ After the ‘national humiliation’ of 1870, Joan emerged as a symbol of hope and unity.¹³⁶ The protection and hope that Joan represented spoke to the far-right of France, with Action Française being founded in 1899.¹³⁷ Action Française preferred Joan as national hero to Marianne, and she became the ‘poster girl’ for Maurras’ ‘integral nationalism’, which was an isolationist, racist and repressive form of patriotism.¹³⁸ Furthermore, in the late nineteenth century, Joan came to epitomise the national protector who was relied upon to restore national pride.

Aside from Joan as a powerful protective force, many use her weaker, more vulnerable attributes to emphasise how desperate France’s situation is at a certain time. During the Second World War, with the German occupation of France, there were parallels to be drawn between the fifteenth century and the mid-twentieth century.¹³⁹ Joan came to represent resistance to foreign oppressors once again.¹⁴⁰ Joan signified France’s vulnerability from foreign invasion and became a symbol to both Vichy and the Resistance.¹⁴¹ Both groups had nationalist sentiment in their own right.¹⁴² The Vichy regime, who supported the Nazis in the Second World War, used the image of Joan being burned as a piece of propaganda against the Resistance, who were supported and had many links back to London.¹⁴³ The image featured Joan in chains, fire surrounding her which rose from the city of Rouen.¹⁴⁴ The poster was accompanied by the line: ‘the killers always come back to the scenes of their

¹³⁴ William Vaughan, *Romanticism and Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), p.100

¹³⁵ Kevin J. Harty, ‘Jeanne Au Cinema’ in Wheeler and Wood (eds.), *Fresh Verdicts*, p.237

¹³⁶ Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc*, p.185; Warner, *The Image of Female Heroism*, p.237

¹³⁷ Nadia Margolis, ‘The “Joan Phenomenon” and the French Right’ in Wheeler and Wood (eds.), *Fresh Verdicts*, p.272

¹³⁸ Jennings, ‘Reinventing Jeanne’, p.712; Nadia Margolis, ‘The “Joan Phenomenon”’, p.269

¹³⁹ Kendall, *Making a Martyr*

¹⁴⁰ Martha Hanna, ‘Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of Action Française, 1908-1931’, *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Autumn, 1985), p.224

¹⁴¹ Rod Kedward, *La Vie En Bleu: France and the French Since 1900* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), p.310

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Jennings, ‘Reinventing Jeanne’, p.716, p.719

¹⁴⁴ World War II Vichy France propaganda poster, *Les Assassins Reviennent Toujours Sur Les Lieux De Leur Crime*, 1939-1945, <https://www.akg-images.co.uk/archive/WWII---Poster---Anti-allies-propaganda---Rouen-bombing---1944-2UMEBMD4YB07.html>

crimes'.¹⁴⁵ In using Joan, the Vichy regime were able to draw parallels between a vulnerable Joan in need of protection and relate that to France in the time of the Second World War, thus stirring up nationalist fervour and to some extent xenophobia.

Joan's vulnerability comes to the fore again in the 1990s. In *The Messenger*, there is a short excerpt of the film where wolves charge toward Joan and a stone throne, which represents the English threat to French independence.¹⁴⁶ The wolves symbolise the brutality of the English and how they are baying for French blood.¹⁴⁷ When one considers the political context in which the film is situated, this short piece acts as a metaphor for France's vulnerability in the 1990s. For example, it was thought by the National Front and the Communist Party in France that the Maastricht Treaty of 1993 was a threat, as it sought to create one common European Union foreign policy and a single currency that would be in use by the end of the decade.¹⁴⁸ In France, the decision was put to a referendum, and the results concluded with only 51% of people voting yes.¹⁴⁹ Thus, the inclusion of the metaphor of a vulnerable France at the hands of hungry, animalistic foreign countries in *The Messenger* was clearly influenced by the political climate in which the film was made.

In this political climate of the 1990s, the National Front experienced electoral gains in the wake of opposing the Maastricht Treaty.¹⁵⁰ The far-right group argued that French independence was at stake and they refused to let their country be controlled by an international body.¹⁵¹ Their leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, labelled Joan a 'national heroine' and used her image against the threat from international bodies and the Northern African immigrants within.¹⁵² In the modern day under Jean Marie Le Pen's daughter, Marine Le Pen, the political group still present challenges to foreign intervention. Marine Le Pen often uses Joan of Arc in speeches with one of her backdrops reading: 'No

¹⁴⁵ Cohen, *History and Popular Memory*, p.135

¹⁴⁶ *The Messenger*

¹⁴⁷ Haydock, *Movie Medievalism*, p.115

¹⁴⁸ Kedward, *La Vie En Bleu*, pp.537-538

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.539

¹⁵⁰ Margolis, 'The "Joan Phenomenon"', p.265

¹⁵¹ Kedward, *La Vie En Bleu*, p.539

¹⁵² Françoise Meltzer, 'Joan of Arc in America', *SubStance*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2003), p.93

to Brussels, Yes to France’, accompanied with an image of Joan blowing the stars of the EU away.¹⁵³ In this regard, Joan is a useful lens to observe far-right insecurity and how they use her as a tool to canvas support. Furthermore, the use of Joan to symbolise vulnerability is effective, as one can see how French nationalists are afraid that their country will lose its independence. Moreover, in fear of sounding anachronistic, these examples have proven poignant in the current political climax with countries such as Britain trying to ‘protect’ themselves from ‘interfering’ bodies.

Joan’s vulnerability culminates in her representation as a national martyr, which since her death has been grasped upon by nationalists. In films such as *Le Merveilleuse vie de Jeanne d’Arc* and *Das Mädchen Johanna*, there is a prevailing notion of sacrificing oneself for the nation.¹⁵⁴ Examples of this include the opening crawl of the former film stating: ‘our fatherland was born from the heart of a woman’ and Joan accepting her fate in the latter film and uttering: “I have to die so that my fatherland will become free again”.¹⁵⁵ Aside from the obvious *imitatio Christi*, this reveals the way in which Joan has been depicted as a saviour through her martyrdom. Joan, according to Lamartine, was the ‘martyr of the motherland’ and Jennings suggests that she ‘died so France could live’, thus identifying nationalism as an integral reason for her martyrdom.¹⁵⁶ In the case of *Das Mädchen Johanna*, Joan is portrayed as a national martyr to inspire those watching to sacrifice their lives for the nation.¹⁵⁷ As mentioned previously, this film was made as a piece of Nazi propaganda in 1935. The inclusion of sacrificing oneself for the ‘fatherland’ was an integral part of Nazi ideals, instilling that no one was greater than the nation and that if there was the chance to sacrifice yourself for a higher cause then it should be done.¹⁵⁸ In hindsight, with the Second World War taking place only four years later, nationalist values were implanted for when the nation needed them. Furthermore, by being

¹⁵³ Pierre Andrieu, *Marine Le Pen speaking at a National Front rally*, 1st May 2014, <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/57/60395/to-make-a-world-part-i-ultranationalism-and-the-art-of-the-stateless-state/>

¹⁵⁴ *Le Merveilleuse vie de Jeanne d’Arc* (Dir. Marco de Gastyne, 1929); *Das Mädchen Johanna*

¹⁵⁵ Kevin J. Harty, ‘Jeanne Au Cinema’, p.246; *Das Mädchen Johanna*

¹⁵⁶ Guillemin, *The True History*, p.196; Jennings, “Reinventing Jeanne”, p.718

¹⁵⁷ *Das Mädchen Johanna*

¹⁵⁸ Larry V. Thompson, ‘Lebensborn and the Eugenics Policy of the Reichsführer-SS’, *Central European History*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Mar., 1971), p.55

represented as a martyr for the nation in countries such as Nazi Germany, Joan inspired others to protect their country and follow national policy.

In keeping with the theme of religious imagery in a national context, Joan often assumes the role of national shepherdess. In Stilke's series of paintings in the mid-nineteenth century, Joan is initially pictured with a shepherd's crook (Fig. 17).¹⁵⁹ Stilke in the following painting has Joan leading the French forces with a very similar staff (Fig. 18).¹⁶⁰ The natural progression from shepherd's crook to banner signifies Joan's role as a leader and France as her flock. The representation of the banner as shepherd's crook and vice versa, is used in Scherrer's image with the French people following her through the streets of Orléans with her staff guiding the way (Fig. 16).¹⁶¹ This representation of the banner as crook is reinforced with Manship's Joan of Arc medal in 1915 with a fleur-de-lis featuring on her staff.¹⁶² Joan as leader of the flock is explicit in a painting by Melchers, who depicts her as a simple country girl tending her flock (Fig. 6).¹⁶³ Joan is the central focus with the sheep in the background. This epitomises how vital her role as leader is, as without her the French would remain docile animals. Braudel argues that Joan as a child tended her flock and ascertained the knowledge of how to look after a group.¹⁶⁴ As Yancey contends, Joan established herself as a 'sacred torch' to light the way for France in times of trouble.¹⁶⁵ In this regard Sackville-West agrees, as he argues that her lasting achievement was the 'regeneration of the soul of a flagging France'.¹⁶⁶

As mentioned previously, Joan's relevance as a symbol of leadership in the modern day is crucial to the French political right, with Marine Le Pen disseminating her message with an image of

¹⁵⁹ Hermann Anton Stilke, *Auftreten von Heiliges Catherine und Michael zu Johanna von Arc*, 1843

¹⁶⁰ Hermann Anton Stilke, *Johanna von Arc in der Schlacht*, 1843

¹⁶¹ Scherrer, *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc*

¹⁶² Paul Manship *The Civic Forum Medal*, 1915, <https://americanart.si.edu/artwork/jeanne-darc-medal-15910>

¹⁶³ Melchers, *Joan of Arc*

¹⁶⁴ Fernand Braudel, *The Identity of France, Volume Two: People and Production* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), p.301

¹⁶⁵ Blaetz, *Visions of the Maid*, p.65

¹⁶⁶ Pickels, *Joan of Arc*, p.38

Joan accompanied by the phrase: 'France is standing up'.¹⁶⁷ Joan, to those of the far-right at this moment, represents an emblem of leadership and hope. Guillemin questions the use of Joan by figures like Marine Le Pen, as he argues that they play "fast and loose" with the actual history of Joan which results in a distortion of actual events.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Joan of arc has come to represent a symbol of leadership to many. In recent times, Joan has become synonymous with nationalistic political leanings to the right.

The physical body of Joan is still crucial to nationalists, as they use her image to stir up national fervour and gain support for certain causes.¹⁶⁹ As recently as February 2018, members of far-right groups have been vocal about Joan with many taking to social media to attack the mixed-race background of Mathilde Edey Gamassou, who was chosen to represent Joan at a festival celebrating the siege of Orléans.¹⁷⁰ Despite fitting the criteria set by the committee organising the event, Gamassou found herself as the victim of racial abuse due to her being of Beninese and Polish descent.¹⁷¹ As a result, it is fair for one to challenge Cohen's assumption that Joan has little relevance in the modern day.¹⁷² Joan continues to be protected and manipulated by the far-right. Since the nineteenth century she has been used as an emblem to exploit French patriotism, whilst she is considered an icon to oppose foreign intervention within France.¹⁷³ Therefore, it is hard for one to argue that Joan becomes the 'pervasive icon of nationalism when France is threatened from external forces'.¹⁷⁴ It is evident that Joan is an effective icon for nationalists as she acts as protector of the nation, she epitomises the vulnerability of the nation which is then exploited, she is depicted as a national martyr whilst she also inspires hope as the leader of the nation in times of strife. As Napoleon

¹⁶⁷ Nathan Dize, *Marine Le Pen delivering a speech at National Front rally*, 1st May 2017, <http://feministing.com/2015/05/22/the-french-national-front-and-whitewashing-contemporary-france/>

¹⁶⁸ Guillemin, *The True History*, p.208

¹⁶⁹ Meltzer, 'Joan of Arc in America', p.92

¹⁷⁰ Angelique Chrisafis, 'French far right attack choice of mixed-race girl for Joan of Arc role', *The Guardian*, 23 February 2018

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Cohen, *History and Popular Memory*, p.146

¹⁷³ McWebb, 'Joan of Arc and Christine de Pizan', p.133

¹⁷⁴ Meltzer, 'Joan of Arc in America', p.92

once wrote, she 'proved there is no miracle that French genius cannot achieve when national independence is threatened'.¹⁷⁵ Having discussed briefly some religious themes but in a national context, the following chapter will seek to address them in their own right.

¹⁷⁵ Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc*, p.176

Chapter III: 'A gift from above': Joan the Saint

At this point in the dissertation, one has touched upon the many ways in which Joan has been represented and how artists have 'wrestled' over ideas of Joan the woman, Joan the androgyne, Joan the representation of a nation and Joan the politician.¹⁷⁶ Throughout the previous chapters there has been an underlying theme of religion, and failure to dedicate a chapter to this would limit the study greatly. To contemporaries like Alain Chartier, 'Joan was not from any place on earth but rather from Heaven'.¹⁷⁷ For historians in the wake of Joan's death, her divinity was clear with the likes of Barstow, Duby and DeVries all arguing that she was channelling another worldly presence.¹⁷⁸ This chapter will address how this presence is depicted by focusing on Joan's visualisation as the *imitatio Christi*, how there is Catholic guilt over the execution of Joan, and how Joan has been portrayed as a saintly figure.

Joan is represented in many forms of art as a Christlike figure, with Joan's story being compared heavily to both the Passion and the temptation of Christ. Margolis argues that by the nineteenth century Joan had been established as synonymous with Christ as a supreme martyr, which has been established previously in relation to nationalism.¹⁷⁹ The similarities between the Passion are clear with Joan being tied to the stake. Many paintings successfully convey this with Stilke's work depicting Joan tied to the stake by her hands, which mirrors Christ being bound to the cross (Fig.19).¹⁸⁰ In Fleming's film, however, he makes the relationship more obvious by featuring Christ on the crucifix at the end of the film.¹⁸¹ Aside from the blatant recreation of Christ on the crucifix, some artists aim to make Joan synonymous with the Passion by representing her wearing a crown of thorns. In *The Passion of Joan of Arc* this is evident as Joan has the crown of thorns upon her head, which acts as a

¹⁷⁶ Deborah Fraioli, 'Why Joan of Arc Never Became an Amazon' in Wheeler and Wood (eds.), *Fresh Verdicts*, pp.258-259

¹⁷⁷ Regine Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witnesses* (London: Scarborough House, 1982), p.97

¹⁷⁸ Barstow, 'Joan of Arc and Female Mysticism', p.41; Duby, *France in the Middle Ages*, p.288; DeVries, *Joan of Arc*, p.70

¹⁷⁹ Margolis, 'The "Joan Phenomenon"', p.269

¹⁸⁰ Hermann Anton Stilke, *Tod von Johanna von Arc auf dem Scheiterhaufen*, 1843

¹⁸¹ *Joan of Arc* (1948)

twisted halo and as a tool for mocking.¹⁸² *The Trial of Joan of Arc* features the crown of thorns but in a more subtle way, with Joan's chains symbolising it.¹⁸³ In addition to these parallels, Joan is often depicted as being executed in front of her followers much like Christ was. In the crowds of both Stilke's (Fig. 19) and d'Auvergne (Fig. 12) paintings, people look away in horror.¹⁸⁴ The element of Christ's followers attending the crucifixion is evident on film, with Joan's followers watching as their leader is executed.¹⁸⁵ Dunois, who fought alongside Joan, revealed his horror at her execution, as he believed 'Joan was sent by God' and 'her deeds were the fruit of divine inspiration'.¹⁸⁶

Further comparisons can be made to Christ when one studies the temptation. The temptation of Christ wandering through the desert for forty days and forty nights is replicated in Joan's story, as she is tempted to retract the claims of being sent by God.¹⁸⁷ Joan is often portrayed as the exhausted Christ who has been imprisoned and emotionally abused by men. Moreover, the undeniable link with Christ's temptation is represented with Joan, the saviour, being broken down by an antagonist. In most paintings and films, Joan's interrogators assume either the role of the Devil or act as his agents. Delaroche's painting has the Cardinal of Winchester in red clerical dress, forcing Joan to recant (Fig. 20).¹⁸⁸ Despite clerical dress being red, one cannot ignore the connotations of danger, the Devil and fire when observing this painting.¹⁸⁹ Further evidence is provided with a small man looming over the Cardinal's shoulder, whispering into his ear and instructing him.¹⁹⁰

More explicit examples lie in Dreyer's *The Passion of Joan of Arc*. Again, the interrogators are all in red clerical dress, although in this instance one interrogator's hair is curled into horns.¹⁹¹ The imagery of the Devil as tempter is confirmed with the judges having ugly and grotesque faces, thus

¹⁸² *The Passion of Joan of Arc*

¹⁸³ *The Trial of Joan of Arc*

¹⁸⁴ d'Auvergne, *Jeanne Tied Up*; Stilke, *Tod von Johanna*

¹⁸⁵ *Joan of Arc* (1999)

¹⁸⁶ Regine Pernoud, *The Retrial of Joan of Arc* (London: Methuen & Co., 1955), p.103

¹⁸⁷ Nancy Goldstone, *The Maid and the Queen: The Secret History of Joan of Arc* (London: Phoenix, 2013), p.179

¹⁸⁸ Paul Delaroche, *Jeanne d'Arc interrogated in prison by the Cardinal of Winchester, 1824*

¹⁸⁹ Elliott, *Remaking the Middle Ages*, p.21

¹⁹⁰ Delaroche, *Jeanne d'Arc interrogated*

¹⁹¹ *The Passion*

reasserting their inherent evil and demonic ways.¹⁹² However, in Lenepveu's work, the Devil's involvement is inferred with one man's facial features obscured from the audience of the painting (Fig. 21).¹⁹³ The figure in the bottom left of the painting hides his facial features whilst he grabs the torch to light the fire, thus making the connection between the fire, the Devil and an unidentified representative.¹⁹⁴ Nonetheless, representing Joan as Christ in the Passion and the temptation has interesting gender implications. Joan, as a woman being represented as Christ, is paradoxical with the female body being associated with sin in the Middle Ages. Representing Joan in this way highlights how in the aftermath of her death, gender ideas shifted slightly in how women could be represented. Nevertheless, the representation of Joan as Christ aims to highlight her divinity, whilst hinting that key figures like Bishop Cauchon might have been under the influence of the supernatural.

The common theme of high-profile figures in the Catholic Church being represented as the Devil feeds into the element of Catholic guilt, which is evident in many visual representations of Joan. In the aftermath of Joan's death, Margolis posits that the burning of Joan left a blemish on the history of the Catholic Church, whilst McEachren contends that, as a result, the Church has 'blushed' ever since.¹⁹⁵ The Catholic guilt over the death of Joan is present in many paintings, with Cathedrals towering over the scene where Joan is being executed. Stilke's painting features a Cathedral piercing the dark, overcast sky which looks down upon Joan's execution (Fig. 19).¹⁹⁶ Lenepveu's (Fig. 21) and Lix's (Fig. 22) paintings also depict these great architectural behemoths overlooking Joan as she burns.¹⁹⁷ Chiffart's painting provides a less subtle representation of this, as Joan is burned in the entrance of the Church (Fig. 23).¹⁹⁸ The inescapable similarity of these paintings imply that on looking

¹⁹² Sean Desilets, 'The Rhetoric of Passion', *Camera Obscura*, 53, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2003), pp.80-81

¹⁹³ Jules Eugène Lenepveu, *Jeanne at the Stake*, 1886-1890

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Margolis, 'The "Joan Phenomenon"', p.269; McEachren, 'Joan Interpreted', p.8

¹⁹⁶ Stilke, *Tod von Johanna*

¹⁹⁷ Lenepveu, *Jeanne at the Stake*; Frédéric Théodore Lix, *Joan of Arc Burning at the Stake*, c. nineteenth century]

¹⁹⁸ François Chiffart, *Jeanne d'Arc*, c.1901

back on this past injustice, the Church realises the error that had been made. However, much like the towering stone structures, they cannot intervene and change the past.

Despite lacking the ability to alter the past, Chiffart's work aims, through more violent and confrontational means, to make the Catholic Church accountable by depicting Joan burning practically within the walls of the Cathedral. Dreyer's film takes inspiration from the more hostile aspects of Chiffart's work.¹⁹⁹ In his film he focuses on the raw emotion of the trial, aiming, with the use of close-up shots, to depict Joan as a sympathetic character who is at the hand of an oppressive religion.²⁰⁰ Dreyer creates a claustrophobic environment in his use of narrow hallways and doorways to restrict Joan.²⁰¹ In using these obstacles, Dreyer presents the Catholic Church as antagonists, forcing them to accept their wrongdoings. Dreyer's allegiances to the Protestant faith have a clear influence on how the Catholics are presented.²⁰² However, the influence of these beliefs can be questioned, as there is a modern trend to portray the Catholic Church as a 'malevolent and sadistic institution'.²⁰³ In presenting the Catholic Church in this manner, Dreyer involves himself in a historical narrative that predates his film by several centuries.

The historical theme of the Black Legend was first devised by Julián Juderías in 1912, which outlined the idea that northern European countries, from the second half of the sixteenth century, created propaganda to discredit the Spanish Empire.²⁰⁴ The criticism concentrated on the country's involvement in the Americas and the use of the Inquisition.²⁰⁵ As Spain was the great Catholic power in the sixteenth century, the atrocities that were proliferated by Protestant pamphleteers became synonymous with Catholicism.²⁰⁶ As a result, it established a myth that Spain, and the Catholic Church

¹⁹⁹ *The Passion*

²⁰⁰ Desilets, 'The Rhetoric of Passion', p.57

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, p.58

²⁰² *Ibid*, p.68

²⁰³ Elliott, *Remaking the Middle Ages*, p.21

²⁰⁴ Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p.4

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

by association, were repressive and brutal.²⁰⁷ Therefore, Dreyer's film adds to this myth and aims to make the Catholic Church face their own brutal ways. As the evidence has shown, Catholic guilt is a prominent theme from the paintings in the late nineteenth century through to the films of the 1920s. Despite *The Passion of Joan of Arc* being made in the aftermath of her canonisation, the theme of Catholic guilt evident in the paintings could have played an influential role in the decision.

Almost five-hundred years after her execution on 16th May 1920, Joan of Arc was recognised as a saint by the Catholic Church.²⁰⁸ According to Guillemin, she was canonised due to her virtues as a perfect example of Christian womanhood.²⁰⁹ Kieckhefer states that Christian saintliness consisted of an extraordinary manifestation of power, and the person in question had to have a relatively sizeable following.²¹⁰ One can see a change over time with how Joan is portrayed, with the paintings before her canonisation depicting her with only the ability to communicate, through her visions, with Saint Catherine and Saint Michael. Joan's connection to the saints is depicted in the works of Stilke, (Fig. 17) Benouville, (Fig. 24) Thirion (Fig. 25) and Américo (Fig. 4), as Joan is either sat down or kneeling in front of the saints who inform her of her mission.²¹¹ Joan is depicted in these images as a simple country girl who is overwhelmed by the messengers from God instructing her to do His bidding. Siermiradzki's painting emphasises this concept with Joan on her knees in front of St. Catherine, who hands her the staff she would use against the English (Fig. 5).²¹² St. Catherine and St. Michael were the two voices Joan listened to, so in this aspect Siermiradzki's representation is close to the sources of the time.²¹³ In depicting Joan as receiving the saints and having an unbroken connection with them, these paintings promulgate the idea of Joan being divine. Despite most hamlets in the fifteenth

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Castor, *Joan of Arc*, p.244

²⁰⁹ Guillemin, *The True History of Joan "Of Arc"*, p.201

²¹⁰ Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, 'Negotiating Sanctity: Holy Women in Sixteenth-Century Spain', *Church History*, Vol. 64, No. 3 (Sep., 1995), p.378

²¹¹ Stilke, *Auftreten von Heiligens*; François-Léon Benouville, *Jeanne d'Arc écoutant ses voix*, ca.1859; Eugène Thirion, *Jeanne d'Arc écoutant le voix*, 1876; Américo, *Joan of Arc*

²¹² Siemiradzki, *Joan of Arc Kneeling*

²¹³ Goldstone, *The Maid and the Queen*, p.95

century having a person who had “visions”, by characterising Joan as a saint, these painters were aiming to influence Rome from the 1850s onwards.²¹⁴

The exertion of influence on Rome is evident from Joan not just having a connection with the saints but being represented in a similar way to them. The parallel is drawn in the works of both Ingres (Fig. 15) and Lenoir (Fig.26), as Joan is depicted with a halo, which emphasises her divinity.²¹⁵ With the date of Lenoir’s painting unclear, this brings into contention the idea that his painting would have applied pressure to Rome to make a decision over her canonisation. However, with him dying in 1926, he no doubt made the painting before 1920. Nevertheless, the use of a halo to indicate someone’s divinity has been used in Christian paintings for centuries. In Melgar’s painting, the female saints; Apollonia, Lucy and Barbara are all represented with Golden halos (Fig. 27).²¹⁶ Saint Martina and Saint Justina have been represented in the same way by Berrettini (Fig. 28) and Montagna (Fig. 29).²¹⁷ In drawing this similarity, one can assume that these painters were drawing comparisons to other saints in order to legitimise Joan’s divinity and apply the pressure to Rome to canonise her.

In the decades following Joan’s canonisation, her ability to connect with the saints plays a minor role as her gifts become more farcical. In many films set after Joan’s canonisation, she has the ability to stop eggs from being produced and she possesses the ability to control the weather.²¹⁸ Joan is also attributed the ability of foresight, which she uses in *Saint Joan* to predict when someone will die.²¹⁹ Moreover, Joan uses this power to identify the king in a crowded room, which has become a key cornerstone of telling Joan’s story.²²⁰ A modern audience, with the oversaturation of superhero movies in popular culture, would not think twice at the inclusion of ‘supernatural’ powers being attributed to a character on screen. However, some of these questionable abilities that Joan is

²¹⁴ Ibid, p.93

²¹⁵ Ingres, *Jeanne au Couronnement*; Charles-Amable Lenoir, *Joan of Arc*, 1860-1926

²¹⁶ Andrés de Melgar, *Saints Apollonia, Lucy and Barbara and another Holy Martyr*, 1530-1537

²¹⁷ Pietro Berrettini, *St. Martina*, ca.1635-1640; Bartolomeo Montagna, *Saint Justina of Padua*, 1490s

²¹⁸ *Joan of Arc* (1999); *Saint Joan*

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ *The Messenger*

attributed with are grounded in the accounts from the time. Guillemin, Castor and Warner have commented on her abilities to predict that she would find a sword in a Church, change the direction of the wind and recognise the king.²²¹ Wilson-Smith argues that an incredible amount of attention has been given by auteurs to the more supernatural elements of Joan's history.²²² These elements are more engaging for a general audience of Joan's story, however, one must question the impact this has. For example, with any famous historical character, their achievements and quirks are often exaggerated.²²³ Pernoud agrees with this, as she states that certain aspects have been elevated over time.²²⁴ This raises the question of which Joan is being represented; the real Joan or the imaginary Joan of 'popular mythology'?²²⁵

Part of this popular mythology that has been expanded in recent decades is Joan harnessing the ability to converse with Christ. In *The Messenger*, Joan has visions at a young age when the English come to attack her village.²²⁶ In these visions she is greeted by a young Christ sat on a stone throne, and later in the film she comes into contact with him again. In representing her as having a direct connection to Christ, Joan is shown to have the power of what many mystics had in the medieval period.²²⁷ Elliott argues that Joan of Arc was a female mystic.²²⁸ Mystics such as St. Teresa of Avila and St. John of the Cross experienced connections with God through divine rapture.²²⁹ For these mystics, being with God had to be developed in stages, with St. Teresa writing of the seven stages in her *Interior Castle*.²³⁰ These stages would take time to progress through, as one could not have an instant

²²¹ Castor, *Joan of Arc*, p.100; Guillemin, *The True History*, p.63; Warner, *The Image of Female Heroism*, p.54

²²² Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc*, p.16

²²³ Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*, p.55

²²⁴ Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself*, p.52

²²⁵ Desilets, 'The Rhetoric of Passion', p.57

²²⁶ *The Messenger*

²²⁷ Steven Weiskopf, 'Readers of the lost Arc: Secrecy, Specularity, and Speculation in the Trial of Joan of Arc' in Wheeler and Wood (eds.), *Fresh Verdicts*, p.119

²²⁸ Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in The Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), p.279

²²⁹ Maureen Flynn, 'Spiritual Uses of Pain in Spanish Mysticism', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (Summer, 1996), p.261

²³⁰ St. Teresa of Avila, *Interior Castle* (London: Dover Thrift, 2007), p.16

connection with God. However, Joan is depicted as interacting with Christ without facing any trials.²³¹ Despite Joan being incredibly pious, she only ever stated that she had visions from Saint Catherine and Saint Michael and never from Christ directly.²³² As previously discussed, many representations draw parallels to Christ, however, *The Messenger* is the only film in which she meets with him. In meeting Christ, this film fulfils its aim to provide a unique interpretation of the legend of Joan of Arc. In allowing Joan to meet Christ, her importance as a saint is re-established and her divinity confirmed. Furthermore, the way in which Joan's gifts have been displayed has changed dramatically over time, as they were once used to support her canonisation but following the event, they have been exaggerated to entertain audiences.

Joan of Arc's visual representation encompasses many religious themes that vary from artists seeking to present a less than subtle imitation of Christ, to use Joan as a vehicle for Catholic guilt, to giving her powers that are akin to God. Nonetheless, throughout these various representations, artists have tried to assert Joan's divinity to prove her saintliness both before and after her canonisation in 1920. To the artists trying to represent Joan within a religious context, some difficulties arise as Robert Bresson suggests that 'one does not explain greatness, one tries to attune oneself to it'.²³³ The greatness that Bresson alludes to has a similar effect on historians, as Morgan contends that historians and artists still seek to understand the 'mystery' surrounding Joan and her faith.²³⁴ Nevertheless, it is difficult to oppose Castor who suggests that 'in gaining a saint, we have lost a human being'.²³⁵

²³¹ *The Messenger*

²³² Goldstone, *The Maid and the Queen*, p.95

²³³ Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself*, p.277

²³⁴ Morgan, 'Modern Mystics, Medieval Saints', p.50

²³⁵ Castor, *Joan of Arc*, p.245

Conclusion

Since her death in May 1431, Joan of Arc's image has been used as a vessel for a multitude of causes.²³⁶ Many of which have been expressed in the various ways in which she has been represented in art and on film. Creative minds have taken inspiration from Joan to depict her in certain ways, which often reflected the values of the time.²³⁷ Therefore, an undercurrent throughout this dissertation is that of manipulation, and how Joan's image has changed depending on when, why, and by whom, the art was created.

The use of gender, nationalism and religion as themes have allowed for Joan's visual representation to be deconstructed. In the first chapter, it is established that Joan's gender is at the mercy of issues at the time of the depiction. As values have changed, Joan's representation has also moved with the times. Joan became an inspirational figure to those in wartime, being represented as a strong woman who joined the war effort to persuade female audiences to provide assistance in both the First and Second World Wars. Paradoxically, her image was also manipulated to soften the blow for women to return to domesticity in the aftermath of war. In more recent depictions, Joan's gender was manipulated to provide a new take on the heroine.

The second chapter concentrated on nationalism, which focused on Joan's relationship as a national icon for the far-right. The sources that were used in this chapter provided a compelling argument for Joan's political alignment with the far-right, especially in France. Again, the undercurrent of manipulation is evident once more as the far-right continue to use her as an icon to canvas support for their controversial beliefs. However, as this chapter focuses solely on Joan's relation with the far-right, one could argue that there are limitations of this study. For example, nationalism, as an ideology, is not specific to the politics of the right. Therefore, a further investigation could be had into Joan and the nationalist tendencies of the political left.

²³⁶ Warner, *The Image of Female Heroism*, p.239

²³⁷ Pickels, *Joan of Arc*, p.86

Whilst the first two chapters briefly touched upon religious themes, the final chapter addressed this thread directly by focusing on how her spirituality has been depicted. Joan became a Christ figure and was used by a Protestant filmmaker to make the Catholic Church accountable for her execution. Aside from these points, a change in how her spirituality was portrayed was evident. Joan's spirituality was used before her canonisation to influence Rome to make her a saint, whereas in the aftermath her spiritual side developed in a completely different way.

Despite scrutinizing Joan's visual representation in these three ways and choosing a variety of sources, further research can be done using sources that have been omitted from this paper. As mentioned in the introduction, it is impossible to use all of the sources on Joan from over the years. Therefore, despite the efforts of this paper to include as many as possible, some primary sources will not have been covered. Nonetheless, the sources that have been drawn upon in this dissertation have allowed for a thorough investigation into the various portrayals of Joan of Arc.

Furthermore, Joan's image will continue to be used and her legacy will encompass more causes. Further interpretations of her legend will be created in the future, as Joan's position as an enduring historical icon will be consolidated. Lutkus and Walker both suggest that Joan's legacy is cemented by her historians.²³⁸ However, after undertaking this assessment, the considerable role played by artists cannot be understated.

²³⁸ Anne D. Lutkus and Julia M. Walker, 'PR PAS PC: Christine de Pizan's Pro-Joan Propaganda' in Wheeler and Wood (eds.), *Fresh Verdicts*, p.151

Appendices

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Fig. 1



Jules Eugène Lenepveu, *Jeanne d'Arc in armour before Orléans*, 1886-1890

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Fig. 2



Raymond Monvoisin, *Jeanne d'Arc*, pre-1843

Fig. 3



Roger de La Fresnaye *Jeanne d'Arc*, 1912

Fig. 4



Pedro Américo de Figueiredo e Melo, *Joan of Arc Listening for the First Time to the Voices That Predict Her Prominent Fate*, 1884

Fig. 5



Henryk Siemiradzki, *Joan of Arc Kneeling Before Angel*, 1872

Fig. 6



Gari Melchers, *Joan of Arc*, date unknown

Fig. 7



Domenico Beccafumi, *The Annunciation*, ca.1545

Fig. 8



Jean Hey, *The Annunciation*, 1490/1495

Fig. 9



Andrew C.P Haggard, *Portrait of Joan of Arc*, 1912

Fig. 10



Annie Swynnerton, *Joan of Arc*, pre-1933

Fig. 11



August Gustav Lasinsky, *Johanna von Orléans in der Schlacht*, 1852

Fig. 12



Martial d'Auvergne, *Jeanne Being Tied Up*, 1493

Fig. 13



Howard Pyle, *Joan of Arc in Prison*, pre-1911

Fig. 14



Prosper d'Épinay, *Statue of Joan of Arc in Rheims Cathedral*, 1900, [statue]

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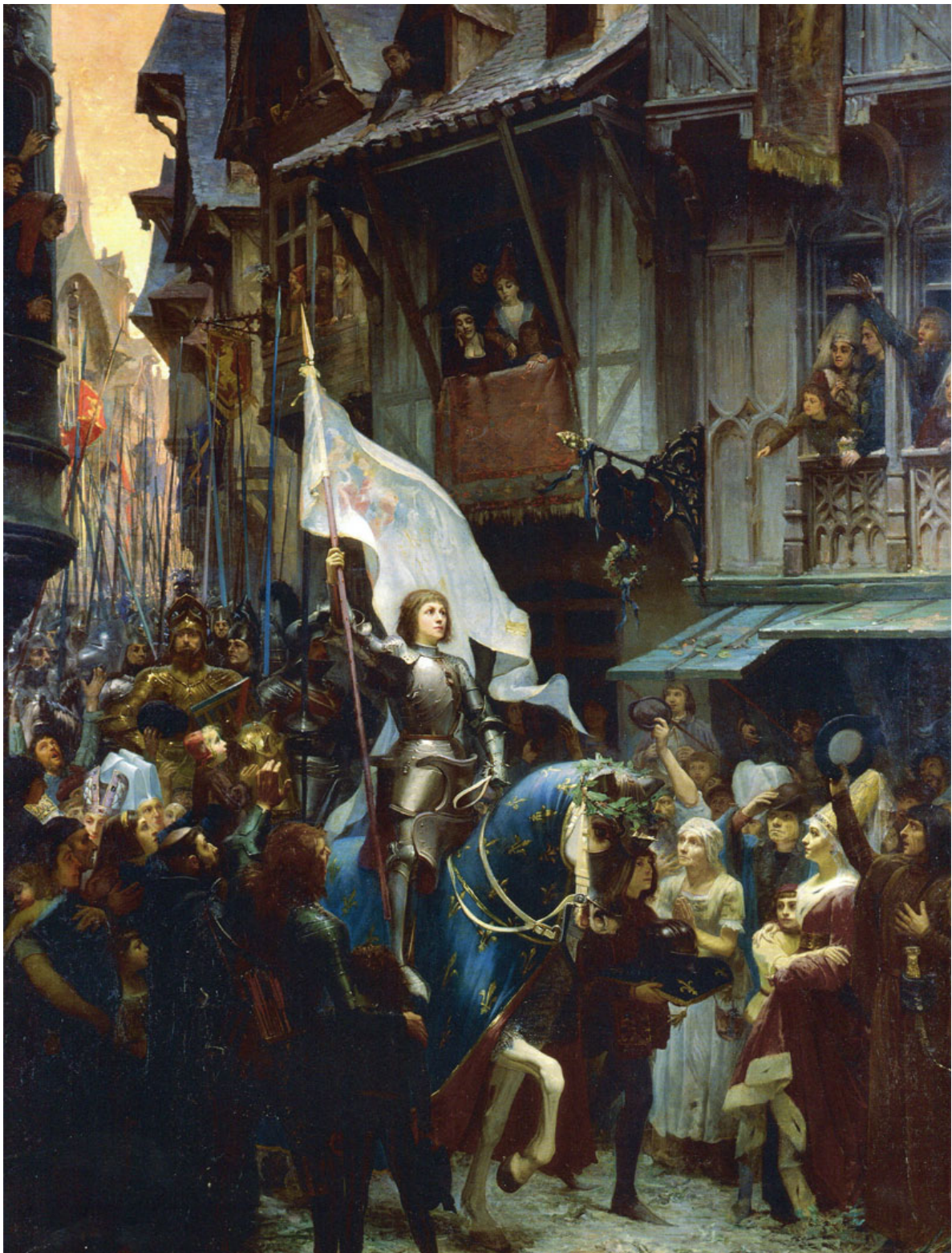
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Fig. 15



Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Jeanne au Couronnement de Charles VII*, 1854

Fig. 16



Jean-Jacques Scherrer, *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans*, 1887

Fig. 17



Hermann Anton Stilke, *Auftreten von Heiliges Catherine und Michael zu Johanna von Arc*, 1843

Fig. 18



Hermann Anton Stilke, *Johanna von Arc in der Schlacht*, 1843

Fig. 19



Hermann Anton Stilke, *Tod von Johanna von Arc auf dem Scheiterhaufen*, 1843

Fig. 20



Paul Delaroche, *Jeanne d'Arc interrogated in prison by the Cardinal of Winchester*, 1824

Fig. 21



Jules Eugène Lenepveu, *Jeanne at the Stake*, 1886-1890

Fig. 22



Frédéric Théodore Lix, *Joan of Arc Burning at the Stake*, c. nineteenth century

Fig. 23



François Chiffart, *Jeanne d'Arc*, c.1901

Fig. 24



François-Léon Benouville, *Jeanne d'Arc écoutant ses voix*, ca.1859

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Fig. 25



Eugène Thirion, *Jeanne d'Arc écoutant le voix*, 1876

Fig. 26



Charles-Amable Lenoir, *Joan of Arc*, 1860-1926

Fig. 27



Andrés de Melgar, *Saints Apollonia, Lucy and Barbara and another Holy Martyr*, 1530-1537

Fig. 28



Pietro Berrettini, *St. Martina*, ca.1635-1640

Fig. 29



Bartolomeo Montagna, *Saint Justina of Padua*, 1490s

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