Female Spectators in the July Monarchy and Henry Scheffer's *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans*

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Female Spectators in the July Monarchy and

Henry Scheffer's

Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans

Kalisha Roberts

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

Female Spectators in the July Monarchy and
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In this thesis I consider Henry Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc à Orléans, le 8 mai 1429* (1843) in relation to female audiences of the July Monarchy. As a part of the larger Galerie des Batailles in the Musée Historique instituted in 1837 by Louis-Philippe, *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc* has been addressed relative to the political objectives of the monarchy. Limited scholarship surrounding the Galerie des Batailles has focused on its evolution from royal apartments in the château de Versailles to public museum. However, the broadening of audiences during the July Monarchy and potential points of engagement between viewer and artwork have remained largely overlooked, especially in relation to Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*.

Though feminist scholars have addressed the formation of the female spectator in post-revolutionary France, women in the art world during the July Monarchy remain understudied. This thesis discusses the expanding of audiences to whom Salon artists and Louis-Philippe were trying to appeal. The emergence of books and periodicals directed toward women during the July Monarchy, as well as the renewed interest in historicism affected female viewers’ interaction with Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*. Additionally, the unrecognized fervor surrounding women of the July Monarchy who sought to emulate noble women of the past reflects these opportunities for women viewers. The emergence of contemporary women who were associated with the historical heroine, including Marie d’Orléans, expanded women’s understanding of their place in history and their engagement in political, religious, and literary change within the public sphere. I attempt to show how all of these overlooked contextual circumstances empowered the viewing position of the female viewer in relation to Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*.

Keywords: Jeanne d’Arc, July Monarchy, Louis-Philippe, Galerie des Batailles, women spectator
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Introduction

In the year 1837 Louis-Philippe opened an entire wing of Versailles, the Musée de l'Histoire de France, and devoted it to paintings and sculptures that illustrated “toutes les gloires de la France.” As part of his attempt to make the French feel a democratic ownership of what had so long been an icon of restricted access and monarchic dominance, he transformed the château de Versailles into a space of communal history shared via the grace of the “King of the French.” The galleries were filled with contemporary sculptures dedicated to the great rulers, authors, philosophers, and artists who created the cultural legacy of France. One area of this museum, the Galerie des Batailles, contained thirty-three paintings that illustrated decisive military victories in the history of France, from Clovis to Napoleon (Fig. 1). Positioned in the center of the long hallway and framed in its own architectural niche was Henry Scheffer’s painting *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc à Orleans, le 8 mai 1429* (1843) (Fig. 2).

Commissioned in 1837 and displayed in the Salon of 1843, Scheffer’s painting was then moved to its permanent home in the château de Versailles, where it was integrated into the larger programmatic whole of Louis-Philippe’s Galerie des Batailles. *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc* marked a critical divergence from contemporary aesthetic norms vis-à-vis

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1 From its inception to today, this collection has been referred to by many names. Its original title when proposed in 1816 was the *Galerie Historique ou Cours d'histoire générale par tableaux*. In *La Guerre sans Dentelles*, a 2009 publication from the château, it is referred to as “Les galeries historiques.” The current website for the château de Versailles refers to it as musée de l’Histoire de France. Throughout the remainder of this paper, it will be referred to as the Musée Historique.

2 Hereafter the painting will be referred to as *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*.

other paintings in the gallery, both in terms of its thematic content as well as in its solicitation of the spectator. Long acknowledged only in catalogs of the château’s collection of the Galerie des Batailles and divorced from the circumstances and context of its historic production, this painting has remained in relative scholarly obscurity. The political, social, and religious frameworks within which this painting functioned have not yet been fully explored, and further analysis will demonstrate a much greater convergence of historical concerns between the state and its audiences than has been previously recognized.

Scholarly texts have not considered Scheffer’s choices in how he arranges his subject, how he highlights the role of women in the pictorial crowd, or how expanding audiences during the July Monarchy affected the viewer’s experience of the work. In this thesis, I will argue that *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc* specifically appeals to the contemporary female viewer and offers a space in this painting that reflects broader trends of women’s involvement in the public sphere and her identification with other historical women.

To accomplish this I will discuss the development of artistic spectatorship in the early nineteenth century, including the ways in which this audience expanded during the July Monarchy. I will also address Louis-Philippe’s objectives within the halls of the Galerie des Batailles and how his selective view of history reinforced the glory of his monarchy via the figure of Jeanne d’Arc. Through comparisons to other paintings in this gallery, as well as other depictions of Jeanne d’Arc of this period, I will show how Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc* uniquely addressed the female spectator. The overlooked and understudied

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4 As part of my research for this thesis, I was privileged to conduct original research from the archives at the château de Versailles whilst conducting an internship there.

5 In highlighting female spectators, I recognize that there is not a singular, essentialized female spectator. Many other complexities, including class and race, informed the viewing position of audiences at this time. For the purposes of this thesis I have chosen to focus on gender and spectatorship in relation to this painting,
phenomenon of women in the July Monarchy seeking to emulate women of the past who engaged in political, religious, and literary change enhanced female viewers’ connections to paintings such as *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*. The close visual association between Scheffer’s version of the Virgin warrior and that sculpted in 1837 by princess Marie d’Orléans, daughter of King Louis Philippe, magnified the widespread identification between contemporary and historical women that empowered the viewing position of female spectators. The wide appeal of Marie d’Orléans as a popular figure and symbol of Louis-Philippe makes Jeanne d’Arc emblematic of the reconciliation that the royal princess represents. The close proximity between Jeanne, the women depicted in the painting, and female spectators in the gallery facilitated a renegotiation of the viewer’s relation to the heroine and expanded possibilities for women’s participation in the public sphere during the July Monarchy.

Measuring 15 feet 10 inches wide by 13 feet 11 inches tall, Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc* depicts a somber, stoic Jeanne emerging out of a crowded procession, seated atop a brown horse that is adorned in ceremonial attire. Jeanne, who wears her armor, but without a helmet, has short hair cropped just above the shoulders. Recalling the iconography of martyrdom, the heroine elevates her eyes toward heaven. Jeanne is preceded by two monks, one of whom carries a standard whose white banner, studded with *fleur de lis*, reminds the viewer of her position as the protector of the Bourbon royal
crown. Behind the clergymen, one glimpses personages who comprise the crowd watching this processional. The city of Orléans, pictured in the upper right corner, was of key significance to the conflict for control of France, and was now liberated by Jeanne after six months of British siege. Jeanne is returning from the accomplishment of the first task that she set out to do: re-claim territory for the French. Behind Jeanne are hundreds of spears as well as the heads of a few commanders who follow her, likely Dunois and Lahire. As Jeanne passes by, a small group of six people shower her with gestures and looks of gratitude and adoration for the commander who liberated them. One man has covered his head with his cloak, clasped his arms in a gesture of gratitude, and prostrated himself on the ground. Adjacent to him, a woman and her child kneel next to another woman who swoons and rests under the protective grasp of a dark-haired woman, who in turn, reaches out to touch Jeanne. Behind them stands an elderly man who has removed his hat and is beginning to bow in deference to the young female leader.

Whilst seemingly just another battle painting in the midst of myriad other scenes of war featured in the Galerie des Batailles, Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc differs from the other thirty-two paintings in this program in many ways. Most noticeably, Jeanne is the only female military commander to be showcased in this selective group of paintings that highlighted key moments in the history of France. This painting is one of only three that portrays the celebrated entrance of an official. And while two paintings within the program depict surrenders, the other twenty-seven depict scenes that capture the action occurring

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6 In the fifteenth century, the French and British were bitterly fighting the Hundred Years’ War. The English had crossed the Channel to claim more territory in Normandy as a rightful part of their Empire. Jeanne, a simple peasant girl from the small village of Domrémy in eastern France, received visions of Saint Michael the archangel, Saint Catherine of Alexandria, and Saint Margaret, informing her of her mission. She embarked upon a journey to the court Charles VII, carrying the news of her divine appointment to save the French, repel the British from their lands, and see Charles VII crowned at Reims, the traditional site of French coronations.
directly on the battlefield. The focus on a heroic female figure and the abundance of women portrayed in *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc* are critical to the discussion of female spectatorship during the July Monarchy. The expansion of audiences, the role of the viewer, and the message that Louis-Philippe was trying to send to these spectators through the Musée Historique are all significant factors that affected the viewing experience of *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc*.

**Setting the Stage**

Interactions between the work of the art and the audience are critical points to consider when analyzing the female spectatorship of Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*. There are precedents for these concerns that have been discussed in relation to art of the earlier nineteenth century. Scholar Stefan Germer suggests that certain artists, such as Pierre-Narcisse Guérin, utilized a framework in which the viewer had to interact with the work to extricate meaning from the narrative.\(^7\) The artist leaves blanks or voids within the painting that refuse to present the audience with a completely formed narrative, forcing the viewer’s attention away from the protagonist and onto other objects within the painting that will supply the meaning.\(^8\) Guérin, in whose studio Ary and Henry Scheffer trained, was not the only artist to employ new techniques to activate the audience’s role in their viewing experience.


\(^8\) This method requires the viewer to project elements from their own personal experiences, so when they do solve the puzzle and conclude the narrative, they feel a deep connection to the work. However, Germer notes that this concept of the open narrative is in fact an illusion that causes the viewer to believe in the authenticity and veracity of their individual conclusions, when in fact they are only re-structuring the painting with the clues already given and pre-conceived by the artist. Germer, 29.
Jacques-Louis David, the most important artist of the early nineteenth-century, also strove to strengthen connections between his work and the audience. One of the means by which he accomplished this was in the display of a key painting of the post-Revolutionary period. In his *Intervention of the Sabines* (1799) (Fig. 3), David installed a large, freestanding mirror on the wall opposite the painting. Allowing visitors to see themselves as part of the painting caused confusion between the painted subjects and the visiting crowd and invited physical and symbolic participation with the work. David attempted to institute a new economic method of exhibiting artworks in an attempt to assuage his frustration that viewers had lived amongst paintings without really participating in them. Experimentation with techniques for creating a viewing experience for visitors that would encourage interaction and reflection between painting and audience was on the rise in the early nineteenth century, and this trend will later influence art of the July Monarchy, including Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*.

Additionally, Scheffer’s attempt to appeal to a diversity of artistic tastes and expand viewership by intersecting high and popular culture had clear precedents. In her analysis of the *Intervention of the Sabines*, Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby notes that the protagonists appealed to audiences of different classes based on aesthetic tastes. Grigsby asserts that the painting functioned to reconcile the split between the elite aesthetics of statuary and the

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10 David attempted to move away from the system where the funding of artworks was assumed by a single patron. Instead of exhibiting *Intervention of the Sabines* at the Salon, he displayed it individually in a physical space devotedly solely to a singular painting. The cost for this was repaid to the artist through an entrance fee, which expanded the amount of people who were financially invested in his work.
drama of popular expressivity. In a similar way, Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc* engages in this divide between mass audiences and elevated expectations of the painting medium within Salon culture. The emotional response reflected in the crowd surrounding Jeanne resembles a live theatrical tableau. The scene is filled with attention-grabbing excitement and fervor. However, in the size, composition, and the composed nature of the protagonist, Scheffer references classical ideals befitting a royal commission and the King’s select art collection gifted to the public. This consideration of new audiences continued with a particular emphasis on widening the range of potential spectators of art during the July Monarchy.

Further discussion of this expanding group of visitors to the Musée Historique is critical when examining points of interaction for female viewers of Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*. The frequency of Salons had increased, the number of artists and the paintings being displayed had more than doubled, and the amount of visitors attending these exhibitions was greater than the entire population of Paris. This led to an increase in people writing, reviewing, and criticizing this surge in visual imagery. During the July Monarchy the number of Salon reviews that appeared was more than the total amount of reviews from all previous Salons combined. The July Monarchy saw a rise in the power and prominence of the bourgeoisie, and under this regime shift the Salon transformed into

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a venue of popular entertainment. A site of high culture that was once frequented by the elite now also included those of lesser wealth and education.

These significant shifts in the spectatorship of visual culture at the Salons were duly noted by contemporaries and affected viewers’ experience of Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*. In her review of the Salon of 1843, notable author Marie d’Agoult (aka Daniel Stern) published a request that artists stop pandering to the vulgar inclinations of the masses.¹⁴ This complaint was leveled by many other critics of the period who felt that painters no longer knew how to create grand manner history paintings. Charles-Andrée Bertall’s cartoons of *Those Who Go To the Salon on Saturdays* and *Those Who Go to the Salon on Sundays* satirizes the crowds of lower-class people who clamor to the exhibition on Sundays and contrasts this with the linear elegance of the bourgeoisie, who visit on restricted Saturdays.¹⁵ François-Auguste Biard’s *Four o’Clock at the Salon* (1835) (Fig. 4) similarly depicts a diverse crowd that includes soldiers, children, artisans, and women, all in various states of engagement. Many are gaping, fainting, or completely distracted with their noses buried in the newspaper or staring at the ceiling while leaning against the artwork. Biard satirizes the behavior of the masses and their lack of “appropriate” involvement with the art.¹⁶ However, though the influx of the uneducated bourgeoisie into

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¹⁵ Matlock, 73-74.

¹⁶ The increased awareness of class difference, according to some scholars, may also be influenced by the tumultuous political shifts experienced by the populace over the past fifty years. Scholar Georg Lukacs claims that the re-awakening of national history gave way to an increasing consciousness of class struggle and the economic conditions that created national and world history. Georg Lukacs, *The Historical Novel* (London: Merline Press, 1962), 25.
the art world was often satirized, it also altered the art market and the paintings that appealed to this expanding audience.

With a new limitation on the budget of the crown during the July Monarchy, neither the crown nor the court could afford to continue the tradition of “la grande peinture” that existed when the hierarchy of genres was formed in the 17th century by the Académie. Due to the increase in patronage from the bourgeoisie, smaller-scale historical paintings, termed *genre historique*, flourished. Works such as Paul Delaroche’s *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey* (1833) showed the populace’s penchant for staged, dramatized moments that allowed for a spectacular performance of the past. The emotionally structured theatrical poignancy of this work privileged gestures that were easily recognized and understood. These strategies of representation were utilized throughout the July Monarchy to appeal to a large public.

The circumstances under which paintings were viewed in the Galerie des Batailles were entirely different than that of the Salon, and though these have been explored by scholars, not much attention has been given specifically to Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*. Scholar Michael Marrinan points out that the unique space of the Musée Historique functioned not as an aesthetic space but a historical one, where the primary concern was not that of individual artists on display, but of the programmatic structure of the names, dates, and narratives that are evoked. The Salon was a site of convergence between varying genres, styles, politics, and objectives. However, the Musée Historique was a space that was visually created by the reigning monarch who wanted to be recognized for his

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significant contributions to French culture. It was designed to instill national pride, and consequently admiration, for past and future monarchs.

A key part of Louis-Philippe’s project was making his selected history widely visible to as many people as possible, a goal that was certainly not integral to official government art commissions for past French monarchs. Foucault has observed that while disciplinary methods through physical intimidation were previously centered around the enclosed monarchical fortress, in the nineteenth century these methods were modernized and became publicized and transmitted in a “free state.” The new disciplinary mechanism to which Foucault was referring is the observation and gathering of information about others, which allowed the “observer” to be the master of knowledge. This framework has complicated the previously unrecognized implications when applied to Versailles. The château was literally seen as the physical monarchical fortress of France and used as a symbol of power by every ruler since. However, Louis-Philippe transformed the south wing of the château from private chambers into a public museum, which seemingly broke down the barriers between classes of power that had formerly separated the “rulers” and the “ruled.” He presented the illusion of freely distributing both information and cultural heritage to the masses. However, Louis-Philippe’s selective and manipulative version of

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18 Michael Marrinan shows how Louis-Philippe’s Musée Historique was designed to be viewed as “facts in an historical narrative” which is dependent on the authority of the narrator to master the archive as a whole and use the museum’s space as historical simulation. The narrative mechanism of the museum itself draws attention away from the experience of individual images and instead engages the viewer in a process of reading and simulating the event. Michael Marrinan, “Historical Vision and the Writing of History at Louis-Philippe’s Versailles,” in *The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture under the July Monarchy* ed. Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu and Gabriel Weisberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 121, 132.

19 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 211. Marrinan cites Foucault’s delineation of a new system of power that emerges between the rulers and the ruled, but does not extend its implications to include how this formation affects the viewing of the Musée Historique. Marrinan, “Historical Vision and the Writing of History at Louis-Philippe’s Versailles,” 143.
history, presented as a comprehensive factual trajectory, gave the monarch the power to control, via its dissemination. In other words, the Musée Historique created history “as it really was.” While this acknowledgment of the strategies of presentation in the Musée Historique is critical, these do not necessarily force the viewer into a pre-determined responsive experience. In fact, my discussion of Scheffer’s Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc seeks to clarify the political manipulation of this image and to identify the points of accessibility for viewers outside of the prescribed discourse that may have enabled a range of engagements with the subject.20

As a museum dedicated to the history of France, the Musée Historique had certain political objectives that were influenced by the audiences to whom it was trying to appeal. Louis-Philippe needed to reconcile various loyalties that threatened his regime, including Bonapartists, legitimists, and republicans.21 By designing a national history that included contributions of the Bourbons and Napoleon only twenty years after his demise, Louis-Philippe was attempting to build a common ground upon which all French people could relate and rejoice, thus subduing the threats to his power. These visual nods to the political

20 In Marrinan’s discussion of the techniques used in Galerie des Batailles, he points out that since the painting is no longer an autographic, singular object at the Salon, it no longer had to depict a complete narrative thread that depended on the unities of time and space. In other words, it was acceptable to focus on an excerpt from the story, while other historical dates, names, and facts would be filled in by the accompanying pamphlet, or livret. Marrinan, “Historical Vision and the Writing of History at Louis-Philippe’s Versailles,” 132, 135-139.

Since the audience did not need to be given all the facts surrounding the historical event directly through the image, the artist could focus on a specific part of the narrative, giving the viewer the impression that they were gaining access to a less formal and more real view of the historical protagonist. In this case, by eliminating the need for conveying multiple historical clues of reference, such as details of the battle, other important military personnel present, or the city of Orléans itself, Scheffer could focus on the figure of Jeanne herself and the few figures that surrounded her. The specific and detailed audience in the painting would allow viewers to feel like they too had a close and personal encounter with the celebrated figure of Jeanne.

21 Nora Heimann, Joan of Arc in French Art and Culture (1700-1855): From Satire to Sanctity (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 158.
past of multiple regimes helped reinforce the concept that Louis-Philippe’s museum was
grounded in history and politics more than in art and traditional aesthetics. Various
sympathies within his own family also reinforced Louis-Philippe’s broad appeal to those of
differing loyalties. His son and heir, duc Ferdinand-Philippe d’Orléans supported avant-
garde artists of the left and his daughter Marie d’Orléans was often regarded as the sole
liberal of the family, who had republican tendencies.22 The wide political appeal of the
artwork commissioned by the constitutional monarch sought to focus on a history that
united the people of France.

Louis-Philippe’s objectives for the Musée Historique not only drew on nationalism,
but also utilized the legacy of the Christian tradition to control the message he was sending
to the masses. Since the Revolution, organized religion, namely Catholicism, had
experienced an upheaval in its role in France.23 During the July Monarchy Louis-Philippe
attempted to reconcile these lingering tensions and also send a strong message to the
Church regarding their dependency on the state for survival.24 Accompanying this cultural
and social conflict was the rise of ultramontanism, which sought to return authority over

22 Heimann, 140.

23 Although through the Concordat of 1802, Napoleon made religion legal and declared Catholicism the state
religion, his conflict with the papacy kept the role of the church minimal. He also kept the maintaining of
religious edifices and art commissions under state authority. It wasn’t until the Restoration of the Bourbons
in 1815 that France saw a reconstruction of the Catholic Church, restoring what had not been present in the
nation since the already-declining religious practice before the 1789 Revolution. However, the re-institution
of the authority of the Catholic Church and their alliance with absolute power resulted in animosity and anti-
clerical feelings that persisted throughout the nineteenth century. Michael Paul Driskel, Representing Belief:
Religion, Art, and Society in Nineteenth-Century France (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University
Press, 1992), 20, 22-23.

24 Louis-Philippe also sought to bridge the divide between church and state by restoring churches, and
commissioning important large works within them. One of these important commissions was completed in
1835 and installed in the Church of the Madeleine. Jules-Claude Ziegler’s mural alludes to Napoleon and
consequently Louis-Philippe’s facilitation of reconciliation between Christ and the state of France. However,
the church still fostered resentment toward Louis-Philippe due to his returning the Church of Sainte
Geneviève, protector of France, to the secular Panthéon, or temple to the great men of France. Driskel, 21.
the church to the Pope in Rome and renounce France’s implied distinct national Catholic
identity. Exploring Louis-Philippe’s religious and educational agendas clarifies the role of
spectators within this context and their perceived relationship to monarchical and religious
authority.

The selective history of France that Louis-Philippe presented to his audience utilized
the figure of Jeanne d’Arc as a means to assert the monarchy’s political power over the
Church. The Galerie of Batailles commences with Clovis, the first Christian king of France,
whose divine protection stemmed from his religious conversion and devotion. Jeanne
d’Arc is given a central focus within the gallery space. As a figure she is significant both in
her devotion to God and in her undying commitment to the monarchy by pledging to see
Charles VII crowned at Reims. As a museum that was specifically designed to educate the
public, Louis-Philippe’s Musée Historique integrates heroes of state with the Christian
history of France, thus inferring that divine protection and prosperity continued through
the monarchy. This act does not seek to supplant the Catholic Church, but rather
appropriates the history of religious devotion in France. The clerical administration of
religion keeps peace and social order but remains carefully under the bureaucratic eye of
the state. Jeanne d’Arc thus becomes a subject that King Louis-Philippe used to remind the
Catholic church that this young girl channeled her devotion to God for the good of the
monarchy, which became the heroic means by which she helped save the nation of France.

25 Driskel, 23.

26 Laurent Gerverau and Frédéric Lacaille, La Guerre sans Dentelles (Versailles: Château de Versailles, 2009),
12-13.
Louis-Philippe’s message of authority over church and state was significant, considering the widening audience and educational purposes of the Musée Historique.

In the planning of this museum, increased public and popular education intersected with the government’s selective view of history. When the *Galérie Historique ou Cours d’histoire générale par tableaux* was first proposed it was noted that painting would be a compelling medium of public education that was easily understandable and valuable as a teaching tool. The appeal of history in literature, theatre, and art became a popular cultural phenomenon that attracted the public beyond just scholars and intellectuals. Recent upheavals, including the Revolution and defeat of the Empire further propelled the public’s awareness that there was a “living history.” This understanding of history as the cumulative experience of a group of individuals increased the public’s self-consciousness as historical subjects. Making history more widely available to all classes was of interest to the government, who wanted to engender amongst its audience a respect for the great history of France.

At the same time that the increasingly class-varied audience was widening at the Salon and its critics were bereaving the loss of lofty artistic standards, the government and its official commissions aimed to include this same less-educated group in the discussion. In privileging historical narration and maximum recognizability over aesthetic delight, the government acknowledged their shift in audience by appealing to the more pervasive

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27 This proposal was first made by Minister of Interior Laurent-Pierre de Jussieu in 1816. Gahtgens, 65.

28 Chu, 186-187.


30 Wright, 17-18.
visual culture that was favored by the general populace.\textsuperscript{31} The monarchy acknowledged a growing demographic of those who participated in the events of history. This crucial incorporation of greater numbers into the throngs of those who played a role in the nation-state held significance for female viewers of the July Monarchy who were now acknowledged as historical players.

\textbf{Imagery of Jeanne d'Arc}

The importance of women spectators in the Galerie des Batailles was also facilitated by an increased emphasis on historical women like Jeanne d'Arc. The “Maid of Orléans” held widespread appeal to varying audiences in France during the nineteenth century. Jeanne is unique in her position as both a paragon of virtue, chastity, and virginity, who at the same time showed physical strength, courage, and female leadership in the political realm.\textsuperscript{32} This array of attributes made Jeanne an accessible figure for many different social

\textsuperscript{31} Marrinan, “Historical Vision and the Writing of History at Louis-Philippe’s Versailles” in The Popularization of Images, 140-141. King Louis-Philippe shows his personal approval of this shift in audience and was impressed that within his museum at Versailles where different classes were intermingling well. He remarked, “Not just Parisians are going there, but peasants are also coming from every village.” Letter from Louis-Philippe to Comte de Molé, 28 June 1837, Archives Nationales, 300 APIII 35, quoted in Marrinan, “Historical Vision and the Writing of History at Louis-Philippe’s Versailles” in The Popularization of Images, 142-143.

and female walks of life throughout the July Monarchy. She simultaneously represents the republican domestic mother and the powerful, liberal feminist. Indeed, Jeanne was from the provinces of France and was not formally educated, and thus could embody the ideal of “every woman” in France. Jeanne represented revolutionary tendencies in that she was a virtuous liberator. At the same time, she appealed to the tastes of the legitimists because of her role as protector of the monarchy and a servant of God. As a figure who united a politically divided and weakened France, she could symbolically do the same for the modern state through healing and reconciliation.

The nineteenth-century Jeanne d'Arc revival that eventually led to her canonization in 1920 gained rapid momentum during the Restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy (1815-1830). Twenty-six years after the Revolution and the Empire, France had returned to a royal and historic bloodline. The Restoration’s emphasis on loyalty to its heritage and the Catholic faith caused a surge in popularity of Jeanne d’Arc, who was a supporter of the monarchy and a faithful servant of God. Two texts that were important in reclaiming attention for the national heroine during the July Monarchy included Michelet's Jeanne d'Arc and Quicherat's Jeanne d’Arc d’après les chronique contemporaines, both of which were published in the 1840s. The continuous growing enthusiasm for the figure of Jeanne

33 Michelet’s writings on Jeanne d’Arc privilege her status as a common-woman of France whose good sense, rather than spiritual revelations, strengthen the ideals of democracy in France. Heimann, 136.

34 Gaehtgens, 163.

35 Gaehtgens, 166.


37 Ziff, 39. This thesis is only concerned with images of Jeanne up through the July Monarchy.
led to commencement of the process of beatification in 1860, with her canonization being pronounced by Pope Benedict XV in 1920.

Because the figure of Jeanne d'Arc was popular in the nineteenth-century artistic world, it is important to compare Scheffer's painting with that of other contemporaries who sought to give insight into the life of the Virgin. The role of Jeanne d'Arc depicted in this image departs from the traditions of visual imagery surrounding the notable heroine. While the historic revival of Jeanne d'Arc and her literary appearances are well documented, there has been considerably less scholarly attention given to her presence in art. However, recent publications have done much to rectify this dearth and have shown the shifts in representations of Jeanne.38

Celebrated images executed during the Restoration, such as Paul Delaroche's *Jeanne d'Arc malade est interrogée dans sa prison par le cardinal de Winchester* (1824) (Fig. 5) and Pierre-Henri Revoil's *Jeanne d'Arc prisonnière à Rouen* (1819) (Fig. 6) reflect the trend of showing Jeanne in her final moments as she was captured, interrogated, tried for heresy, and then burned at the stake.39 The focus on her tragic life and her devoted piety are emphasized, eliciting a sense of sympathy from the viewer. Delaroche's interrogation scene transfers the focus from the heroine, whose timid demeanor and sheer muslin scarf underscore her femininity, to her enemy, who is given bold red garments and sharp, angular features. Another popular image, Eugène Deveria's *La Mort de Jeanne d'Arc* (1831) (Fig. 7), portrays the military captain as overtly feminine, with draping garments, long hair,

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39 Heimann, 136.
and an elegant S-curve in her stance. The suggestion of physical weakness in this image denies Jeanne’s cross-dressing non-conformity. The boldness that had facilitated the victories and monarchical alliances achieved earlier in her career were discarded in favor of a victimized martyr.⁴⁰

Henry Scheffer’s painting, Jeanne d’Arc arrivant sur la place de Rouen: le prêtre qui l’avait trahie se jette à ses pieds, et invoque son pardon (1835) (Fig. 8), recalls this tendency to focus on her spirituality and on her last moments of life. In this image, which is thought to have secured Scheffer’s commission for Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc in the Galerie des Batailles, Jeanne implores the heavens with clasped hands. She sports cropped hair, men’s clothes, and her body is neither idealized nor does it display overt references to sexual difference. Amongst a background of pikes that allude to violence and angry fists that gather around the square, Jeanne’s two captors, with dark, down-turned faces, prepare to lead her from the cart to the stake, while the priest who betrayed her desperately throws himself at her feet to implore forgiveness. As a tear falls down her cheek, only one boy in the lower left, whose highlighted skin tone matches that of Jeanne, seems to understand the true nature of this impending martyrdom. The viewer is invited to focus on the cruelty and injustice of this historical narrative.

In comparison to these earlier works, Scheffer’s later painting Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc continues to focus on Jeanne’s piety by means of her uplifted eyes, but does not emphasize sexual difference through her body. By doing this, he allows the female viewer to engage with the subject in a way that differs from Delaroche’s or Deveria’s images of Jeanne. She is not a victim who expresses fear, nor a spectacle in which her body and femininity are on

⁴⁰ Heimann, 136.
display. Rather, Jeanne emerges as a figure whose imagery celebrates the miraculous accomplishments for which she is best known. As a military hero instead of a martyr, her rank of captain is emphasized by her position atop a horse, and this gives her the power and strength associated with conquerors. Her humility and pious gesture toward the heavens indicate that she does not gloat in the power she has received. The shifting approaches to portraying Jeanne d'Arc in early nineteenth-century France are an important element in considering how the figure of Jeanne changed for audiences of the July Monarchy.

Scheffer's treatment of Jeanne not only differs from earlier images of the heroine, but it also departs from depictions of other central heroes highlighted throughout the Galerie des Batailles. The majority of the paintings displayed at the Galerie des Batailles are dominated by violent warfare and few women were included as figures within these scenes. Soldiers wield spears, swords, bows, and axes, kings strike enemies beneath their steeds, smoke rises from stormed fortresses, and bodies are strewn across the foreground. However, this painting is unlike others within the series in that it does not show the hero in the middle of action. She is not fighting valiantly, but is presented in the aftermath of her triumph. At the head of the festivities, Jeanne is preceded by humble clergy, while the warriors and weapons of violence by which the battle was won are pushed to the

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41 Apart from Scheffer's *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc*, I have noted the appearance of women in three other paintings in the Galerie des Batailles. In *Bataille de Poitiers, octobre 732* by Charles de Steuben (1837) a woman holding an infant whose front is nude and is draped in a blood-stained robe amongst the battle is representative of the women, children, and elderly who were being massacred by Muslim warriors. In *Charlemagne reçoit à Paderborn la soumission de Witikind, roi des Saxons, en 785*, by Ary Scheffer (1837) a group of three women are a part of the crowd of pagan Saxons who are surrendering to Charlemagne. Two bow their heads in despair while one reaches both arms toward heaven. In François Gérard’s *Entrée d'Henri IV à Paris, le 22 mars, 1594* (1817) there are three women scattered throughout the crowd, two on the extreme right and left of the gatherings, and one that watches from a balcony in the distance.
background. However, Scheffer does not erase the weariness of war and realities of national conflict that are expressed on the faces of those in the painting. The humble conditions of the crowd greeting Jeanne suggest the lack of food and supplies they endured over the course of the siege that dominated their city for months. The somber expressions of Jeanne and those accompanying her in the procession allude to the grief Jeanne experienced for the souls of her enemies and her distress over their slaughter. The melancholy mood and lack of violent action set Scheffer's *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc* apart from other victorious moments within the Galerie des Batailles.

The presentation of an alternate view of war that included women and children is significant because it reflected the experiences of contemporary female spectators. Women of the July Monarchy were witnesses to the numerous violent political upheavals in the recent years of France's history. However, according to the decisive military victories highlighted throughout the rest of the Galerie de Batailles, women remain largely absent. By depicting wartime experiences that diverge from the other paintings, Scheffer's *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc* acknowledged the participation of women in these seminal moments of France's history. Jann Matlock, one of few scholars to discuss women and art of the July Monarchy, has demonstrated that female viewers were encouraged to interact with paintings depicting women and to project their own personal experiences onto the canvas. Scheffer provides a space for the participation of female spectators in *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc*, and the resulting interactions between women audiences and the female heroine are noteworthy.

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42 Heimann, 66.

43 Matlock, 75.
Female Spectatorship in Relation to Scheffer's *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc*

Due to a dearth of analysis on women's relations to visual culture in the July Monarchy, scholarship concerning women as spectators in the nineteenth century has largely focused on post-Revolutionary art, specifically Jacques-Louis David's *Intervention of the Sabines*. Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby's discussion of how David foregrounds the female spectator and her analysis of critics’ concerns show that this culture was well aware of what women saw in the public sphere and how these images influenced them. Scheffer's *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc* needs to be considered in relation to its audiences, and there is a precedent in David's *Intervention of the Sabine* for a body of conscious, direct, and explicit references between historical figures within the canvas and the contemporary female members of the audience.

Other scholars of this period, such as Gen Doy, have challenged the psychoanalytic viewpoint that women are theoretically subsumed and forced to adopt the dominant male “normal” viewing position. In heeding Griselda Pollock’s call to restore the female spectator to her historical and social place, Doy considers the writings of Mme de Vandeul and other female art critics to show that women experienced a pleasure in looking that was not merely reduced to the unconscious “male gaze.” Heather Belnap Jensen has also

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44 Feminist historians have discussed how the controversy surrounding the painting was largely due to the interactions between male and female nudities and how this influenced viewer’s reactions to the positions of male and female viewers. For detailed analysis, see Grigsby and Lajer-Burcharth.

45 Doy, 130-132. Doy’s discussion of Madame de Vandeul’s reading of Guérin’s *Phaedra and Hippolytus* (1802) shows that her viewing position was not that of an imaginary spectator dominated by the “unconscious” in a patriarchal society and therefore only able to look as a man, but rather that the reader is forced to adopt her perspective and look through the viewing position of a woman. Doy, 152-153.

examined the responses of women art critics to artwork of the late eighteenth century and asserted that the experiences of women viewers were firmly rooted in corporeal experience. Doy and Jensen’s validation of the existence of female spectators and their ability to have an experience that is informed by gender allows us to conclude that sexual difference did in fact play a role in how these works of art were received in nineteenth-century France by their varying audiences.

The press of the July Monarchy consciously appealed to female spectators. Considerable recent scholarly attention given to the so-called “women’s press” articulates the recognition of women as readers, as audience members, and as active viewers during the July Monarchy. Following high censorship imposed during the Bourbon Restoration of 1815-1830, the early years of the July Monarchy were filled with high hopes for expanded freedom of speech. During the first decade of the July Monarchy, nearly one hundred women’s, girl’s, and family-oriented periodicals were introduced—seventeen of which lasted over five years and some stretching to one hundred years. Growing literacy rates and easier access to written materials due to the surge of periodicals and technical improvements in printing made cheaper information available to a greater segment of the population.


47 However, feminist scholarship continues to stress that women’s magazines have generally been excluded from analysis in the fields of nineteenth-century literary criticism. For more information, see Cheryl Morgan “Unfashionable Feminism?: Designing Women Writers in the Journal des Femmes (1832-1836),” in Making the News: Modernity and Mass Press in the Nineteenth Century, ed. Dean de la Motte and Jeannene Przybyski (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), and Matlock.

48 Matlock, 74.
Women were also an increasingly noted audience in the literary realm, with publishing markets being created for this emerging group of readers. In many periodicals, such as the *Journal des Femmes*, a plethora of women’s concerns were addressed within the same publication, ranging from fashion to literature, and from suffrage and politics to childcare and nipple guards for breastfeeding. These so-called women’s publications also gave attention to art of the Salon. Women were urged to appreciate art, to develop their artistic skills, to foster a critical gaze of the self-presentation of women, and to learn moral lessons from the paintings.

Female spectators of the July Monarchy were encouraged to learn from art by actively seeking works onto which they could project themselves and their distinct female experiences. As keen participants, *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc* created a means for contemporary women to see themselves in the public sphere and have a voice in the nation-state. This is supported by the review of Scheffer’s painting in the *Journal des Demoiselles*. Madame Alida de Savignac noticed and commented on the constituency of the crowd in the painting when she observed that, “the people hurried to [Jeanne’s] steps; women, elderly, children, reaching toward her with supplicant hands.”

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50 Morgan, 208.

51 Matlock, 74.

52 “Le peuple se presse sur ses pas; des femmes, des vieillards, des enfants, tendent vers elle leurs mains suppliantes” *Journal des Demoiselles*, Mme Alida de Savignac, no. 5 mai, 134.

De Savignac is the only critic that I have found who specifically recognizes the crowd as being comprised specifically of women, children, and older folk. It’s not surprising that within the art community where there was a demonstrated history of criticism directed toward female audiences that the press would identify the female fervor surrounding the heroine.
painting, women not only find themselves within the public sphere, but they also constitute a majority of the figures represented. In the Galerie des Batailles, women were encouraged to read and understand the master narrative that history has unfolded. And here, within that history, the viewer’s attention is drawn to female protagonists who are gathered to pay homage to the conquering heroine. Scheffer’s construction of an environment where women were given a voice and a place in history would have allowed for greater accessibility to the female viewer.53

Despite being the painting’s subject, Jeanne is fairly inaccessible in Scheffer’s Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc. Though the “hero” typically acknowledges his centrality to the other figures, Jeanne d’Arc does not address the crowd that lauds her victory. Unlike François Gérard’s Entrée d’Henri IV à Paris, le 22 mars, 1594 (1817) (Fig. 9), where Henri IV stretches forth his hand like a Savior and looks down at his adoring subjects, Jeanne directs her gaze away from the admiring citizens and toward God above. Indeed, the points of interaction for the viewer do not lie with the protagonist, but are rather deflected onto those gathered to show their devotion to Jeanne (see Fig. 10). Spectators are drawn into the composition as Jeanne walks directly toward the viewer before turning away to proceed through the teeming crowd. The figures gathered on the left side of the canvas are those whose gestures...

53 Another important comparison to draw between the audiences depicted in these two paintings is the difference in class. Scheffer’s Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc features an audience comprised of people in humble circumstances quite unlike those highlighted throughout the rest of the Galerie des Batailles. In fact, Gérard’s Entrée de Henri IV à Paris seems to depend on the number of magistrates and city officials that validate his deeds and present him with the keys to the city. Similarly, in the other entry scene, Entrée de Charles VIII à Naples, le 12 mai 1495 (1837), the King is greeted by all the important personalities of Naples and accompanied by a royal entourage. In Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc, peasant and saint are brought together, heroine and commoner, servant of God and the common people. This juxtaposition in members of different social class recalls the mingling that would be occurring in the actual crowds visiting the Musée Historique. In the same way that women were encouraged to project themselves into paintings whose circumstances they mirrored, it seems likely that a middle-class visitor would engage with this work in a way that was not accessible through other images within the Galerie des Batailles.
and expressions garner the most attention. The elderly man removes his hat, three women and a child look earnestly toward their liberator, and a man covers his face and prostrates himself to the earth at Jeanne’s feet. Women kneel on both sides of the procession and the clasped hands of many figures convey that she is a savior. The woman reaching out to Jeanne seems to suggest that just a touch of this divine figure would heal her. In this manner, *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc* contains visual similarities to religious imagery more than the pomp that accompanied other political leaders. The crowd of worshippers in Jean-Hippolyte Flandrin’s *Entrée du Christ à Jerusalem* (1843-1844) exhibit similar gestures of kneeling, bowing, and fondly raising their eyes toward Christ. In Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*, the spectator is invited to consider their position as a fellow-admirer of the heroine and be part of the joyful emotion that flows from the surrounding figures.

It is important to note that the strong reactions of the crowd toward Jeanne are comparable with other paintings of the period and cannot simply be explained through gender stereotypes. The role of passion and enthusiasm in the creation and reception of art is one that has received considerable scholarly attention, particularly relating to artistic production of the 18th century. It was widely accepted that women’s sensitivity made them especially responsive to illusions and passion that could be carried into madness. However, many critics also characterized the ideal sensible viewer as one who was


55 For more discussion on the gendered nature of emotions during the eighteenth century and its impact on the creative power of the female artist, see Mary Sheriff, *Moved by Love: Inspired Artists and Deviant Women in Eighteenth-Century France* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004).

56 Jensen considers female viewer responses to many works of the Napoleonic era. Her discussion of the provincial girl whose attacks of passion and madness following her exposure to the Apollo Belvedere exemplifies the cultural assumption that women were irrational and mentally unstable. Jensen, *Portraitistes à la plume: Women Art Critics in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France*, 82-86.
passionately moved by the events that transpired in paintings. Denis Diderot, the renowned art critic of the mid-eighteenth century discusses his astonishment and unrestrained enthusiasm that marks his encounter with works of art at the Salon. Additionally, the recent explorations into subjects relating to the sublime, imaginary, and passionate in Romanticism were labeled by contemporaries as exploring the depths of human feeling. Though there were examples of emotional reaction of viewers that were informed by gender, these have been used against female viewers to undermine their responses and critical interactions with art.

A comparison between Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc* and Gérard’s *Entrée d’Henri IV à Paris* demonstrates that the passionate devotion which military saviors elicited from their subjects was not dependent on gender. In Gérard’s painting from 1817, the group depicted attending to the king is a large crowd full of upper class, well-dressed men. To his left, a comrade on horseback takes off his hat and extends it toward Henri IV. To his right, a man kneels low before him, right in front of his horse. Hands stretch forward from the crowd, a man behind the rear of a comrade’s horse clasps his hands in gratitude, while other men from the scene look fondly toward Henri IV while placing their hands against their hearts. Similarly, in *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*, members of the crowd swoon, kneel, and bow to the military captain, overcome with gratitude for the relief that her troops have brought to the city. From this example it could be concluded that the emotional reactions of the crowd toward Jeanne d’Arc were not a sign of female fragility or uneven temperament.

57 Sheriff, 8, 26.

58 Ibid, 25.

but had precedent in earlier works. It could be argued that these displays of fidelity were the kind of feelings that Louis-Philippe was trying to garner toward his constitutional monarchy. The emotion, passion, and awe rendered toward Jeanne are therefore influenced less by the gender dynamics of the crowd, than by how she was a respected and admired heroine.

Women’s growing presence in the press and their consequent desire through these outlets to celebrate the legacy of important women in French history plays an important role in analyzing women’s participation as spectators in Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*. The July Monarchy saw an increase in publications that focused on historical heroines of France and hinted at the relevancy of these women in contemporary culture. Many of these publications focused on Jeanne d’Arc, thus strengthening her connection with female audiences and influencing their view of the history of France presented in the Musée Historique. While much scholarship has given attention to feminist writers during the July Monarchy and their quest to liberate women politically (specifically the Saint-Simonians and Georges Sand), there has been minimal attention given to the subject of historical women and their place within the cultural world of the July Monarchy.\(^{60}\) Numerous female authors were publishing and expounding on important women throughout history, both in novel form and within women’s journals. The women most often highlighted in these publications were various queens, saints, and royalty who were examples of morality,
fortitude, and perseverance. Authors writing on historical women discussed how women of the past contributed to political history, and in particular, how they saved nations. These writings taught contemporary women how to actively serve and contribute to the nation-state, like Blanche de Castille, Sainte Bathilde, and Sainte Geneviève. They also set a precedent for interaction between female audiences and Scheffer's *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc*.

In examining the preface to many books written about Jeanne d'Arc and other historical figures that were penned by women authors and published during the July Monarchy, my research shows that these writers had a specific connection in mind between this medieval heroine and contemporary audiences. The authors gave reasons as to why they actively sought to revive her fame in France and expressed hope that through her stories, contemporary women would learn lessons from historical figures and use this to become better citizens and contributors to the state.

In *Jeanne d’Arc de Paris* (1841), writer Mme la comtesse E. d’Hautefeuille laments that though this heroine should have been the pride and glory of women, she has not been celebrated much by women, and had even been forgotten. She asks “Doesn't it belong to women, to understand and explain [with a woman’s heart] that enthusiastic and dedicated being to whom was given power to translate into action its divine inspiration?” Another author, Marie-Antoinine Lecler, noted in *Jeanne d’Arc, ou la jeune fille inspirée* that this

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61 There was a tradition of collecting stories of heroines who exhibited glorious deeds that was revived during the Renaissance. The figures highlighted included mythological, ancient, biblical, and contemporary women. For an overview on these “Catalogs of Good Women” see Glenda McLeod, *Virtue and Venom: Catalogs of Women from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991).

62 This phenomenon of women looking to historical figures of their past in the July Monarchy has not yet been discussed in scholarship. While this subject calls for more in-depth analysis, it is my hope that presenting it here will give an initial overview of the material available, and that this thesis will contribute to the dearth of specific discussion on this topic.
woman was a model during her short existence of feminine virtues: she displayed piety, purity in manners, modesty, patience, courage, and an enormous soul in the midst of anguish. Lecler alludes to the idea that though prejudice and inequality exist among the sexes on this earth, this will not necessarily be the situation in heaven—in which case, women will be ultimately more like Jeanne d'Arc.

Lecler’s book, published in 1848 by the Bibliothèque Religieuse, Morale, et Littéraire, then called women to their roles and duties: “The first education of children is entrusted to us; the good seed sown in young hearts will sooner or later bear imperishable fruit. God has entrusted this to us, he awaits our love and faith, and ultimately, the regeneration of society!” Lecler reminds women that it is their responsibility to learn of these stories and the virtues of Jeanne and then to teach them to children. The role of mother is empowered to one that is tied directly to the state, and the seeds sown by the hand of the woman trying to emulate Jeanne d'Arc would result in the good fruit that “regenerates society.” The important link between women of the past and their value to women of the present was

63 “L’heroïne si pure; qui dans tous les temps aurait dû faire l’orégeuil de la gloire des femmes, n’a cependant jamais encore été célébrée par aucune d’entre elles, hormis par Christine de Pisan; qui, dans ses vieux jours, l’avait connue, et consacra quelques vers à sa mémoire. Depuis lors, les femmes ont paru l’oublier. Pourtant n’était-ce pas à elles qu’il appartenait de comprendre et d’expliquer par leur propres coeurs cet être enthousiaste, mystique et dévoué à qui il fut donné de traduire en acte puissant ses divines inspirations?” Anne-Albe-Comélie de Beaurepaire Hautefeuille (pseudonym Anna Marie), Jeanne d’Arc (Paris: Debécourt, 1841), 5-6.

64 “De cette courte existence il ressort pour nous une grande leçon; Jeanne est un type, un modèle; en elle brillent dans leur pur éclat, les vertus que l’injustice et l’oppression des hommes dans des siècles de barbarie même, n’ont pu refuser aux femmes: sa piété; la pureté de ses moeurs; sa modestie et sa patience; son courage et sa grandeur d’âme au milieu des angoisses, sont des traits particuliers à notre sexe.” Marie-Antoinine Lecler, Jeanne d’Arc ou la jeune fille inspirée (Paris; Limoges: M. Ardant frères, 1848), 214-215.

65 “C’est à nous qu’est confiée la première education des enfants: la bonne semence jetée dans de jeunes coeurs y germera tôt ou tard pour porter des fruits impérissables; à nous donc cette oeuvre sainte! Dieu nous la confie, il l’attend de notre amour et de notre foi; à nous donc enfin la régénération de la société!” Lecler, 216.
acknowledged by both the liberal and more conservative women's presses, thus widening the potential female audiences with whom the figure of Jeanne d'Arc may have resonated.

Some publications on women from the past seem to be an attempt to restore women to a more central role in the formation of French history. For example, in *Vie de Sainte Clotilde; reine de France* (1846), Sophie de Renneville notes that, "It is Sainte Clotilde who made Clovis a Christian. Through her Christianity was introduced to France, and ultimately, it is by her that we enjoy the happiness to be able to aspire to a heavenly inheritance." 66 Interestingly, Clovis, who was long recognized as the first Christian King of France, marked the beginning of Louis-Philippe’s Christian monarchical line displayed in the Galerie des Batailles. Similarly, in the 1839 publication of *La Vie de sainte Clotilde, de sainte Hélène, et autres reines et impéatrices*, the author reviews the role of women throughout the annals of history. Renneville notes, "It is a woman who will civilize and convert the barbaric tribes, it is a queen who will give the example of all the virtues of the throne; she is wife and mother. . . it is an observation made for the first time in our monarchy: women soften and save humanity." 67 The demand for a modification of history that would acknowledge and include

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66 “C’est sainte Clotilde qui a rendu Clovis chrétien, c’est par elle que le christianisme s’est introduit en France, c’est enfin par elle que nous jouissons du bonheur de pouvoir prétendre à l’héritage céleste.” Sophie de Renneville, *Vie de sainte Clotilde; reine de France, suivie d’un précis mêlé d’anecdotes concernant les moeurs et les coutumes des premiers siècles de la Monarchie Française* (Tours: A. Mame, 1846), 6.

The author also notes that the life of Sainte Clotilde cannot be read without benefit to young men and to young people. "The virtues of this sainte are a proper model to be offered to people of our own sex.” "La vie de sainte Clotilde ne saurait être lue sans fruit par les jeunes gens et par les jeunes personnes.” Ibid, 5-6.

67 “C’est une femme qui va civiliser et convertir les tribus barbares, c’est une reine qui va donner l’exemple de toutes les vertus sur le trône; elle est épouse et mère. . . C’est une observation à faire pour les premiers temps de notre monarchie: les femmes adoucissent et sauvent l’humanité.” *Les Vies de sainte Clotilde, de sainte Hélène, et autres reines et impéatrices* (Tours: Mame, 1839), 4.
women in their place as arbiters of historical change was an important part of this connection between women of the July Monarchy and their predecessors.\textsuperscript{68}

The established cultural trend of women admiring Jeanne’s many qualities and directly applying this to their personal lives enhanced their possible spectatorial interactions with the historical protagonist in paint. Women who entered the famed Musée Historique were inundated with names, figures, and dates that were central to the celebrated history of France. Within this collection, Scheffer’s painting was the only visual reminder that women did in fact play a role in establishing the great, Christian nation of France. Additionally, the viewers, who were instructed to emulate qualities of the Virgin warrior were surrounded by other female admirers in the painting. This enhanced possible connections between the women in the work and those visiting the Musée Historique. Not only could women viewers encounter the beloved Jeanne d’Arc, but they were also reminded that by being good mothers and pious believers they too had a role to play in contributing to the great course of French history.

Jeanne d’Arc plays an important role in the tradition of women warriors that had direct implications for the lives of contemporary women.\textsuperscript{69} The French Revolution of 1789

\textsuperscript{68} Women as historical predecessors, role models, and sources of intelligence with access to the public sphere were not just noticeable in straightforward historical accounts published in journals. Through the genre of theatre, Delphine Gay de Girardin challenged the stereotype that tragedy, considered the highest and most supreme work, was exclusive to the writing of men. She wrote \textit{Judith} in 1843 and \textit{Cléopatre} in 1847, claiming that the celebration of heroic actions that another woman had the courage to accomplish could publically justify her audacity to conquer a masculine genre. Additionally, other important women writers during the July Monarchy such as Hortense Allart, Georges Sand, and Marie d’Agoult would sometimes assign themselves nicknames that were modeled after female figures of antiquity, including the Amazon, Cassandra, Aspasia, Diotima, Clio, and Cleopatra. Scholar Whitney Walton notes that through their claim of a heritage and identification with these figures, they found strength in and reconciled their history with that of educated, intelligent, heroic, powerful, and feminine women. Whitney Walton, \textit{Eve’s Proud Descendants: Four Women Writers and Republican Politics in Nineteenth-Century France} (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 99, 118, 120.
saw the appearance of many women warriors, most notably those of the October
Insurrection who marched on Versailles. Scholar Janis Bergman-Carton argues that even
though France had a strong tradition of female warriors from the Middle Ages, these
women took on new contemporary ideologies following the French Revolution. The
inclusion of working-class women, who represented the mobs and combative riots, were
increasingly associated with intellectual women of political and literary consequence
during the July Monarchy.70

Women participated and were visually recognized for their contributions as warriors
during the Revolution of 1830. One such woman, Marie Deschamps, was hailed as the new
Jeanne d’Arc and was honored for her bravery and valor on the barricades at the Place de
La Bourse during the July Revolution of 1830.71 Prints from the period, including Michel
Delaporte’s *Les Parisiennes du 27, 28, et 29 juillet 1830* (1830) (Fig. 11) and an
anonymously rendered *Héroïsme des dames de Paris dans les journées des 27, 28, 29 juillet
1830* (Fig. 12), attest to the visual documentation and honor given to women warriors

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69 However, Jeanne d’Arc was not the only warrior emulated from French history. Madame de Montpensier, the cousin of Louis XIV, was featured in a print by Amédée de Taverne in the same salon in which Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc* was exhibited. As La Grande Mademoiselle opened the gates of Paris to fire the cannon of the Bastille during the conflict of the Frondes, she was praised by the Journal des Demoiselles as having behaved like a “man of heart.” “La grande Mademoiselle s’était conduite en homme du coeur, en digne descendant d’Henri IV” (Mme Adila de Savignac, “Mademoiselle de Montpensier” *Journal des Demoiselles*, no. 6 (Juin): 185-186). Throughout the seventeenth century it was fashionable for women to have their portrait painted in the manner of La Grande Mademoiselle. Often dressed in the attire of Athena, women donned swords, shields, and plumed helmets in official portraits to emulate this military and political forerunner.

70 Janis Bergman-Carton notes that this event spawned the ideological split of women warriors between the anarchic whore on the barricade and the heroic *femme du peuple*. During times of revolutionary violence, including those following in 1830 and 1848, these female types were increasingly conflated with the role of educated, literary women. Janice Bergman-Carton, *The Woman of Ideas in French Art, 1830-1848* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), 10.

71 Heimann, 133.
following in the tradition of Jeanne d’Arc. By the Revolution of 1848, Daniel Borme formed an all-female regiment called Les Vésuviennes to fight on the barricades. Marie-Caroline du Bourbon was a legitimist whose early powerful challenge to Louis-Philippe involved her leading an insurrection in 1832, wearing men’s clothes like Jeanne d’Arc had done. Women’s active role in battle through the 1830s and 1840s strengthens the relevancy between contemporary women and Jeanne d’Arc, calling attention to the need for brave women warriors, even if they were not being commemorated through history painting.

Other iconic women of the July Monarchy, such as George Sand, also sought direct connections to Jeanne d’Arc. Sand represented a new heroine whose infamous financial, intellectual, and sexual freedom was considered dangerously independent from patriarchal norms. As a young girl, she recalled dreaming of defending the Emperor Napoleon against his enemies with her sword, but only if he promised to be a great, kind leader to his people. Like Jeanne d’Arc, Sand saw herself as a savior in the service of the nation-state. In 1852 Sand published the novel Jeanne, drawing on the common lower-class background of “Jeanne d’Arc ignorée.” She imagined a nineteenth-century version of the tragic heroine whose ambitions of repelling the English and abolishing poverty ultimately led to the same

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72 There were also literary materials that supported this commemoration, including Les Héroïnes parisiennes, ou actions glorieuses des dames (Paris: P. Guélaud, 1830), which was specifically focused on women’s action in the revolutionary efforts of 1830.

73 The Vésuviennes were heavily satirized by local press. For more information, see Laura Strumingher “The Vésuviennes: Images of Women Warriors in 1848 and Their Significance for French History,” History of European Ideas 8, nos. 4-5 (1987): 451-488.

74 Bergman-Carton, 43.

75 Walton, 15-16.
tragic ending as her medieval predecessor. Sand aligned herself with Jeanne d'Arc's strong spirit, common roots, and wearing of man's clothes, the latter of which continued to remain controversial.

The veneration and emulation of Jeanne d'Arc by contemporary women, reinforces the widespread appropriation of her characteristics for many different audiences. Regardless of whether Jeanne d'Arc was utilized to reinforce the Christian monarchy, the power of mothers, or the cross-dressed, uneducated peasant, her consistent figuration into political culture of the July Monarchy is significant. Her appearance offered female audiences accessibility to a respected history of military, religious, and political power.

Though the imagery surrounding Jeanne throughout the early nineteenth century was vast and varied, Scheffer's version of the Virgin warrior is most closely visually related with the sculpture of Marie d'Orléans. Her work, Jeanne d'Arc (Fig. 13), was displayed in 1837 in the Galerie des Marbres at the Musée Historique and quickly gained fame and iconic appeal. It was highlighted on the cover of the printed guide published in 1841 that was supposed to accompany the visitor through the galleries at Versailles. As a distinctive


77 Jeanne d'Arc's testimony on trial indicates that from the start of her mission, she wore men's clothes, including a shift, breeches, hose, and doublet. Despite the fact that Jeanne claimed that God commanded her to dress as a man, her cross-dressing constituted one of the most controversial accusations laid against her. After her committal to return to wearing women's clothes, Jeanne's sentence was reduced to a life-term in prison. However, three days later she was found in her prison cell in male attire, and the next day she was condemned of relapsing as a heretic, and was sentenced to death. Heimann, 9, 75.

78 Marie d'Orléans' statue of Jeanne d'Arc Praying was installed along the long hallway of the north aisles of the château. Directly across from this hallways were the Salles des Croisades, which Louis-Philippe opened in 1843.

image in popular culture, it would be no surprise that in order to create a version of Jeanne most widely recognizable to a mass audience, Scheffer would choose this recent precedent. His protagonist mirrors that of Marie d’Orléans in the short hair cropped just above the shoulders and the period costume of her armor, including a modest skirt covering the legs.

Louis-Philippe's daughter, Marie d’Orléans, was an artist who produced three major sculptures of Jeanne d’Arc. She took up sculpting at a young age by the suggestion of her drawing and painting instructor, Ary Scheffer (Henry's brother).80 Scheffer hoped that this might help the young, female princess, who by law was prohibited from studying the live nude figure, better understand human anatomy.81 Marie read Alexandre Buchon’s publication of Jeanne’s trial and she was greatly moved by the account. She noted her personal appreciation and admiration for many of Jeanne’s qualities, which included her charm, simplicity, and natural religiosity. These were characteristics free from the courtly whims of the life Marie knew.82 As a result of this experience she sculpted *Jeanne d'Arc pleurant à la vue d’un Anglais blessé* (1834-1835) (Fig. 14) and was later commissioned by her father to complete a life-sized portrait of Jeanne for the Musée Historique, which was

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80 Henry's older brother Ary Scheffer has enjoyed considerably more success and attention in scholarship. He was a favorite artist of the Restoration and July Monarchy, as well as being a close friend of the family. Leo Ewals, the scholar who has published most extensively on the famed Scheffer brother Ary, has noted that it is difficult to distinguish between the students of Ary and Henry Scheffer, since the brothers frequently shared their ateliers in *Ary Scheffer, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Nimègue, 1987), 124-131, quoted in Anne Esnault, "Ary Scheffer en son atelier" in *La Nouvelle Athènes: Haut lieu du Romantisme*, ed. Bruno Centorame, Valérie Chiche, and Georgina Letourmy (Paris: Action artistique de la ville de Paris, 2001), 187. Ary and Henry shared a residence in Paris on the Rue Chaptal, where their studios sat on opposite ends of the courtyard, and they lived and raised their families together. Anne Esnault notes that their studio space was also shared with their family, and their mother, Cornélie made copies of her son's work and Henry's daughter, also Cornélie, trained as an artist. Esnault, 187.

81 Heimann, 141.

82 Her reaction was "It's charming! It's simple! It's touching! The character of this poor girl is so natural, so free of all sentimental romance! She cried at the sight of the dead, and this old France is lent a new charm." Quoted in Heimann, 141-142.
completed in 1837, the same year in which Henry Scheffer received the commission for *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc*. The image quickly became iconic and was frequently copied and displayed, with the city of Orleans requesting a copy that was installed in front of the Hôtel de Ville in 1851.

As a member of the royal family she was prohibited from entering her work into the Salon, and following her parent’s exile in 1848, her association with the popularity of her statue was minimized. In 1839, only two years after the completion of her famous sculpture, Marie d'Orléans died at the age of 25 from childbirth complications. The family’s grief was shared by the public, who frequently likened Marie to Jeanne and referenced their belief that a friendship between the two women must exist in heaven. Her father included Marie’s statue of Jeanne in his official portrait by Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1841) (Fig. 15), thereby suggesting that through the hero of Jeanne d'Arc, he was connected not only to his royal past, but also to his deceased daughter.

Following the young princess’ death, a flurry of imagery appeared associating Marie with her iconic sculpture of Jeanne. One of the works that reinforces the family's strong

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83 Henry Scheffer first gained public acclaim with his 1831 Salon exhibition of the arrest of Charlotte Corday. In 1833 he received a commission from duc Ferdinand-Philippe d'Orléans which was presented at the Salon of 1835 under the title, *Jeanne d'Arc arrivant sur la place de Rouen; le prêtre qui l'avait trahie se jette à ses pieds, et invoque son pardon*. It was probably due to the approval and excitement of the young duc, who was known for supporting much of the more liberal art of romanticism in the contemporary art sphere, that Henry gained the commission for the Galerie des Batailles in 1837.

84 Heimann, 143.

85 Louise Coleté received an Academy prize in 1839 for her poem on the statue of Jeanne d'Arc by Princess Marie d'Orléans. Doy, 136.

86 The oeuvre of Marie d’Orléans certainly contributed to giving a sentimental tone to the attachment that the King had for the figure of the Virgin. “Les ouvrages de Marie d'Orléans ont certainement contribué à donner une coloration sentimentale à l'attachement que le roi avait conçu pour la figure de la Pucelle.” *Jeanne d'Arc: Les Tableaux de l'Histoire*, 43.
association between their daughter and the figure of Jeanne is Auguste Vinchon’s *Louis-
Philippe et la famille royale, vissant les Galeries Historiques, 1839* (1848) (Fig. 16). Though
the title infers that they are visiting Louis-Philippe’s historic museum, the painting is in fact
only concerned with Marie’s sculpture, which they visited by candlelight shortly after her
premature death. Other posthumous images of Marie, such as *La Princesse Marie auprès
de sa statue de Jeanne d’Arc* (1844) (Fig. 17) reinforce the connection through the text listed
below the image: “In the eyes of God and man you were already sisters.” Pierre Étienne
Rémillieux’s *Couronne de fleurs. Hommage à S.A.R. la princesse Marie* (1844) (Fig. 18) offers
a painting of the portrait of Marie and the statue of Jeanne inset in a niche and surrounded
by a wreath as a funerary offering to the princess. The tomb of Marie d’Orléans, executed
over fifty years after her death by Hector Lemaire (Fig. 19), portrays an angel watching
over the young woman’s body, while a figurine-sized replica of her sculpture of Jeanne sits
at the head of her pillow, watching over her eternal slumber.

As a brother to Ary Scheffer, who was intimately connected to the court of Louis-
Philippe, Henry Scheffer would have been well aware of the connection between these
women when creating *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc*. Jeanne d’Arc had quickly become a figure
with personal ties to the royal family, who verbally noted the likeness between the two
women and listed their admirable qualities. The princess’ relationship with Jeanne brought
the memory of the historical heroine to life. The projection of the characteristics and

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87 The figure of Marie d’Orléans has recently been given much scholarly attention. For more information
about her training, career, and memorialization through literature see *Marie d’Orléans, 1813-1839: Princesse
et artiste romantique*, exhibition catalog (Paris, Somogy: Musée du Louvre Editions and Musée Condé du
château de Chantilly: 2008) and Heimann.

88 “Pour le ciel et pour nous vous étiez déjà sœurs.”

89 Ary Scheffer was the art instructor of the royal children, a personal friend of the royal family, and an ardent
qualities of a contemporary woman onto a historical figure is significant and contributes to the unique methods of involvement that *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc* communicates with the audience.

**Conclusion**

In summary, during the July Monarchy, audiences were expanding in their numbers and varieties. They were encouraged to interact with artwork, and women were increasingly acknowledged as important viewers and readers. The July Monarchy is an understudied period in the field of art history, and the paintings associated with the Galerie des Batailles even less so. Louis-Philippe utilized the figure of Jeanne d'Arc to reinforce the methods of viewing and hierarchies of power he created in the Musée Historique. Though more scholarship has been conducted in relation to audience and criticism at this time, none has considered the relationship between gender, audiences, and Scheffer's *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans*. This thesis discusses how female audiences specifically and deliberately tried to emulate historical women of power and utilized the influence of these women as a justification for greater participation in the public sphere. Parallels between the lives of Jeanne d'Arc and contemporary women, particularly Marie d'Orléans, reveal how the iconic relationship between princess and heroine increased possibilities of interaction for female viewers. Women were encouraged to consider a direct link between women of history and themselves, thereby strengthening their involvement with the image. Formerly buried beneath a vast programmatic structure within the halls of the monarchy’s symbolic center within France, Henry Scheffer’s *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans*, offers previously unrecognized points of engagement for women viewers. Through the
presentation of alternative views of war, the foregrounding of women spectators in the painting, and the active encouragement of women’s interaction with art in the July Monarchy, the female spectator was given a unique, empowered space from which to consider the historic heroine.
Fig. 1, Interior view of the Galerie des Batailles, château de Versailles
Fig. 2, Henry Scheffer, *Entrée de Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans, le 8 mai 1429*, oil on canvas, 1843, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon
Fig. 3, Jacques-Louis David, *Intervention of the Sabine Women*, oil on canvas, 1799, Musée du Louvre, Paris

Fig. 4, François-Auguste Biard, *Four o’Clock at the Salon*, oil on canvas, 1835, Musée du Louvre, Paris
Fig. 5, Paul Delaroche, *Jeanne d’Arc malade est interrogée dans sa prison par le cardinal de Winchester*, oil on canvas, 1824, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen

Fig. 6, Pierre-Henri Revoil, *Jeanne d’Arc prisonnière à Rouen*, 1819, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen
Fig. 7, Eugène Deveria, *La Mort de Jeanne d'Arc*, oil on canvas, 1831, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers

Fig. 8, Henry Scheffer, *Jeanne d'Arc arrivant sur la place de Rouen: le prêtre qui l'avait trahie se jette à ses pieds, et invoque son pardon*, 1835, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans
Fig. 9, François Gérard, *Entrée d’Henri IV à Paris, le 22 mars, 1594*, oil on canvas, 1817, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon

Fig. 10, Detail, Henry Scheffer, *Entrée de Jeanne d’Arc à Orléans, le 8 mai 1429*, oil on canvas, 1843, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon
Fig. 11, Michel Delaporte, *Les Parisiennes du 27, 28, et 29 juillet 1830*, lithograph, 1830, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris

Fig. 12, Anonymous, *Héroïsme des dames de Paris dans les journées des 27, 28, 29 juillet 1830*, lithograph, 1830, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris
Fig. 13, Marie d’Orléans, Jeanne d’Arc, marble, 1837, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon

Fig. 14, Marie d’Orléans, Jeanne d’Arc pleurant à la vue d’un Anglais blessé, bronze, 1834-1835, private collection
Fig. 15, Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Louis-Philippe I, roi des Français*, oil on canvas, 1841, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon

Fig. 16, Auguste Vinchon, *Louis-Philippe et la famille royale, visitant les Galeries Historiques*, 1839, oil on canvas, 1848, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon
Fig. 17, Gervais, d’après Deveria, *La Princesse Marie auprès de sa statue de Jeanne d’Arc*, engraving, 1844, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Fig. 18, Pierre Étienne Rémillieux, *Couronne de fleurs. Hommage à S.A.R. la princesse Marie*, oil on canvas, 1844, private collection.
Fig. 20, Hector Lemaire, Tomb of Marie d’Orléans, marble, 1894, Dreux, chapelle royale
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