

SCHILLER'S DIE JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS AS COMPARED WITH
VOLTAIRE'S LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS AND SHAW'S SAINTE JOAN

by

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INTRODUCTION

The fact that the recent revival of Bernard Shaw's St. Joan was much more successful than its world premiere in December, 1923, and that Jean Anouilh's stage and television production, The Lark, likewise proved successful, shows us that the figure of Joan of Arc even in modern times has not become a mere myth, that it still inspires men's thinking as vividly as it has done through the ages.

The question, why the "Maid of Orleans," a controversial historical figure of the fifteenth century, should attract attention in the twentieth century and be the subject of authors' thoughts and writings, consequently presents itself and makes the matter indeed worthy of a re-examination.

The following study concerns itself with the re-examination of probably the three most important presentations of the subject: Voltaire's La Pucelle d'Orleans, Schiller's Die Jungfrau von Orleans and Shaw's St. Joan.

CHAPTER I

VOLTAIRE'S LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS

La Pucelle d'Orleans¹ is, if not the most famous, certainly the most debated of Voltaire's literary creations. When he was challenged to write a poem on this legendary heroine, he replied that there were too many absurdities in the story; it was fit rather to be the subject of a mock-heroic burlesque than an epic, which a minor poet had attempted.

It is, therefore, a serio-comic production. The printed edition of it was issued by the author in the year 1762.

In the first Canto Voltaire relates to us the love of Agnes Sorel and Charles, the Dauphin, how Orleans is besieged by the English, and the apparition of St. Denis, the patron of France. While Charles seeks pleasure, the English troops are conquering France. St. Denis appears to the brave warriors of France as they are holding council, discussing what can be done to save Orleans, but coming to no conclusion. The Saint reveals to them his intention to save the king and the land by a maiden. Only mocking answers did St. Denis hear, though. One of the knights informed him that such a treasure as

¹Voltaire, The Works of Voltaire, contemporary version R. T. Smollett, revised and modernized new Translation William F. Fleming (Paris, London, 1901. E. R. Dumont), Vol. XL.

virginity could hardly be found in France; besides he could not see any magic in it for saving a city.

In the next canto Voltaire describes how St. Denis appears to Joan of Arc, arms her and leads her to the court of Charles the Seventh. The Maid finds her arms lying on the altar of a chapel where she is led by the Saint. The sword she was to use had graced the hand of Judith, who with it cut off the head of Holofernes, as the Bible tells us. On a donkey, which strangely enough had wings on its shoulders, Joan sped to Charles' court to arouse him from his lethargy and lead him away from the soft pleasures which were surrounding him there. She was introduced to the king by St. Denis, who transformed himself into the Lord of Baudricourt. After receiving the brevet of virginity replete with sacred grace, Joan of Arc filled the king's heart with dreams of glory and inspired every warrior to fight for his country. Joan became the promise of rare and immortal events to happen, for all. Full of hope, they go to combat! Mentioning war, Voltaire states that each nation has beaten others and in turn was beaten; for that reason it would not be possible to state that one was more skillful in the art of war or more valiant than the other. The happy secret to win is then to dazzle the eyes of the foe, leading him thus astray. Marvelous happenings are serving such purpose, satisfactorily. St. Denis, fully realizing this, vowed that Maiden Joan would pass for holy, the savior of France and the cause of destruction of the English troops, forcing them to leave French soil. Charles was to be crowned rightful king of France at Rheims.

Joan of Arc fights fiercely before Orleans. However, the

English, too, are brave fighters. Voltaire points out that man's credulous mind, which is so easily impressed, was the downfall of the English, who are described to be blessed with fierce courage but not in possession of a discerning mind. When Lourdis, the priest, shouts that Joan is a Maid, has wrought miracles and would conquer them, these words put more fear in every British soldier's heart than the Maid's heroic deeds and her great courage. Confused, the English troops flee! While the battle continues, the Maid and Dunois, who had put many Britons to flight, are lost on the field. Night is closing in on them and they are overcome with hunger and fatigue. The virtuous hero, Dunois, would oftentimes look at our Maid with keen desire, but for the sake of the State he subdues love's fire. Fancy enters the play when Voltaire describes how the Maid and our hero enter the castle of the fabulous monster called Hermaphrodix, which assumes the form of either sex by day and night in alternation. Since Joan and Dunois do not satisfy his foul desires, he condemns them to die upon a stake. A friar, who had followed Joan since she left her home village, rescues both; however, only with the intention to satisfy his own lust on the Maid. Having regained her freedom, she severs the friar's head from his neck with Dunois' broadsword, thus sending him straight to the infernal regions, where he tells the story of his sad end to Satan. The master of hell expresses his regret to see the monk's face so soon, since his presence was ever so useful to him on earth.¹

Voltaire begins Canto VI saying that his muse now turns from

¹Ibid., p. 195.

hell to the world which is, alas, another hell. There hypocrites make good appear as bad, and innocence has no longer a place. Wisdom must yield to the rule of superstition; sense, refinement and good taste have run stark mad. He asks why humans have to debase their souls with such crimes.

Voltaire relates now to the reader how our hero Dunois is carried far away from Joan on St. Denis' celestial donkey. The Saint deems this interference necessary, since love for the Maid has awakened in this valiant knight's heart, a fact which could easily prove disastrous to the State and mar Joan's fame. The Maid, in the meantime, was anxious to speed once more to the battlefield. Not finding her winged donkey to carry her there, she commands a muleteer to do so, who had been transformed into an ass by the monk she had killed and who had now resumed his human shape again. Voltaire lets the Maid say that it matters not if he be a mule or a man; he shall even now act the part of an ass for her, since in either shape he would be what he is in truth--"a very beast."¹ After this reflection upon the muleteer's nature, an amorous adventure of Agnes Sorel and a British page is then related to the reader. Dunois is carried to the palace of the goddess, Fame. Here, contemplating his deeds, the hero feels true delight! Voltaire describes how the vain multitude bends the knee in this temple, praying that their name may be mentioned. Two trumpets serve the goddess to satisfy their desires; one proclaiming the fame of heroes, the other the labors of idiot minds.

¹Ibid., p. 199.

Canto VII contains the story of a fair one's rescue from the Stake by Dunois. She is condemned to die for not yielding to the demands of an archbishop.

In the following Canto Voltaire mentions that he cannot tell of Joan yet, since he wishes to relate first the stories of some other personages, such as the one of an Englishman and Trimouille, a brave knight, the beloved of Dorothea, the one Dunois had just rescued. In an argument beginning Canto VIII he mentions, however, that the wonders of Joan's portentous fate shall not be forgotten in the remotest times, since her great career is not overcast by dubious feats. With the words: "Truth ever pleases, truth alone can last,"¹ Voltaire concludes this reflection on Joan's fate.

In Canto XI, Voltaire describes how a Benedictine convent is sacked by the English, who become guilty of committing violence and rape on the nuns of this convent. The "Maid of Orleans" appears in their midst, slaying the evildoers, right and left, being aided by St. Denis. In Paradise St. George, the patron of the English, becomes disturbed when he does not see brother Denis there. He rides down to earth on his gallant steed. When he encounters Denis on earth aiding Joan to cut many an English throat, he gets angry. Both saints now become engaged in a violent fight in which St. George's nose is half cut off, whereas St. Denis loses one ear. Then Archangel Gabriel descends from heaven to restore peace between them. On earth, however, between human beings peace is not restored. Joan kills fierce Wharton,

¹Ibid., p. 244.

who had debased many a nun in the convent. King Charles' thoughts, however, are not so much occupied with war as with finding his beloved Agnes whom he, indeed, discovers soon in a nearby castle. Fair Agnes has consoled herself, while all this happened elsewhere, with the young page, Monroe. When Charles discovers that Agnes is so near him he rushes to her bedchamber. Monroe takes refuge in a niche which also contains an altar. An alcove behind this altar was his hiding place. Voltaire describes how the page is discovered by Charles. The Dauphin falls on his knees before the altar, praying. When he sees the nude figure of the page he supposes this to be a trick of Satan himself, seeing the fleur de lys on the page's rump. It is the very one the Maid had printed there, her hand led by St. Denis, when she first saw Monroe in the camp of the English, lying asleep, close to his master, both completely disrobed.

Frightened, and seeing Agnes faint, Charles bids his companions, among them Joan, to flee this castle with him in haste. Referring to Charles' love, Voltaire draws a comparison between him and the kings of the Bible, David or Solomon, the latter considered to be the wisest of all monarchs, who had three hundred concubines. After leaving the castle, Charles, persuaded by the Maid, is on his way to rejoin the camp. Unexpectedly, his group encounters John Chandos' troop. He, seeing three women in his enemy's group while he has not even one, challenges Charles to a combat which would decide whose prize they will be. However, Dunois, Trimouille, and even Joan offer to avenge the insult Charles suffered. Dice decide the matter, the Maid drawing the lot. Voltaire describes now the valiant fight between Joan and John Chandos.

He mentions that France's protectress was not quite as solidly built as Albion's knight. Hence she falls, being overthrown by Chandos, who is quite determined to use his right as a victor and by robbing the Maid of her virginity, to establish Briton's throne by this deed, anticipating at the same time his own personal pleasure. Defeat, however, was not meant to be the fate of Joan and France. With great irony Voltaire shows how the ancient custom to wear short clothes attached with tagged points saves both Joan's virginity and hence the throne of France. The Maid recovers the senses she had lost and swears to take vengeance for France before the fort of Orleans. Chandos loses his life, however, before any battle at Orleans is waged. His impudence with Dorothea proves his undoing. After a combat with her lover, he is robbed of his life by Dunois. Joan, being thus avenged, felt just the same aggrieved that it was not she who had deprived the evildoer of his life.

Voltaire begins Canto XV addressing himself to his censors, mentioning that they are despised by him because he knows his defects better than they. He begs the reader to view at least half of his work with some respect, even if he may at times raise his brows and judge with keen severity. He continues, asking when truth, which he calls sacred and pure as a virgin, a divinity which makes us wise, will receive the reverence due it; when our learned men will raise their voices free from all bitterness and flattery. "Detailing lives with pure fidelity, and grand exploits of our fine errant knights."¹

¹ Ibid., p. 128.

Voltaire then relates how Charles is still journeying on the road to Orleans, accompanied by a troop of courtiers with brightly glistening arms and costly robes. Dunois speaks to Charles of Orleans and the king's impending fame, who in turn sighs Agnes' name. At the Mansion House of Orleans, where Charles and his court give a splendid feast, the English attack them. Being locked thus in the fort, the Maid spurs Charles to attack the English from the rear. Persuaded by her enthusiasm, he leaves the Britons between him and Orleans and marches on to warn the city. While a fierce battle is fought on earth, Voltaire strays once more to a scene in celestial spheres, where the saints are composing odes. St. Denis, the protector of the Gauls, is the one who wins St. Peter's favor with his ode. To this fact Voltaire attributes further success of the Maid in the battle raging before Orleans. She beholds the form of her donkey in the sky, this meaning to her success will be on their side this day. Voltaire presents thus, satirically, his opinion of the heavenly visions of Joan of Arc.

In Canto XVII, the author relates in a very witty manner how Charles, Joan of Arc, Agnes Sorel, Dunois and Trimouille became fools, affected by the magic of Hermaphrodix who cast his spell on them in the castle. Mistaking each other for different persons, each confused as to the other's identity, it renders everyone ridiculous, fighting and being enamored with the wrong person. Charles mistakes fat Bonneau, his treasurer, for his beloved Agnes whom he thinks pregnant; Dunois thinks the Maid to be a fierce Briton, fighting with her, she thrashing him in turn. Only by the exorcism performed by Father Bonifoux, the Dauphin's confessor, everyone regains his senses. Joan,

whose thoughts are on Orleans, Rheims and the coronation, concludes that now the devil having done his work, it was good reason to have hope that no more evil would befall them and things would go well from now on! She was mistaken, however. Soon, disgrace comes upon Charles and his troop. Once more on their way to Orleans, Charles and his troop encounter men, bound in couples, claiming they were poor souls doomed to go to the galleys as slaves. Moved by pity, Charles frees them and employs these men in his services. After letting them share amply of his food at supper, everyone found himself the next morning without doublet or clothes, and Bonneau found to his sorrow his master's treasures had vanished, too. Relieved of all these precious goods, Charles and his troop had to continue their journey.

In Canto XX it is related how the Maid fell into a strange temptation. It begins with pointing out the fragility of men and women, therefore it not being advisable to depend on virtue. Satan tempted our Maid by gliding into the saintly ass's frame, who combines the art of praising with the one of pleasing, to win Joan's favor. It finds her utterly confused and astonished to hear her donkey speak to her. Yet his praises please her vanity, and as Eve was tempted by the serpent, so Joan is tempted by the donkey. Imploring him to respect her glory and to think of the distance between their species, he only replies, "Love equals all," referring to Leda whose favors were won by a swan. Joan, however, was not subdued by this dire temptation. St. Denis came to her assistance. Dunois appeared, and Joan of Arc recovered her senses. Indignant, now, she is prepared to fight Satan, who flees with hideous cries. If the Maid was tempted by the donkey,

it was self love and vanity which had let her stray from reason. True virtue, however, lived in her heart, and if love ever had inspired it, this love belonged to our hero Dunois, in whose heart, though belonging to the Maid, the interest of the State and his monarch was the ruling law. This incident made him wonder, however, if he should sacrifice his love to Joan for the State. Joan is described as lending a willing ear to his vows of love, when St. Denis appears to her as his saintly form always does when Joan is in need. She addresses herself to the Bastard pledging her pure love to him once Orleans is saved and the Britons are driven from French soil, her divine mission being thus fulfilled. The same night bold Talbot resolves to enter the town of Orleans. Engaged in valiant fighting, the sight of Talbot causes the lady President, who sees him from her mansion, to become enamored with him. She sends our brave warrior an invitation to a rendez-vous which he accepts, being infatuated with the lady. Bold Talbot's prudence is thus lulled asleep, which proves to be his undoing. Lourdis, the monk, who knows Talbot's secret, being his confessor, made his way to Charles' camp and related the tale to him. He discussed the matter with his counsellors, among them Joan of Arc, and it was proposed to seize Talbot and his fair lady beneath the ramparts. While marching toward the city, the Maid prayed to St. Denis to pardon her former vanity and assist her in this last fight. She is described as flying through the realm of the air on her celestial donkey. Near Orleans Joan fought fiercely. Talbot, on hearing the familiar sounds of a battle, tears himself away from his beloved thinking his troops are attacking and that Orleans is yielding to him. Recognizing, at last, his error

he fights fiercely to gain his freedom. At last he surrenders, though unbeaten, to Joan and Dunois. The lady was returned safely to her husband, the President, who received her well and never learned that through his lady, France had been saved! Joan kept her promise to Dunois. St. Denis applauded from the heavens and the king supped happily in Orleans with his beloved Agnes. Lourdis saying: "Yea, Britons, she's a Maid." With these words ends Voltair's epic poem, La Pucelle.

Voltaire's approach to The Maid of Orleans is that of a realist. He sees all the stupidity, vulgarity and corruptness of men. However, he did not take life too tragically, and looked at it more from a spectator's point of view. Reflection upon things is the outstanding characteristic of his work. His characters do not talk their language but express the author's opinions. His brilliant wit sparkles all through his work, which appeals to the intellect, but nowhere will we find sentiments appealing to the heart. Well aware is Voltaire of the contrasts of the ideal and the real, man's eternal striving to reach the ideal; to reconcile the two opposites. He emphasizes, nevertheless, the limits of human capacities which make this reconciliation an impossibility in Voltaire's opinion. The figure of Joan of Arc represents the ideal seen through the eyes of this great skeptic. His intention or desire was by no means to minimize Joan of Arc's patriotic service toward her country. His satire is directed at the corruptness of society, at the influence behind the scenes, namely the clergy, whose purpose it had been to magnify mythical elements in any story above

known facts. Voltaire was mercilessly attacked by his numerous enemies for writing this epic poem.

It long has been customary to raise the voice against Voltaire's La Pucelle d'Orleans. To speak of the poem in society was regarded as a flagrant misdemeanor; but to have pursued it became almost a crime against morality and virtue. Whence has risen this vindictive acrimony? Certain clerics have openly avowed it as well as insidious enemies.¹

Not just for his sarcasm contained in La Pucelle was he attacked but also because of the atheistic and unchristian ideas expressed in it. To refute these accusations one need only to refer to Voltaire's belief that a divine mechanic planned the universe, his proof being the order in the world, "the simple and sublime laws by which the celestial globes march in the abyss of space."²

Not the purity of Christ's code, which serves as the foundation of Western society, but the abuse of these doctrines does he condemn sharply. The satirical shafts of the poem are directed against the vices of the Great. What meaning does the figure of the Maid of Orleans have then for Voltaire, what message to man does she carry? In his description of Joan at the beginning of the poem it says:

T'was at an inn, her age not quite sixteen that Joan
 the stable then engaged to clean

 Both active, vigorous and full of blood,
 Her large plump hands for every work were good,
 She'd carry burdens, empty cans of wine,
 Serve peasant, noble, citizen, divine. . . .³

¹Ibid., p. ix.

²Andre Maurois, The Living Thoughts of Voltaire (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), pp. 7-8.

³Voltaire, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

Not a heroine, but a sturdy, healthy country girl does he see in her. However, he also shows her as a maiden pure and unspoiled, possessing simple but noble soul, as compared to the ladies of the court who in the eyes of society alone had the claim to true nobility. Voltaire's idea of the true value of man is expressed excellently in the following lines representing the appearance of St. Denis to Joan, as the chosen servant of the Lord:

To thee, bright Wisdom, sacred depth of thought,
The poor weak pride of greatness is but naught;
How trifling are the haughty in thine eyes,
How great the little are whom they despise.¹

No sarcasm can be found in Voltaire's description of Joan; he calls her in another line "a gem lodged in a public house,"² which again gives expression to his idea of true greatness often being found among the people regarded as common in the eyes of society in places regarded as such, also. Voltaire, being a realist, does not hesitate to show in realistic light supposedly miraculous happenings. When St. Denis appeared to her the first time, she was on the verge of losing her chastity, about to be raped in her sleep by an English priest, and a muleteer. However, the author shows in the description of this scene how true purity of heart and virtue are victorious over corruptness.

In his own words:

How sinners shrink before one saint's bright look!
Our rivals overturned with terror shook,
And fled; each bearing in his guilty soul
That lust which held o'er either heart control.³

¹Ibid., p. 69.

²Ibid., p. 70.

³Ibid., p. 73.

The appearance of St. Denis is the first miraculous happening of the poem.¹ In Voltaire's opinion a miracle is but a contradiction to the eternal laws of nature, to the one who is wanting the light of faith, since it would disturb God's work, everything in nature being linked by invisible chains. Well he knows, however, that the nature of man is possessed by the love of the extraordinary.² His satire nevertheless is directed against the exploitation of this human weakness, in order to meet with easy success and acceptance.

Under the masks of folly and voluptuousness Voltaire in this poem tries to give a lesson on common sense and wisdom. He endeavors to show that there is more reason in admitting the existence of human passions such as sensuousness, ambition, intrigue and hypocrisy, than aiding the deceptive illusion of their non-existence. Voltaire also can be credited for giving a precise image of the manners of those times in La Pucelle. It should make us stop and think that even in our modern times the ferocity of war, the violation of men's sacred human rights and dignity, the thirst for ambition and avarice, the rage of fanaticism, are still but too well known; while everywhere love and kindness are preached in all seriousness.

The Maid of Orleans should be regarded as a work to impart its lesson under the veil of satire, and if it stimulates a single reader to throw an attentive glance at human nature and its weaknesses, the existence of it seems truly justified!

¹Voltaire, The Complete Romances of Voltaire (New York: Walter J. Black, Inc., 1927), p. 501.

²Ibid., p. 502.

CHAPTER II

SCHILLER'S DIE JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS

In a letter to his friend Körner of June 16, 1800, Schiller makes the earliest allusion to his new play, Die Jungfrau von Orleans.¹ On April 16, 1801, an entry in Schiller's diary records the completion of the Jungfrau.² It was published in October, 1801. Goethe, who had read it through, sent it back to the author with the following note, saying: "It is so worthy, so good and beautiful, that I know of nothing to compare with it."³ On September 18, 1801, the play was first performed in Leipzig and met with triumphant success. The author was present personally and received repeated ovations from the audience.⁴ Wherever it was performed, the play was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The style of Die Jungfrau von Orleans is decidedly lyrical. Allusions to Luther's Bible and the classics are

¹Willard Humphreys, Ph.D., Schiller's Jungfrau von Orleans, with Introduction and Notes (London: The MacMillan Co., 1902), p. xxxi.

²Ibid., p. xl.

³Ibid., p. xl.

⁴Thomas Mann, Versuch über Schiller (Berlin: S. Fischer-Verlag, 1955), p. 27.

made frequently in Die Jungfrau von Orleans.¹

Schiller regards the traditional story of Joan of Arc little; the play is almost wholly a romantic fiction. The historical facts were greatly ignored by the author. He has called it a romantic tragedy. Using the term "romantic" as opposed to "classic" it may be said that the subject was chosen from the Middle Ages, as romantic writers had often done. The supernatural attributes of the heroine and the use of miraculous elements in its action further point out the romantic elements of the drama, as well as the conception of knight-hood and chivalry.

In the Prologue the scene is located in a countryside. Thibaut d'Arc wishes to find husbands for his three daughters. Joan, ~~being~~ the youngest of them, proves to be most unwilling to follow the proposed plans of her father, who laments this attitude greatly. It had been noticed that she did seek to be alone rather than in company, sitting under an oak tree which was supposed to be the dwelling place

¹May following examples illustrate this:

Bible, l. 156. Cf. Matth. 4, 1-3 ff. "Da ward Jesus vom Geist in die Wüste geföhret, auf dass er von dem Teufel versucht würde," as quoted in Humphreys Schiller, op. cit., p. 237.

"Bleib nicht allein, denn in der Wüste trat Der Satansengel selbst zum Herrn des Himmels." As quoted in Humphreys Schiller, op. cit., p. 9.

Homer, l. 1666. Iliad, 6432: "Mache nicht zur Waise das Kind, und zur Witwe die Gattin!" as quoted in Humphreys Schiller, op. cit., p. 244.

"Noch vielen von den Euren werd' ich tödlich sein, Noch viele Witwen machen,...." as quoted in Humphreys Schiller, op. cit., p. 79.

of a fearful spirit. Raimond, her suitor, speaks in her defense, praising her as a modest, virtuous and diligent maiden. Bertrand, a fellow countryman, returns from Vaucouleurs bringing a helmet with him. He explains that he received the helmet from a gypsy, who told him to take it since he would be in need of one. His protests that he was not a soldier and therefore would not know what to do with it were of no avail. Soon, the gypsy disappeared in the crowd, leaving him with the helmet. Johanna listens eagerly, taking the helmet from him, saying it belonged to her, thus leaving everyone utterly astonished. Bertrand continues, telling that the king lost two battles, leaving the enemies on French soil, all the land up to the Loire being lost and Orleans besieged. Since nothing was to be hoped from the king, the decision had been made to surrender to the Burgundians, who were fighting on the side of the English. Just one knight, named Baudricourt, with a few men were on the way to Chinon, where the king held court at the time, to bring help; an undertaking not promising to be very successful. Johanna, who had listened with growing enthusiasm, puts the helmet on, saying that now the turning point would come; instead of victory, the enemy would meet with defeat at Orleans and the French Army would be victorious, led by a maid through whom the Lord would make his will known. She leaves everyone in great wonder! Being alone, Johanna takes leave from her beloved mountains, from the herd of sheep she had attended, the trees she herself had planted, and even the echo which so many times had answered her gay songs. With her leave-taking ends the Prologue.

The first act takes place at the king's court in Chinon.

Dunois gives expression to his wish of leaving the king, who is idling his time away while France is falling prey to the enemy. The citizens of Orleans are asking King Charles for help, which he cannot give them, since he has not enough soldiers and no money to pay even the few left. Agnes Sorel, his mistress, brings her jewels, offers her castles and her estates, so that the troops may be paid. The king is deeply moved by her offer. She also encourages him to fight at the head of his troops and allow her to be on his side on the battlefield. La Hire, one of the king's officers, brings the news that in Paris Charles' mother helped to crown the young Harry Lancaster as the rightful king of France. Charles sees everything lost and is decided to withdraw beyond the Loire, leaving his country to the English. At this very moment, when the king has given up all hope, a message is brought to him that his army, led by a Maid, was victorious before Orleans, and that this Maid was waiting to be presented to the king to whom alone she wishes to disclose who she is. To Charles it seems that nothing but a miracle could have saved him, and the Maid must have been sent by God. To test her, he exchanges places with Dunois, who sits on the throne. Will Joan recognize the king? Not only does she address him immediately, telling Count Dunois to leave the place not befitting him, but she also tells Charles the content of two of his prayers he had directed to God in his heart's despair. The archbishop asks her who she is and whence she came. She tells him, and relates how the Holy Virgin had ordered her to leave her home, lead Charles to Rheims to be crowned as king, and make the English leave French soil. Dunois suggests giving Joan charge of the army. When asked by her for his blessing, kneeling before

him, the archbishop tells her she has come to give grace not to receive it. As a herald arrives from the enemies' camp offering a peaceful settlement, on the enemies' terms, however, Charles leaves it up to Joan to decide on peace or war. In the name of the Holy Virgin she demands the keys of the conquered cities as condition for peace, or war is to go on.

Joan is now constantly on the battlefield. Encountering there a young English soldier, Montgomery by name, she heeds not his pleas to spare his life. Forcing him to fight with her, she kills him. Meeting Burgund, who challenges her to a duel, she convinces him instead, through persuasion, to join the French and fight for the common cause against the English. Greatly celebrated is Burgund's return and a hearty welcome awaits him at Charles' court. It is forgotten that he ever was on the side of the English. Charles honors Johanna by raising her into the nobility. Dunois and La Hire ask for Joan's hand, but she declines, saying that her mission is not fulfilled. The Dauphin is not crowned king yet. When the news reaches the court that the English attacked once more, her heart is filled anew with burning enthusiasm to join the battle. The French again are victorious and the leader of the English, the brave Talbot, loses his life. Dying, he muses on the present happenings. The world belongs to the king of fools, he says, how could it otherwise be possible that an army led by a young girl could be winning against one led by able generals who let reason be their guide, and had well planned every step to be taken in this battle. Had the English been defeated by brave warriors it would have consoled him with the unalterable destiny, but having been fooled

by what he considers a mere trick, seems to him a defeat unworthy of a well trained and organized army. When Charles and Dunois appear on the scene, they find Talbot, dying. The Dauphin reflects upon seeing him dead that a power mightier than theirs had defeated him. Dunois notices that Johanna is missing and fears that she has been taken prisoner, whereupon Charles urges them to hurry to her rescue.

At another part of the battlefield, where the towers of Rheims can be seen at a distance, Schiller lets a knight in a black armor appear to the Maid. He symbolizes Johanna's doubts as to the value of her mission, and warns her not to enter Rheims to crown the king, since misfortune would await her within these walls. She calls his warning a false oracle and threatens to kill him. At the moment she tries to strike him with her sword, he disappears amidst thunder and lightning saying: "Kill who is mortal!" After his disappearance, the Maid is seen in a duel with Lionel, one of the English leaders, who attacked her. After a short fight, Johanna strikes the sword out of his hand. When she intends to kill him, she finds herself incapable of doing so. The sight of Lionel's features strangely moves her heart. Johanna goes as far even as asking him to kill her and flee. Realizing that her heart is moved by earthly love, terror grips her. She had broken her oath to God and become untrue to her sacred mission. When Dunois and La Hire came to rescue her, Lionel flees, taking her sword with him as a token that he may see her again. Johanna sinks fainting into La Hire's arms, who discovers that she is wounded.

In Rheims when everyone is celebrating the recent victory, the Maid gives expression to her despair and the feeling of guilt living in

her heart. It beats for an enemy, and her eyes are directed to the English camp. She steals away from all the merriment she cannot participate in. Her hopes being on this earth and not in heaven, she implores the Holy Virgin to choose one of those who are free from sin, living in the heavens, not a tender maid to fulfill what is now her mission. A feeling of unworthiness fills her when she is asked to carry her flag before the king at his coronation, and she shrinks back from it. The proud moment of her success, which should have filled her heart with happiness, finds her bewildered and unhappy. Reluctantly does she take the flag which made the enemy tremble with fear, but gave her own troops the courage to follow her into the fiercest battle.

After the coronation, when she enjoys the adoration of the people and even of the king, her father, who is afflicted with melancholia, appears and accuses his daughter of having succeeded with Satan's help and not through any heavenly forces. To everyone's greatest astonishment Joan of Arc does not defend herself against those accusations. Everyone implores her to give a sign and they will believe in her innocence, but she stands silent. Left by everyone, Dunois offers her his hand in marriage but from him, too, she shrinks away, at last leaving the city with Raimond, the friend of her youth. On her way through a forest, she falls into the hands of Queen Isabeau, Charles' mother, who is on the way to the English camp. The queen tells the soldiers to look carefully at the Maid in order to realize that her only magic was their cowardly hearts. Brought before Lionel, he asks her to be his wife and he would shield her against everyone.

Joan simply answers him that she sees in him but an enemy of her people and asks him to leave French soil with his troops; and in the name of her king could she offer him peace, then. The news reaches Lionel that the French were marching toward the English camp. Another battle ensues. Joan is put in heavy chains, which she breaks when she hears her king is being made a prisoner and the French scattered in small groups on the battlefield, apparently losing. Once more, she leads the troops, giving courage to the soldiers through her personal appearance. The king is freed, the battle won, but Johanna is fatally wounded. Realizing she is among her people once more her heart is filled with happiness. She asks to be given her flag, on which she sinks, dying. She sees heaven opening up for her, the Holy Virgin reaching smilingly, her arms out toward Johanna. On a sign of the king all flags are lowered on her until she is covered by them.

With this, ends the last scene of Schiller's Die Jungfrau von Orleans.

Schiller's belief in man's dignity, his admiration and idealization of womanhood, motivated his characterization of the figure of Joan of Arc. In full confidence of the power of the Ideal does the author create the figure of the heroine. He is, indeed, the defender of the Ideal against the Real. The writings of Kant had opened tremendous perspectives for speculation in idealism. Schiller's goal was to reach the Ideal, to reconcile the great contrasts of the Real and the Ideal. For him, philosophy's task was to analyze these contrasts, that man may be able to visualize them with greatest clarity. He

wishes to make man aware of his ability to choose his way with full freedom and consciousness, where nature blindly has to follow the laws of necessity; to achieve within himself the harmony he finds in nature, with the freedom of his will, to return thus to nature free of its bonds of said necessity. In his works, Schiller presents his personal ideals which are not an expression of nature but of the author's intellectual speculations. However, behind these stands a very sensitive man who fills his works with glowing passions and enriches them with his great creative talent.

As the heroine of this tragedy, the author chooses a maid who attends peacefully her father's herds. The principle motive is her divine mission to be fulfilled under the condition to preserve her purity of a maiden.

Nicht Männerliebe darf dein Herz berühren.
Mit sünd'gen Flammen eitler Erdenlust.¹

It is Schiller's conviction that a great deed can be fulfilled only by a man who possesses "a beautiful soul" and a pure heart.² Johanna's tragic conflict consists in the fact that her heart is inflamed by an earthly love for a man on the enemy's side. This love is destined to bring happiness just to one.

¹Schiller, Sämtliche Werke (Stuttgart und Tübingen: J. G. Cotta'scher Verlag, 1847), Vol. V, p. 213.

²Schiller's idea of the schöne Seele, or "beautiful soul," is the same as that of the English philosopher of the seventeenth century, the Earl of Shaftesbury. Christian Friedrich Weiser, Shaftesbury und das deutsche Geistesleben (Leipzig: G. B. Teubner, 1916), p. 269.

Das sinnliche Gute kann nur einen Glücklichen machen, da es sich auf Zuneigung gründet, welche immer eine Ausschliessung mit sich führt;¹

In order to contribute to the happiness of her people, to fulfill her mission, Johanna must overcome her human weakness, which she is not able to do. Torn between her natural inclinations and her sense of duty, she seals her own destiny. When her father, at the coronation, hurls the terrible accusation at her that she does not belong to the pure, the holy ones, but with the evil forces of hell does she have a pact, she does not cleanse herself from the shameful suspicion of witchcraft.² Shamed and exiled, she is left, in a country which she saved from the enemy, by a people which lay at her feet in adoration, worshipping her only a short time before. Free from her divine mission, her mind is filled with peace. "In mir ist Friede--Komme was da will."³ Willingly does she allow the enemy to take her prisoner. Lionel, who once had made her become untrue to her mission, saves her from death. The love she once felt for him, she now has overcome forever. Only the love for her country to which she had dedicated her life, lives in her heart. Through overcoming herself

¹Schiller, Schiller's Werke (München: Droemersch Verlaganstalt, 1954), p. 640.

²Thibaut: (zum König)
Gerettet glaubst du dich durch gottes macht?
Betrogner Fürst! Verblendet Volk der Franken!
Du bist gerettet durch des Teufels Kunst.
Schiller, Sämtliche Werke, p. 339.

³Schiller, Sämtliche Werke, p. 351.

her miraculous strength is once more hers. She frees herself of the heavy chains which hold her prisoner and leads her troops to victory in the last decisive battle. Having won victory over herself, at last, she fulfilled her mission and became the liberator of her country.

Schiller's figure of Joan of Arc serves to show his idea that man's destiny is determined by the forces within himself and not by any external influence. His mission on this earth is to fulfill his duty, and only by conquering himself--by overcoming his human weaknesses--can he do so. If the evils of society are to be remedied, the individual has to overcome everything evil in himself. Schiller fights for the improvement of man and society by showing him the Ideal to follow. In this tragedy, he gives full recognition to the power of true greatness in man, Johanna being its representative. He wanted to mediate between fatalistic predestination and personal freedom. Recognition of the existence of predestination is given by Johanna saying that without the will of the gods no hair falls from a man's head.¹ However, Schiller seems to give preference to the idea of man's destiny being determined by his freedom of will. In the death scene of Die Jungfrau she does not die on the scaffold, as the historical facts are, but on the battlefield, among her own people in the presence of her king. Not wronged by society does she die, but she atones with her death for having become untrue to her sacred mission, even for a moment.

¹Schiller, Sämtliche Werke, pp. 351-52.

As a conclusion it can be said that Schiller has chosen the figure of Joan of Arc to show that tragedy, and even death, is the result if man deserts his cause and abuses his freedom to shape his own destiny, a privilege which is his alone among all living creatures.

CHAPTER III

SHAW'S SAINT JOAN

When George Bernard Shaw's play Saint Joan was first performed it was not received with the enthusiasm to indicate that it would become his best liked work and indeed be recognized as a great masterpiece of literature.¹

As Shaw represents Joan, however, she will probably remain a heroine of dubious structure. His portrayal of Joan of Arc is different from any other picture of her. The figure of the Maid for him, as it had previously been for other writers, serves as a means to express his own thoughts. The drama reflects the author's individuality as well as the spirit of his epoch seen through Shaw's eyes. His approach is analytical and his ideas are expressed in a rationalistic manner.

Shaw begins his play with a rather long preface.² He makes her "one of the first Protestant martyrs," calls her more pretentious than the proudest pope by claiming to be "a member of the Church Triumphant

¹Alice Griffin, "The New York Critics and 'St. Joan,'" The Shaw Bulletin (Published by the Shaw Society of America, Inc.) Number Seven, Jan., 1955, p. 10.

When Shaw's St. Joan had its world premiere in New York in December of 1923, although it was a popular success, its reception by the New York critics did not indicate that within three decades it would come to be recognized as one of the world's dramatic masterpieces.

²Bernard Shaw, Seven Plays (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1951), pp. 747-800.

whilst still in the flesh on earth" and regards her "the first French practitioner of Napoleonic realism in warfare." Comparing her with Socrates, he says that Joan, too, showed men their stupidity, for which they could never forgive her. In contrast with Napoleon, who at least dies in bed whereas Joan dies at the stake, Shaw concludes that it is more dangerous to be a saint than a conqueror, since the fear the latter inspires in people is of measurable consequences whereas the former's superiority causes an unbearable fear. Shaw sees in the figure of the Maid a "genius and a saint." Discussing her good looks, he mentions that nobody ever claimed she was beautiful, and calls her a woman of the "hardy managing type." Concerning her illiteracy, it is not to be taken as a sign of ignorance, the author says, since even princesses at her time were not able to read or write and no social disadvantage was felt on account of it as in our times. Joan's voices and visions were the object of severe criticism and used as a proof that she was mad, an impostor, a sorceress or a saint. Shaw explains them as the result of a vivid imagination, which is the cause of an idea coming to some people in the form of a visible figure or an audible voice. Had Newton seen the ghost of Pythagoras it would neither be a proof of his insanity nor invalidate his theory of gravitation. He concludes that the advice the voices gave Joan came from her mother wit exactly as gravitation came to Newton, and she must be judged a sane woman. To Shaw, Joan's voices signify forces which sometimes are at work in a person to use him for the purpose of advancing knowledge and furthering the progress of the whole human race instead of the individual's own well-being. Drawing a parallel to our times, he says that it

would be indeed debatable if Joan were to be considered saner, would she have believed in a "nicely calculated diet of thyroid extract, adrenalin, thymin, pituitrin, and insulin, with pick-me-ups of hormone stimulants," instead of the "consecrated wafer" being her very salvation. Concerning her wearing of an armor and living a soldier's life, Shaw mentions that in his opinion it is the proof of Joan being un-womanly, wanting to lead a man's life, as is the case with some women. When she tried to escape from Beaurevoir castle by jumping from a tower sixty feet high, it is her choice to die rather than to live without liberty and not a suicidal mania which she has been accused of. He sums Joan up as "a sane and shrewd country girl of extraordinary strength of mind and hardihood of body."¹

She was seen with the author's eyes as a woman who calculated well every one of her actions. Even though she may have ascribed it all to her voices she did not follow her impulse. Since she was, however, just a girl in her teens, she was only successful in tasks which could be fulfilled with the help of swift physical force and common sense, due to her lack of an academic education and experience. She knew nothing of the use of diplomacy, and used her fists to reach her goal. Shaw's version of the Maid was also that of a capable, courageous girl not lacking in originality and devotion to her country, but incapacitated greatly by ineptness of youth and academic ignorance.

When Shaw speaks of Joan of Arc in literature, he mentions that the English reader has a very unfavorable impression of her, since a playwright who would have attempted to give a sympathetic

¹Ibid., p. 765.

representation of someone who defeated English troops would have scandalized every patriot in the country. Accordingly, Shakespeare's portrait of Joan, who is one of the leading characters in the first part of the trilogy, Henry VI is not "more authentic than the description of Napoleon 1803 or of Lenin 1917."¹ Schiller's Jungfrau von Orleans is in Shaw's opinion not like "any mortal woman who ever walked this earth," but we find her "drowned in a witch's caldron of raging romance."² Voltaire's La Pucelle he calls a mock epic in which the author ridicules everything he hated in the institutions of his own day, making Joan "ridiculous but not contemptible nor unchaste."³

Compared to the legendary representations of the Maid, Shaw also mentions realistic documents existing, as the report of her trial and rehabilitation by Quicherat in 1841. He says that the histories of Mark Twain and Andrew Lang created a living interest in Joan in America and England. Both were determined to make her a ladylike Victorian, however. Shaw says, in order to understand Joan's history fully it is necessary to understand her time and her environment; to see the Catholic Church, the Feudal System and the Holy Roman Empire as they existed in the Middle Ages, in the right perspective. He does not think that the world has progressed much since Joan's time, neither morally nor mechanically, and continues saying Joan was given as much fairness in her trial as she would have received in our modern times.

¹Ibid., pp. 767-68.

²Ibid., p. 768.

³Ibid., p. 769.

The flames which consumed Joan were, as Shaw sees it, her own bold pretensions which the Church would not have been able to tolerate without giving her a place close to the Trinity or waiving its authority. The Church is, however, by no means compromised by canonizing her as a saint centuries later, he explains, since it does not claim infallibility for excommunication of a person as a heretic by a provincial ecclesiastical court.

Coming back to his claim that Joan's court of justice was legal and honest, he says that nevertheless a "great wrong was done to Joan and to the conscience of the world by her burning." Admitting that the burning of the Maid was a mistake, the Church must become tolerant enough to recognize that the actions of persons of genius who use their own private judgment cannot be judged by any official organization. All evolution and progress must first appear as heresy, and society, which is founded on intolerance, will improve only by tolerance. Shaw concludes that "the law of God is the law of change, and that when the churches set themselves against change as such, they are setting themselves against the law of God."¹ Nevertheless it is easy to understand why people were infuriated by the claims to authority she made, he continues. Having been a village girl, she had no claim to the smallest deference. However, she claimed obedience from everyone, the archbishop, the general staff, and even the king. One may obey a superior but he will not follow the orders of anyone he considers inferior to himself.

¹Ibid., p. 782.

Explaining the distortions of Joan's history, Shaw mentions that his preface is needed in order to explain the facts about her which have been viewed wrongly even though the facts may have been recorded correctly. He mentions that the ways of thinking change greatly from century to century. People are unable to think in any way which differs from the ways of thinking of their own times. Comparing Joan's time to ours, he claims that we are not less credulous than her contemporaries. As they believed in witches and contracts with the devil, we believe in anything modern science has convinced us is obviously true, may it be that an astronomer tells us the sun is nearly a hundred million miles away or a physicist has settled "to the billionth of a millimetre every movement and position in the dance of the electrons."¹ He does not think men who believe in angels and devils to be more credulous than the ones who believe in electrons. If in modern times Joan is not believed to have been a witch it is not because it is too extraordinary to believe, but on the contrary not extraordinary enough.

Explaining the characterization of the figures in his play, Shaw tells us he represents them saying the things they actually would have said in our times to make them more intelligible to the audience. The epilogue, he explains, is necessary to show the canonized Joan as well as the one who was burnt on the stake. Discussing the length of the play, Shaw says he has written it for the ones in the audience who love the dramatic arts and not the ones who go to the theatre to show

¹Ibid., p. 792.

off their clothes and wait for the final curtain to get away to a luncheon or supper after they escaped the first act by arriving late. However, he would depreciate their staying away altogether, since it would hurt their souls and his pocketbook. In this spirit the play begins.

In the first scene of the play Joan persuades Baudricourt, a military squire, to give her a horse, armor and a few soldiers, so that she may come into the presence of the Dauphin. Having won some of his soldiers, already, for her cause, she succeeds in obtaining Baudricourt's consent, who is pictured as an irresolute man easily influenced by others. As a sign that she was sent by God, as she claimed to be, the squire took the fact that hens who had quit laying eggs resumed their activity after he gave her permission to go to Chinon, where the Dauphin held court. There she is tested as to the divinity of her mission. If she is sent by God to crown the Dauphin she would surely recognize him. One of his courtiers occupies his seat. She exposes him as an impostor immediately and addresses herself to Charles. Joan wins the archbishop by asking him who is blessed with the glory of God to confer His blessings upon her. Charles is pictured as a weakling "bullied" by everyone. When the Maid tells him of her divine mission she neither finds him eager to fight before Orleans nor to be crowned at Rheims. His main objection being that he does not like to fight since he likes his comfortable bed much better than the battlefield. The throne does not appeal to him, either, since Charles is convinced he would cut a piteous figure on it, others ordering him around as they do at the present. Temporarily, though she

is able to enthuse him enough to be given command of the army.

In scene three the Maid is found on the battlefield in shining armor. Dunois, commander of the troops, is impatiently waiting for the wind to change so that his boats can cross the Loire and his troops attack the fort of Orleans. The Maid goes to church to pray for the wind to change, and God hears her prayers. The eastward streaming pennon shows the much wished for change of the wind has occurred. This seems to Dunois enough proof that her mission is a divine one. In the English camp, a chaplain, a nobleman by the name of Warwick, and the Bishop of Beauvais are less concerned about the divinity of the Maid's mission than finding ways to establish that she is the very representative of the opposite regions. Everyone has his own reasons for seeing in Joan a very dangerous person who should be burnt at the stake. As a messenger from God to the king of France, she is a threat, according to the nobleman, to the whole feudal structure, since it is derived from divine authority and right of the king. To the bishop she is a heretic who could destroy the Church if she is not stopped. To the chaplain, the Maid is simply a rebel against Nature by wearing man's clothes, and against God by being in league with the devil. All three agree, though: she must be destroyed!

Joan experiences resentment among her own people, too, on the very day the king is crowned in the cathedral of Rheims. She asks Dunois why the courtiers, knights and the churchmen should hate her, since she had brought them luck and victory, showed them where they were doing wrong, crowned the king, and had asked nothing for herself. She is told by Dunois that people do not like to be shown their

foolishness and blunders, and do not wish to be superseded by someone more intelligent and successful than they are. Everyone would welcome her decision to go home after Charles' coronation. She is told by everyone at court, including the archbishop and the king, from now on she would be completely alone; even if the enemy should take her prisoner and burn her as a witch, they would not rescue her. The king states there is not a single farthing in his treasury to serve as ransom money. The archbishop tells Joan that her presumptuousness and disobedience would prevent the Church from saving her, since her voices were but the echo of her own wilfulness, whereas she would ignore the only true voice of God on earth: The Church Militant. From Duncois, she learns that her life would not be worth that of a single soldier to him the day she would be captured and not able to unlock her prison doors with divine help, so that the enemy would see her as vulnerable as anyone. Joan, however, is not found dismayed by the realization that she is truly forsaken by everyone who, she had believed, would shield her from every danger. She makes the proud statement that God, too, is alone, and with strength from Him she will dare, to His counsel alone she will listen, ignoring any human counsel, being comforted only by His love.

In scene six Joan is at Ruen, a prisoner, being accused of heresy by the ecclesiastical court of the Bishop of Beauvais, with the Inquisition participating. The Maid, true to her principles, even here stands up for her beliefs. When threatened with torture, she says that she would say anything to stop pain if they hurt her; however, would take it all back afterwards. Shaw presents the bishop as well as the

inquisitor as conscientious men trying to save Joan. This task she makes difficult for them, indeed, emphasizing in her answers that her voices conveying to her the command of God must be obeyed before the orders of the Church Militant. Asked if she herself or the Church then is to be the judge for her actions, she makes the daring statement that there could not be any other but her own judgment for them. Only after making it very clear to her that the stake is prepared at the market place, if she does not recant, does she do so; since she reasons that her voices must indeed have deceived her, and she must have been mocked by the devil, since God who gave her reasoning power could not have meant for her to use it to walk straight into the fire. Learning from the inquisitor that perpetual imprisonment, however, is awaiting her, Joan states that she prefers death to a life without the freedom to see the sky, to climb the hills, or breathe free air. In great indignation does the court call for her excommunication, now, as a relapsed heretic. Joan's faith is not shaken at this terrible moment. In her last words she states that the Lord's ways are not men's ways, and He obviously wills her to go through the fire to His bosom, men not being fit for her to live amongst them. After she has been pushed out of the courtroom to be turned over to the secular arm of the law to be burnt, the inquisitor makes the amazing statement that in his opinion it is a terrible thing that this young, innocent creature had to be crushed between the Church and the Law, representing two powerful forces. "It is the ignorant who suffer," he expresses.¹ Everyone is affected

¹Ibid., p. 891.

differently by her death. The chaplain, who prosecuted her most severely, is on the point of hanging himself, realizing the terror of her burning. Warwick, the English nobleman, is unmoved, concerned only that relics should not be left for the effect it might have on the people.

Shaw ends his drama with an epilogue in which he lets Joan appear to King Charles in a dream. She has now been rehabilitated and Charles' consecration cannot be challenged by anyone, a fact greatly to his liking. Not just Joan's spirit appears but also the one of Gauchon, Warwick, Dunois, the chaplain, a soldier, and a clerical-looking gentleman. He is a man from the twentieth century announcing that Joan of Arc is to be canonized as a saint. Everyone present kneels before her, giving thanks for what she has done for them. When she asks, however, if they wish her to return as a living woman, the Maid hears only embarrassed excuses murmured, and once more she finds herself alone. Everyone has left her! With Joan saying: "O God that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive Thy saints? How long, O Lord, how long?" Shaw's play Saint Joan closes.

The figure of Joan of Arc has served as the subject of many legends and fiction. George Bernard Shaw endeavors to give us a picture of her as he insists she really was. It is the conception of the author's empirical mind. For him, the Maid was the symbol of the outstanding individual, the genius whose private judgment clashes with the established rules of a society, which destroys her, fearing to be destroyed by her, otherwise. As long as men remain as they are, any

change of human society for the better, any true progress, is but an illusion for Shaw. Even five centuries later the world is not ready to receive its saints. Throughout the centuries too many of those striving for the progress of civilization have been crucified, burned or destroyed in one way or another. What Shaw stated in other works, as for instance Man and Superman, he repeats in his drama Saint Joan, namely, that it is mere conceit if we believe to have greatly advanced because some changes took place, some of which he considers gains whereas others are definite losses. To him it does not convey progress that Joan should be able to read and write, know about Louis Pasteur, modern psychology and biology had she lived in our modern age. It would not have rendered her essentially a different person, in Shaw's opinion. He believes her to be a domineering woman, and stresses her presumptuousness. His characterization of Joan, however, seems to present her as a rather naive girl, and if she is presumptuous it is the Maid herself who is completely unaware of it. Only if measured by her judges and prosecutors, who do not have the innocent, naive soul of Joan, is she presumptuous. To her it is natural that God should talk to her and she should communicate with her maker, directly. To the representatives of an organization such as the Church Militant, it must necessarily be an unforgivable sin, since it threatens their very existence as mediators between the common man and his God.

Concerning her trait of being domineering, as Shaw states in the preface, she is presented in the play as a girl of whom mostly the contrary could be said. For example; when asking Baudricourt for a horse, an armor and some men to accompany her to the Dauphin, she does

it in a rather shy, pleading manner, her only confidence being her blind faith in the voices who commanded her to do so.¹ Nevertheless, what moved Baudricourt to give her his permission to go to see the Dauphin is not the result of Joan's domineering personality. She owes her success, as described by Shaw in scene one of his play, to the hopelessness of the situation and Robert Baudricourt's desperation, upon which he acts. Even though Joan of Arc is for him but a "mad girl,"² and had convinced him in no way, he is of the opinion the troops might swallow the story and thus put a new fighting spirit into them, since there seems to be nothing to lose anymore in any case, where even the Dauphin does nothing to save France.³

When the squire addresses her she is shown sitting down on her chair, again, like an obedient school girl.⁴ When she addresses Baudricourt with his first name this, again, could hardly be called presumptuous, since in order to be so one must be aware of what one is

¹Ibid., p. 806.

"Joan: (with unruffled sweetness)

No, squire: God is very merciful; and the blessed saints Catherine and Margaret, who speak to me every day (he gapes), will intercede for you. You will go to paradise, and your name will be remembered for ever as my first helper."

²Ibid., p. 807.

³Ibid., p. 813.

"Robert: (to Poulengey)

This may be all rot, Polly: but the troops might swallow it, though nothing that we can say seems able to put any fight into them. Even the Dauphin might swallow it. And if she can put fight into him, she can put it into anybody."

⁴Ibid., p. 813.

doing, or the term loses its meaning. When asked by him who gave her leave to call him Robert, she answers, because he was called so in Church in the name of the Lord. All the other names were just the names of his father's, brother's, or anybody's.¹

Dealing with Dunois on the battlefield Joan is, again, not shown as a domineering woman. Dunois is the one asserting himself, explaining the situation to her, smiling tolerantly at her impatience to attack Orleans by crossing the bridges rather than waiting for the wind to change so that the river can be crossed by boats. Even after handing over his baton to Joan, saying that he is her soldier and she is in command of the king's army, Dunois dominates the situation. When Joan is overcome with emotion, bursting into tears, he is described by Shaw as saying impassively, "Never mind the tears: make for the flash of the guns,"² dragging her along with him.

At Rheims, after Charles' coronation Joan is found by Dunois praying in the cathedral, not wishing to partake in the glory she had won for the king, asking Dunois why everyone from the king to the courtiers should rather feel resentment towards her than love and gratitude. She cannot see, in her innocence, that she was the only one having fought for a noble idea; the liberation of her beloved French soil from the enemy. She had fought to help the just cause to be victorious over what in her eyes was wrong. God himself had been fighting on her side, since it was natural for her that He always was

¹Ibid., p. 812.

²Ibid., p. 837.

on the side of the ones fighting for what is right. The others, however, had not forgotten a moment their own personal desires, conveniences and inconveniences. They had not grown beyond themselves to pursue any higher ideals. The Maid's true innocence of soul and nobility of character disturbed them therefore, as it will always disturb men in any age and any society as long as they live to pursue their own selfish aims. When she uses her own judgment against the established rules of society as she does all through Shaw's play, it is not for personal gains but to fulfill her God-given mission on earth, in which she believes, blindly. Only once does she falter; when she is faced with death. Shaw makes Joan say in the trial, when she is made to realize the stake is waiting for her if she does not recant:

Oh, it is true: it is true: my voices have deceived me.
 I have been mocked by devils: my faith is broken. I have
 dared and dared; but only a fool will walk into the fire:
 God, who gave me my commonsense, cannot will me to do
 that.¹

Here she thinks for the first time of herself. Shaw presents her as not believing that God wants her to go so far as to sacrifice her life for an ideal which is not even understood by the others.

He seems to express the belief in the right of the individual to value his own life higher than any ideals society is not ready to accept if he has to choose, or he simply wishes to show the instinct of self-preservation in any human being. It is worthy of mention, however, that life to Shaw does not mean mere existence but living it in

¹ Ibid., p. 886.

full freedom. Imprisonment, in his opinion, is a crime.¹ He lets Joan of Arc choose death at the stake in preference to life in perpetual imprisonment.² The Maid also serves to voice Shaw's opinion that living close to the wonders of nature is the only way to bring men back to the love of God, whereas the foolishness and wickedness of men could tempt one to hate Him.

Shaw closes his drama Saint Joan with an epilogue, summing up the idea he wishes to convey all through his play: The world is not ready for its saints. Even though progress is achieved only through the daring of society's outstanding individuals, they will not be tolerated by society as long as the social structure of men is founded on intolerance, individual corruptness and selfishness.

Shaw does not indicate, however, how men of genius may work out their problems and achieve their goals without being persecuted, in a society of common men. And as long as society is composed of common men these problems, no matter of how much concern they are to the human race, remain unsolved.

¹George Bernard Shaw, The Crime of Imprisonment (New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1946), p. 124.

"... but if his life the prisoner's be spared his right to live must be accepted in the fullest sense, and not, as at present, merely as a right to breathe and circulate the blood."

²Shaw, Seven Plays, p. 889.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

A comparison of the works by Voltaire, Schiller and Shaw on the subject of Joan of Arc leads to the conclusion that the approach of these authors varies considerably, but nevertheless, a common thread can be perceived in their ideas. In all of them the figure of Joan of Arc is the symbol of man's struggle to grow beyond himself in the attempt to shape his own destiny, led by some outstanding individual. Such individuals have to combat human weaknesses and frailties in their own hearts, but they must face also the conflict of organized tradition, the external forces, against individual inspiration and judgment.

Shaw, the one closest to our own times, sets the story of Joan of Arc in the great frame of these conflicting forces. His play Saint Joan has a considerable philosophical as well as intellectual impact of its own and is, maybe for this reason, recognized as his best work and "one of the world's dramatic masterpieces."¹

Shaw stresses the wide gap existing between the common man on one hand, who complacently and unquestioningly accepts the authority of society's laws, and the outstanding individual, symbolized by the figure of St. Joan, on the other, who rebels against them. For her there is but one to pass judgment on her own actions: she herself! She refuses to accept the laws of society as a guide if they conflict with

¹Griffin, op. cit., p. 10.

her own moral code which she believes to be good and right, since it is conveyed to her by God through "the voices." In Shaw's opinion, these voices are forces which are sometimes at work in a human being, to make him grow beyond himself, directing his actions to further the progress of the whole human race rather than pursuing his own selfish goals. The ordinary man's pettiness of soul is portrayed by Shaw, in emphasizing the Dauphin's pursuance of his own personal aims above that of securing peace and happiness for his people. Not even a great cause could inspire his soul sufficiently to forget for a moment himself. Shaw demonstrates to us in Saint Joan, as in many of his other plays, the wickedness of men. He tears the mask of righteousness off their faces and shows them as they really are.

Under Shaw's cynicism, however, the soul of a sensitive idealist is hidden.¹ When we take a close look at his play Saint Joan, we may easily come to the conclusion that he exposes the selfishness of the individual to point out how much he is in need of improving himself to become truly ready to receive his saints. Shaw realizes that those favored with divine inspiration, like Joan of Arc, are the pioneers of true human progress, even though they may have to sacrifice themselves to advance human knowledge and understanding. They may be crucified or burnt at the stake, but their spirit will live on forever in the hearts of men. It is Shaw's conviction that an artist, too, has to fulfill a higher mission than merely to entertain or to amuse. He shares, in his

¹Joseph McCabe, George Bernard Shaw (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, E. C., 1914), p. 89.

opinion, the responsibility of the man of genius, showing mankind the way into the future, since within him lives a divine spark which gives him the inspiration to create a masterpiece.¹ This function only, Shaw concludes, raises dramatic art above pleasure hunting and imposture.

In this spirit, convinced of a higher mission of the dramatist, the play Saint Joan was written. His ambition has been to have his name mentioned with the ones of Europe's greatest writers and thinkers.²

Voltaire seems to see his mission as a poet in attacking human perverseness by ridicule and satire. He exposes the ills of society as in La Pucelle to lead man to virtue instead of vice. Voltaire believes that man is not born perverse, because if such were his nature, he would commit enormous crimes as soon as he can walk. Being born neither good nor wicked, according to Voltaire, education, the government into which he is thrown, the environment in which he lives, determine his character. Therefore, in order to change man for the better, his environment would have to be changed for the better. However, Voltaire does not have much faith in the possibility of such

¹The distant light of a new age, Shaw says, is discernible first only by the eyes of the man of genius, by him it must be focussed on the speculum of a work of art, in order to be flashed back from that into the eyes of common man. The artist is building up his masterpiece by a blind instinct, Shaw continues; ask him to explain himself prosaically and he is not able to do so. "He can only show it to you as a vision in the magic glass of his artistic production, so that you may catch his presentiment and make what you can of it." Shaw, Seven Plays (Preface to Arms and Man), pp. 111-12.

²"Bernard Shaw's great ambition was later to be that of playing in England the role played by Voltaire in France. . . ." Maurois, op. cit., p. 20.

change of human nature. Referring to Charles' love of Agnes in Canto XI of La Pucelle he draws a comparison between Charles and the kings of the Bible, David or Solomon, the latter being considered the wisest of all monarchs even though he had three hundred concubines. Since he does not believe in the possibility of making men good, he believes that they should be governed in a manner that their wickedness shall do the least possible harm.¹ The reflective spirit is the main characteristic of Voltaire's work. The figure of Voltaire's heroine is not inspired by his own feeling in the matter, as is Schiller's Maid of Orleans. The epigrammatic style full of aphorisms rules his rhetoric. The introductions to each Canto all through La Pucelle are philosophical reflections. Often the Maid's actions are but a demonstration of such reflections, as in Canto XX, which Voltaire begins with pointing out the fragility of man and woman, for which reason it would not be advisable to depend on virtue. He then describes how Joan is tempted by Satan, who came to her in the disguise of the saintly ass.

When he describes in Canto XI the Maid of Orleans appearing in the midst of the English in a convent they sacked, committing violence and rape on the nuns, Joan slaying the evildoers right and left, Voltaire only wishes to express the horror he has of war, his hatred of cruelty in every form.² He describes it with harsh imagery, so that man may fight it.

¹ Ibid., pp. 17-18.

² Ibid., p. 17.

New ideals stand behind the tendencies to which Voltaire pays homage. His ideas made him the pioneer of the eighteenth century. A Voltaire was necessary to reduce to impotence the fanatics of his age. Reason was to triumph in the eighteenth century, and he is acclaimed the foremost representative of these new rationalistic ideals. In Germany, his ideas of enlightenment and his humanitarian endeavors were met with enthusiasm, even if the radical manner in which they were promoted by Voltaire was criticized. Schiller, who had planned to write an epic poem about the eighteenth century, wrote to his friend, Theodor Körner that Voltaire would play an important role in it and whatever it may cost, he would honor him excellently and set a beautiful monument to his memory.¹

Whatever Voltaire may have contributed to the success of the rationalistic ideas, he did stir man's mind most of all through his promotion of religious tolerance. Of all men who raised their voice against fanaticism, his may have been the one most effective in his century. Through works like La Pucelle his ideas were carried into the widest circles, such as his criticism of the clerics, so evident in the play.

If the eighteenth century culminates in the rationalistic ideal, the nineteenth century opposed these ideals with new ones. The old

¹H. A. Korff, Voltaire Im Literarischen Deutschland Des XVIII Jahrhunderts, (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitäts buch handlung, 1917), V. 1, p. 323. "Ein schönes Denkmal würde auch Voltaire darin erhalten. Was es mir auch kosten möchte, ich würde den freien Denker vorzüglich darin in Glorie stellen, und das gauze Gedicht müsste dieses Geprage tragen."

ones had not solved man's problems. It had seemed that man only had to live, governed by the principles of reason, and this world would at last be a better place to live in. However, in such an assumption the irrational elements in men had not been drawn into account. While the rationalists said that the irrational could not be altogether suppressed, though controlled to the greatest extent, the next generation proclaimed their right to individualism, the right to be irrational. Kant then followed, and proclaimed his categorical imperative, giving the age of reason its highest expression. Then, however, came Schiller, who finds the harmony of sensuality and reason, duty and inclination, in a beautiful soul,¹ which man should strive to acquire. For Schiller this concept is the highest of ideals. A man is only then truly free and has grown beyond the bondage of the will, if actions which are commanded by it are as moral as if they had been dictated by pure reason. Then he truly may claim to possess "eine schöne Seele."²

¹"Eine schöne Seele nennt man es, wenn sich das sittliche Gefühl aller Empfindungen des Menschen endlich bis zu dem Grad versichert hat, dass es dem Affekt die Leitung des Willens ohne Scheu überlassen darf und nie Gefahr läuft, mit den Entscheidungen desselben im Widerspruch zu stehen." Schiller, Werke, Vol. II, p. 547.

²(Ibid., p. 523), The concept of "die schöne Seele" (the beautiful soul) is not new. For the Greeks already see in the harmony of reason and sensualness alone perfection and beauty. Schiller expresses these same ideas in his philosophical essay, "Über Anmut und Würde." He also mentions in this essay that nature and morality, matter and spirit, earth and heaven, in Greek poetry harmonize perfectly. (Weiser, op. cit.), In the seventeenth century, an English philosopher of a "hoffnungsvollen Weltbejahung" (an optimistic affirmation of the world) of an eternally creative enthusiasm. (Ibid., p. xv), His ideal is the creation of a life of truthfulness and beauty, which always has been the dream of German philosophers, the goal of their actions. (Ibid., p. 307: "This is my best advice; and what I leave with you, as that which I have lived and shall die by. Let

His Jungfrau von Orleans was just one expression of this idealism. Schiller's enthusiasm for the human race, his belief in human dignity and his admiration of "des Weiblichen," is symbolized in the figure of Johanna. Here too, love is an outstanding motive. It is the idealistic conception of the relation between man and woman. For Johanna, this creates a great conflict, since her love as a woman belongs to the enemy of her country, equally loved by her as a patriot. Schiller gives full recognition to the power of the irrational in man in Der Jungfrau. However, Johanna overcomes earthly love and fulfills the sacred mission of saving her country. Schiller's untiring effort to reconcile the great contrasts of the rational and the irrational, to reach the ideal, are expressed thus in his drama.¹

Schiller's unshaken faith in the power of ideals made him

everyone answer for their own experience, and speak of happiness and good as they find it. Thank heaven I can do good and find heaven in it."). Shaftsbury speaks of happiness which lies for him in doing good without the hope of any reward on earth or in heaven, since he finds heaven in doing good. He leads us through the labyrinth of the human soul and shows us the "Grace of actions--the Beauty of Sentiments, the Sublime of characters," as the manifestation of a "schöne Seele."

(Ibid., p. ix), Leibnitz, the great German philosopher and mathematician, praises Shaftsbury's sublime philosophy, and emphasizes the harmony of his own ideas with those of this English philosopher. (Ibid., p. xi), In our own times, Wilhelm Dilthey points out the great influence of Shaftsbury on Wieland, Herder, Goethe and Schiller. Probably no other German writer adopted Shaftsbury's philosophy of hopeful affirmation of life more fully than Schiller, the protagonist of German idealism.

¹Schiller's spiritual heritage finds its culmination point in Schiller's "Hymn to Joy" (An die Freude). An all embracing love shall unite all men and bring joy and happiness into the heart of everyone, says Schiller in his Hymn, "An die Freude," immortalized by Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. For Schiller, love is a cosmic power whose appearance in the universe, the human soul, or human society, creates harmony. Wilhelm Dilthey, Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung (Leipzig und Berlin: Verlag B. G. Teubner, 1921), p. 365.

confident that men would understand the message he tried to convey to them in his tragedy Die Jungfrau von Orleans. In his own verse he says confidently: "Fürchte nicht! Es gibt noch schöne Herzen, die für das Hohe, Herrliche erglühn."¹

In a comparison of Voltaire's La Pucelle, Shaw's Saint Joan, and Schiller's Die Jungfrau von Orleans, it is Schiller's concept of man's "beautiful soul" of which the figure of Johanna is the very symbol, that carries perhaps the most hopeful message for our modern age.

The satire we find in Voltaire's work will show us our weaknesses and certainly will stimulate the man of the twentieth century also to throw an attentive glance at human nature. Voltaire's approach to the subject of Joan of Arc confirms our skepticism about the improvement of human nature. However, a work which can cause man to stop and think, see his own weaknesses and the corruptness of his society, show him where improvement is needed, will never be put on the shelves and be forgotten there. Shaw, who sees in the figure of Joan of Arc the symbol of the outstanding individual who furthers human progress but clashed in any age with organized society, makes us ask like his St. Joan, "O God that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive Thy saints?"² It does not offer us a solution to this problem, however, just as Voltaire's skepticism leaves us with

¹Humphreys, op. cit., p. 46.

²Shaw, Seven Plays, p. 911.

little hope that it is possible to improve human nature considerably. Only Schiller's idealistic philosophy, which found his highest expression in the romantic tragedy Die Jungfrau von Orleans shows man a way to improve himself and consequently human society. Why does he choose Joan of Arc as a symbol of the harmony of reason and feelings in man's soul? As an idealist, he wanted to demonstrate that an improvement of human nature is possible. His Jungfrau, which was acclaimed to be his best work, is the one also to show men the way to this improvement. It embodies all of his idealistic philosophy. The inner harmony of men, which the ancient Greeks had reached long ago, is needed again in our modern age, Schiller said.¹

The development of single faculties of the individual may have magnificent results, as the latest scientific developments in our atomic age prove. However, Schiller believes that in order to create happiness, peace, and kind understanding in the human heart and ultimately in the world, the development of all our human faculties is needed. All enlightenment of the mind deserves just our respect inasmuch as it improves man's character. Therefore, the heart must be filled with human kindness to the same degree as his mind with clear understanding. Thus, any improvement of human society must begin in man's heart. Schiller's Jungfrau von Orleans felt the eternal struggle between inclination and duty in her own heart, which makes it

¹Schiller, Werke, pp. 576-77.

possible for her to understand others and feel with them.¹

Even if we live by the most praiseworthy maxims, how can we be kind and understanding toward our fellow men, when we are lacking the capacity to think ourselves in their situation, to make their feelings our own? It would be only an illusion if we think the ideal of perfection is reached when we only subdue our senses completely and live by the rigid rules dictated by reason. We will have to strive to reach a harmony of both or we will always judge our fellow man's conduct with great severity but not with compassion and tolerance. Only if Verstand und Gefühl (reason and feeling) are in harmony, when we do have what Schiller called "a beautiful soul," can we come closer to the ideal of mankind. Not to dull nature within ourselves, but to ennoble it must be our aim! So, let us beware of calling Schiller's aesthetic philosophy embodied in his romantic tragedy Die Jungfrau von Orleans weak and outmoded.

If we wish to unite mankind, which is politically torn apart, once more under the banner of truth and beauty, of wahrer Menschlichkeit (true humanity), we can only do so applying Schiller's aesthetic principles, as Thomas Mann said on the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Schiller's death.²

¹As an example, we may point out the scene between Johanna and Agnes Sorel on the day of Charles' coronation. Johanna tells her to praise her luck to be able to rejoice with the multitude, to see in everyone's happiness just the reflection of her own. Her love is shared by everyone. Agnes embraces her, saying that Johanna gives voice to the feelings in her own heart, that now she knew that Johanna, too, knows this all powerful feeling and understands her fully. Schiller, Sämtliche Werke, p. 323.

²Mann, op. cit., p. 99.

Perhaps the figure of Joan of Arc could still become a figure of wahrer Menschlichkeit, and thereby stimulate man's imagination through all ages.¹

¹In the twentieth century it is Jean Anouilh who made the Maid of Orleans the central figure of his drama The Lark. Here, Joan of Arc is the symbol of the outstanding individual whose judgment clashes with the established rules of society as Shaw's "Joan." (Jean Anouilh, The Lark, The Theatre Arts, March, 1957, p. 50) She has the "beautiful soul" of Schiller's "Jungfrau," and is again the symbol of his hopeful idealism and his faith in human nature. She lifted herself from the level of the common man like a "Lark," as Anouilh calls her, into the heavens, to show mankind that faith, fearless courage, and a pure heart can work true miracles.

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